수완나부미 제5권 제1호(2013년 6월) : 1~23

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ARTICLES

Review on the downfall of Konbaung Dynasty: A Case Study of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion and Its Effects

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Ⅰ. Introduction

Alaungmintaya found Myanmar Kingdom and it was known as Konbaung Dynasty in Myanmar History. Konbaung period was from 1752 to 1885 and 11 kings had been ruling for 133 years. During Konbaung period,there were three Anglo-Myanmar wars broke out and Konbaung Dynasty downfall due to the third Anglo-Myanmar war in 1885. The immediate cause was teak trading. Many scholars criticized the weakness of foreign relation of King Mindon and Thibaw and also pointed out mass killing by the King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat. It was mostly either left/ neglect or forgot to discuss about Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. They may be think it is not necessary to discuss for down fall of Konbaung. But it was found that the research paper entitle "*Imperialist Stratagem and Heir Apparents*" and "*Triangle Relation*"which were conducted by Daw Ni NiMyint using French documents discussed about Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion and how Prince Myinggun and Prince NyaungYan were playing

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political activity under their refugee life in the British and French and how the British and French made a plan for Myanmar to became a protectorate country. The Heir Apparents those who were living as asylum in the British and France territory and it was a great opportunity for the British and France under this circumstance. It can be said that these papers were focus on macro level and pointed out the imperialist stratagem. Finally many scholars concluded for the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty that the wave of Imperialism as Sunami hit from Europe to Asia so that Myanmar could not stand as feudal society and down fall Konbaung Dynasty. All of events and comments were quite true but it is necessary to examine carefully past events. There were many controversial facts about third Anglo-Myanmar war. This paper pointed out the King Mindon's false political strategic due to the lack of awareness on external threat with the giving the best example of Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. British noticed the weakness of feudal administration system and it paved the way to the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty.

1.1. British–Myanmar Relation after the Second Anglo–Myanmar War

King Mindon (1853-1878) ascended the throne on 17 February 1853. He became a King without peacefully and ascended the throne by seizing the throne at the time of confusion and conflict inside the palace. On the other hand Lower Myanmar was under the British rule after he became a King. At the beginning of King Mindon's reign, the British did not recognized Myanmar as a sovereign country. For example, King Mindon sent the mission on 4 April 1853 with the aiming to demarcate the boundary area to take back Bago province which was lost not because of losing war but was taken by the British at the time of internal turmoil(Tint 1975, 19-22). Lord Dalhousie did

not comply with the demand of King Mindon. He also included in the proclamation the ominous warning which said:

> Hostilities thus renewed, if your Majesty shall venture to provoke them, can have but one termination … the entire subjugation of the Burmese power and the ruin and exile of yourself and your race… (Ingaleikkape)

The negotiation talks came to an end on 10 May 1853. When a peace mission was sent again on 20 September 1854, Lord Dalhousie responded by saying "As long as that sun shines, Pegu will remain British"(HtinAung 1967, 236). These responses were a clear indication that the Myanmar Kings was not recognized as a sovereign King by the British. According to this situation the King and his ministers felt that they were threatened by the British so King Mindon and his ministers including Crown Prince consider seriously to get back the lost territories. King Mindon believed that he would get back if he used appeasement policy to the British. He decided to raise foreign policy to restore his prestige. Therefore he tried to get diplomatic relation with France, Italy and Germany. King Mindon sent his diplomatic mission to France for three times in 1854,1856 and 1858(KhinHla Han 2004, 106-107;MaungMaung Tin 2004, 166; KhinMyaKyu 1979, 72). Myanmar diplomatic mission was received by the French Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugine at St. Cloud Palace in Paris in 1856. The Crimean war was just over at that time and French were celebrating for the war. The Myanmar delegation was very pleased as they were received cordially by the French(Ni NiMyint 2004, 138). But the French foreign policy toward Myanmar was not government level because they did not wish to be confrontation with the British by putting their interest in Myanmar(Ingaleikkape*)*. However the French government did not forbid his merchants in Yangon to do economic

cooperation so as to exploit in the economic field. It can also be assumed that French were showing their interest to make diplomatic relation with Myanmar.

Crown Prince Kanaung and Yaw Atwinwun U Pho Hlaing who is a secretary (Atwinwun) prefer to raise a more powerful armed force and to build industrialized and modernized country. As a first step of Crown Prince Kanaung, Myanmar youths were sent foreign countries as state scholars. It was nearly one hundred Myanmar youth to study in India, France and Italy. It was found that the state scholar who was called Maung Bin successfully translated "Mathematic" (Firing of Cannon) by Olinthus G. Gregory from English to Myanmar(MaungShwe Bin) It was used as a guide in the making of weapons and firearms. It was found that there were over fifty factories before he was assassinated(Kyan 2005, 146). These factories include firearms factory, cannon factory, saw mill, rice mill and sugar mill. A Frenchman Calarnet was hired and appointed to serve as mechanic at the firearm factory from 1862-64. The Myanmar arm was also reorganized with the help of the French and Italian training officers. In the past the Myanmar army was organized by gathering the citizens from the respected towns and villages just before the time of war and it was the system of emergency organization of troops and these troops were sent to the battle. But Crown Prince Kanaung tried to discard this system and made efforts to establish a well organizedarmy(Phone Kyaw 1965, 71). In this way Crown Prince Kanaung tried to establish a modern, industrialized country and it could be said that his efforts were quite successful. At first the British merchants in Young were making a fun of Crown Prince Kanaung's factories which were established with the purpose of becoming a industrialized country. But after a few years they came to realize the effectiveness of Crown Prince Kanaung's endevours and so they warned the British government about the situation in Upper Myanmar which required careful attention. The

situation in Upper Myanmar was significantly improvement in just over ten years. There were 152 employees at the gun factory which was running well(MaungMaung Tin 1975, 179). This factory produced 2000 firearms per year(MaungShwe Bin, 180).

On the other hand, King Mindon promoted paddy cultivation reparing old dams and building new dams. Efforts were also made to improve the irrigation system(Kyaw win 1978, 132-141). Therefore the people of Upper Myanmar no longer depend on Lower Myanmar for consumer goods such as rice, sat and fish paste just within a period of ten years. In this way, King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung harmoniously tried to prevent the danger of British colonialism. and it can be seen that Myanmar significantly improved and was recognized as sovereign country. In a letter dated on 20 March 1866 from the French Foreign Minister, Myanmar was invited to come and participate in the International Trade fair to be held in Paris, France in 1867 (Vivian Ba 1965, 18). It was a kind of achievement for unity among ministers, Counsellors, Crown Prince and King Mindon.

1.2. Myingyun–MyingonDaing Rebellion

It was suspected about the assassinating of Crown Prince Kanaung that he was assassinated in 1866 by Prince Myingun. Myanmar Kingdom nearly outreached the way into industrialized and developed country. Moreover it could be imagined that Konbaung Dynasty would not fall down if the Myanmar took part the World Trade Fair because Myanmar Governor became understand imperialism trade and they might change monopolized economic system and feudal society and economic system would be totally changed. One is true that the British did not want Myanmar as a sovereign state as well as being a stability and peace country. It can be seen how and when second Anglo-Myanmar war broke out in the past.

Previously they were not interested in the inland part of Myanmar but after they took Yakhine and Taninthayi region they became much interested to occupy Myanmar as their colony. But the British were well aware of the manpower and firepower of Myanmar as they have already experienced in the first Anglo-Myanmar war. Moreover they noticed the characteristic of Myanmar feudal and political culture but they did not understand very well Myanmar political culture. So it can be said that they might wait for a good opportunity to expand their territory into Myanmar rather than making war with the feudal Myanmar. The Governor General of India Lord Dalhousie already had plans to colonize the whole of Indian Empire and the coastal region of Myanmar. During the reign of King Bagan, the court was split into two factions: one group was led by the brother of Chief Queen and the other group was led by Prince Mindon. The King was not interested in the affair of the country he was interested only in gambling and other pleasures.

The country became unstable; the economy of the country also became poor so the people were wishing for a change.[1] Under these circumstances, Prince Mindon and Prince Kanaung secretly left the palace to make a rebellion against the king. While the Princess were revolting against the king to seize the throne, the British were also provoking to wage the second Anglo-Myanmar war so there was no peace and stability inside the country. In fact there was no serious problem between the British and Myanmar to fight this second Anglo-Myanmar war. King Bagan had complied with the demand of the British as much as he could(Khin Lay Khine 1998). But the British had already made plans to colonize Myanmar and the situation of Myanmar was a good opportunity to invade Myanmar and also because

[1] The British believed that they were welcomed by the people in Myanmar especially in Lower Myanmar. So Lord Dalhousie said that he had saved the Bago province previously a territory of Hanthawaddy from the Cruel Myanmar King when he was criticized for waging an inglorious war(D. P, The Annexation of Upper Burma, Singapore, Eastern University. 1960. 21-22)

the war in Punjub was over, the British took this opportunity to wage the second Anglo-Myanmar war without any serious problems between the two sides. The British annexed the Bago(Pegu) region after the Second Anglo-Myanmar War. Actually the affair with the British envoy during the reign of King Thayawaddy was reasonable enough to wage a war. King Tahyawaddy told Mr. Burney, British envoy that he refused to accept the Yandabo treaty as this treaty was not made during his reign. From the political point of view, this was reasonable enough to make a war. But the British ignored this incident as they were waging a war with the Afghan at that time. The situation inside Myanmar was not stable at the time of the second aggression war and the British just took this opportunity to wage a war without any serious reason. This was just a stratagem of imperialism. Therefore the British did not want Myanmar became peace and stability country.

One is sure that the British were well aware of internal affairs during the reign of King Mindon. Firstly, they noticed that the attitudes of King Mindon and Prince Kanaung were not the same and they had different opinions to communicate with the British since the King tried to get back lost territories with sending mission. It was found that there was a clash between King Mindon and his brother Prince Kanaung at the beginning of King Mindon's reign. For example, while King Mindon was trying to get back lost territories by means of sending peace mission, the British were facing guerilla warfare of the resistance fighters. So the British accused the Myanmar King as a supporter of these resistance fighters(Woodman 1962, 167). Crown Prince had tried to persuade King Mindon to drive out the British by military means as he was not pleased with responses of the British(HtinAung 1965, 53). Similarly Crown Prince Kanaung made some preparations by sending troop of 6000 soldiers headed by MyingaungGyiMahaMinkaungKyaw (Head Officer of Cavalry troop) to Taungoo as a precaution against the British invasion. King Mindon recalled MyingaungGyi to capital by

issuing a royal order in Much 1854(MaungMaung Tin 2004, 128). Moreover it was found that Thomas Spears sent an order on behalf of him to the British as follows:

> His Majesty disclaims any connection with the bands of robbers now said to be infesting the country below Prome and to show that he is sincere in his assertion should any of these robbers take refuge in his territories, after having committed depredations in the territories held by the British, he will sufficient proof being given, see that they are punished(Woodman 1962, 169).

King Mindon was aiming for a better relation with the British. On the other hand, Crown Prince Kanaung gave more consideration for the patriotic resistance fighters. It can be:

> The King's brother Prince Kanaung welcomed organized resistance to the British and showed his sympathies were with MyatHtoon, Maung Bo and MaungKhoungGyee. He entertained ideas of renewing the war with Britain…(Woodman 1962, 169)

These different responses by King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung became a good opportunity for the actuate British to intervene in the affairs of Myanmar.

Moreover the British were well aware of another internal affair which is the appointing the post of Crown Prince. When King Mindon ascended the throne, he had many adults sons such as Prince Thonze[2], PrinceNyaung Yan and Nyaung Oak[3], Prince Myingun and MyingonDaing[4] TPrincePyinsi and Malun[5] and Prince Mekhara.[6] On

2) Son of KhunHnitYwasaMibaya (KonMarDewi)
3) Son of MyaukShwe yay Mibaya(Second Rank, OhnMarDewi)
4) Son of ShweYaySaungMibaya (First Rank,YadanaDewi)
5) Son of MyauksaungtawMibaya (PabaDewi)
6) Son of DutiyaMyaukSaungtawMibaya(Second Rank, NandarDewi)

the other hand there was his brother who was of great help in his effort to seize the throne. Without Prince Kanaung, King Mindon could never achieve the throne so he had to recognize the royalty of his brother. Under this difficult and complex situation, King Mindon had appointed his brother Prince Kanaung as the Crown Prince. Most scholars in Myanmar agreed that King Mindon had chosen his brother as his successor to the throne because he believed in his brother's ability and competence. These scholars reference to the royal order of the King issued on 20 July 1860 which was as follow:

> Ministers, interior ministers, counselors, the officers of Crown Prince and services altogether 300 members had to serve dutifully and loyalty to me as well as they had to pay respect and royalty to the Crown Prince(Woodman 1962, 203).

By this royal order, King Mindon asked for loyalty and faithful service from all his ministers, counselors and all servants. It can be assumed that there surely must be a reason for King Mindon to issue this order. King Mindon must have second thoughts as to the matter of appointing his brother as Crown Prince. Mya Kay Tu had mentioned in his NandhalaeHmattan (Record of the Tradition of the Court) as follows:

> King Mindon changed his mind and he discussed the Hluttaw ministers after shifting to the Yadanapon capital whether he should put his son Malun as a Crown Prince. Kanaung knew about this information so he avoided to meet his brother did not attend the Hluttaw(Mya Kay Tu 1971, 255).

Therefore it can be assumed that King Mindon had issued the above mention royal order as a political stratagem which instructed all the royal servants to pay respect and royal to the Crown Prince besides

serving the King so that his brother Prince Kanaung could have some satisfaction and comfort.

1.3. The Rebellion and Its Effect on the British–Myanmar Relation

It could be found that sending diplomatic mission to minor feudal countries to gain information concerning the internal affairs of these countries was one of the political stratagems of the imperialists. During the time of the reign of King Badon, a British diplomatic mission led by Michael Symes arrived at the capital to take the opportunity by trying to intervene in the palace dispute as regards to choose a successor to the throne. The instruction of the British Governor General of India was as follows:

> He was instructed to inform secretly to the heir apparent that if the royal conflict occurred in the palace the British would support military aid to the heir apparent(Hall 1955, 141).

According to the above event, it could be said that there might be some involvement by the British in the Palace Intrigue which occurred Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. Among the King Mindon's sons, Prince Myingun was well known for his ambition to become a King. He was an arrogant and aggressive person but he was also said to be a man of courage and an expert in fighting. He was also beloved and respected by all his brothers and sisters. There were many records which mentioned about Crown Prince Kanaung and Prince Myingun. In these records, Prince Myingunhad a bad feeling to the Crown Prince Kanaung because he wanted to be a Crown Prince as he being an elder son of King. Moreover Crown Prince gave a punishment to Prince Myingun because of eating beef which was prohibited by the King. Similarly, Crown Prince prohibited the Princes to go and stay their fief.

Therefore Prince Myingun bitterly hate to the Crown Prince Kanaung(Tin 1965, 211; HtinAung 1965, 59; MaungMaung Tin 2004). According to these records, many scholars concluded that the British instigated Prince Myingun to revolt against Crown Prince Kanaung because he resented Crown Prince and it was easy to persuade to revolt against. For example, the relative of Crown Prince Kanaung said that Colonel Sladen and Dr. Marks instigated Prince Myingun to revolt against Crown Prince Kanaung(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 46). Nobody suspected to King Mindon for the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. In fact, it was not because of the British stratagem but also the King Mindon's false political strategic.

There was no doubt about the British stratagem to stimulate Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion and the trace was found in Myingun's dairy which was expressed in "Htoon Daily Newspaper by Dr. Ba Chit who is Prince Myingun's personal secretary. It was mention as follows:

> …I had expected that the british were a people of high standard. But they tried to make use of me and made exploitations for their own benefit. They had no generously and goodwill toward me.

Colonel Sladen was at the summer palace when the rebellion broke out on 2 August 1866 and he had to escape from there with the help of Prince Myingun. Therefore while Prince Myingun was staying at Saigon as a political refugee, Colonel Sladen came to see the prince as his life savior during the palace revolt(Ba Chit 1957, 5). Moreover rebellion fail Colonel helped Prince Myingun and his brother to escape the British territory. Therefore most people assumed that there might be secret connection between Prince Myingun and Colonel Sladen and that Colonel sladen might have involved in the palace revolt. According to the report of Bago Commissioner to the Secretary of

Yangon, it was true that Prince Myingun got some support from the Colonel Sladen and Major Phayre.[7] Though it was true that Prince Myingun took some support from Colonel Sladen, Colonel Sladen was not directly involved in the palace revolt. In fact, King Mindon might be said to be the most responsible person in this palace rebellion. One can be proved that the rumours were spreading inside the palace and around the capital that the British encouraged the prince to rebel against the King but King Mindon still put his trust in Colonel Sladen and accepted Colonel Sladen's advice.[8] It was a question that King Mindon could trust to Colonel Sladen, WHY? The reason is that King Mindon's misused political strategic among his son and brother with purposes to get good relation with British for getting back his territories and to protect his position. Crown Prince Kanaung did not like King Mindon's appeasement policy to the British so he did not want Crown Prince Kanaung influence over the administration affairs.

Because of Crown Prince's ability and competence, he was popular among the ministers and counselors and he became more powerful than King Mindon at Hluttaw. King Mindon was well aware of his brother's military capability since they revolted against King Bagan. The King was now quite doubtful of the effort of Crown Prince Kanaung such as the strengthening of the army(MaungMaung Tin 1975, 179; MaungShwe Bin), the establishment of the weapon factory and purchasing of weapons from foreign countries(Kyan 2005, 146).

Moreover taking advice of KinwunMingyi, crown Prince Kanaung

7) Political Administration Report, Acc. No. 759, Series 1/1, National Archive Department.

8) There was another rebellion broke out after the Myingun rebellion in1867. Prince Badine who was a son of Crown prince Kanaung and he revolt against the King after his father assassination by Prince Myingun. The troop of prince badine were defeated in the final battle on6 August 1866. Prince Badine together with his followers Taingdasamaung Thant, TaungdwinsaMaungMyint and TaungpyonsaMaungPyu were arrested and put in prison. They were sentenced to death on 15 May 1867. (MaungMaungTin,KBZ,III,243)When Colonel Sladen heard this news, he urged the King to withdraw the death sentence. King Mindonwithdraw the order of execution so as to comply with the advice of colonel Sladen. (E. C. V Foucar, They Reign in Mandalay,47)

wanted to introduce a new system of government. He also tried to make efforts to transform the country into a modernized, industrialized country(HtinAung1965, 58). King Mindon wished to make some reforms in the administrative system but he did not want to abolish monarchical administration. He could not accept any efforts which might threaten his power. On the other hand, King Mindon was worried about his son Prince Myingun because he showed his discontent by behavioral action as well as verbally(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 123). It can be said that King Mindoncreated having misunderstanding between Prince Myingun and Crown Prince. Therefore King Mindon did not suspect to Colonel Sladen for Myingun-Myingon Dain rebellion. There were many suspension documents in Myanmar Historical records. It was found that When King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung fled to Shwebo (Yadantheinga) for against King Bagan, Prince Myingun was left at the palace and he was living with King Bagan. Prince Myingun was adopted son of King Bagan and he was very much beloved by King Bagan. Therefore he was awarded the title of MinhlaKyawswaby King Baganand he became Made Myosa at the age of his youth(Ba Chit 1957, 5).

During the reign of King Mindon, Prince Myingun believed that he should be awarded a title which was much superior to the title awarded to King Bagan (his uncle). But King Mindon conferred the title to Prince Myingun which was same title. Therefore Prince Myingun did not satisfy this situation. King Mindon became knew Prince Myingun's feeling through the monk called AshinKawthala. When King Mindon became aware of his son's discontent he allowed his son to attend the night time royal audience so as to please his son Prince Myingun. King Mindon aroused misunderstanding between the Crown Prince and his son Prince Myingun by telling his son that he had an enemy who was very close to him and that his son was the only reliable person to protect him from this enemy. Prince Myingun assumed that the enemy

of his father would be Crown Prince Kanaung(Ba Chit 1957, 5).

It was a question why Prince Myingun assumed that the enemy of his father is Crown Prince. One might be the information from Colonel Sladen. Second is that there was power struggle between conservative group (King Mindon) and reformist group (Crown Prince Kanaung and Yaw Atwinwun) at the Hluttaw. It was found that King Mindon became doubtful to Crown Prince Kanaung when he purchased weapons(HtinAung 1965, 59). In fact it may be the British interfere between King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung because they did not want Myanmar build industrialized and modernized country. Moreover collecting weapons was not good condition to them and it would be costly if it was necessary to fight for annexation Upper Myanmar. Thus the British persuade King Mindon to believe them and made misunderstanding to Kanaung's effort. On the other hand the relation between Crown Prince Kanaung and Colonel Sladen was not very good at their very first meeting(HtinAung 1967, 243). Moreover it was found in the British documents that Crown prince Kanaung had urged King Mindon to refuse signing treaties with the British(ViVianba 1971, 36). The British therefore noticed Crown Prince Kanaung would seize the throne. So it can be assumed that they made efforts to arouse misunderstanding between the two brothers. But King Mindon who was wise and far-sighted was doubtful of his brother not because of British deception; there were other factors to arouse suspicious. Westerners who had met with Crown Prince Kanaung had made remarks that Crown prince Kanaung was capable of establishing an industrialized country and that was more intelligent and had better qualifications than King Mindon(Ni Ni Myint 2004, 178).

Moreover, in his Yazadhamathingaha treatise, U HpoHlaing had mentioned that crown Prince Kanaung was the leader of the people during Yadanapon period. Among these remarks, one can guess the ability of Crown Prince Kanaung who was actively trying to make

efforts for the development of the country. It can also be said that because of these facts, King Mindon became less powerful. Therefore King Mindon became doubtful of his brother and he made arrangements so that his son would be on his side in case some problem arose. Moreover Crown prince Kanaung who was very actively was making efforts for the development of the country was not very willing to follow King Mindon's appeasement policy toward the Brtish. So Crown Prince said that to follow the King's wish would be to invite danger from the British and that he should manage all the state affairs in the future to prevent the danger of British invasion(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 46).

It was probably that King Mindon who wished to be on good terms with the British was not very pleased with the ability and leadership of Crown Prince Kanaunf. Likewise the British had noticed the ability of Crown Prince and were keeping watch on him with great care. Therefore from the British point of view, trust and understanding between the two brothers King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung would not be beneficial for them. So they tried to involve in the palace affair by reporting Crown Prince Kanaung's effort to equip the army with modern arms to the King Mindon but their reporting was not from the positive point of view. In official repot of British government as regards to Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion, it was stated that Crown Prince Kanaung was assassinated by Prince myingun as he was plotting seize the throne and that Mandalay revolt of 1866 was also due to the fault of assassinated Crown Prince(Ni NiMyint 2004, 179). According to above statement it can be assumed that the report made by the British to King Mindon might surely arouse his brother.

Prince Myingun got married with Princess TaungNyohtikeKhaung Tin, daughter of Crown prince Kanaung on 5 July1864 and this should be taken into serious consideration. It was mostly said that Prince Myingun resented Crown Prince Kanaung because he was not

appointed as Crown Prince. So here a question should be asked. What is the real motive of Prince Myingun who went on to marry the daughter of his uncle whom he resented? It was found that King Mindon seemed not very pleased and he made some kind of remark hinting that his son had accepted the marriage as he wished to become a king(Ba Chit 1957). Therefore it can be said that King Mindon tried to arouse misunderstanding between Prince Myingun and Crown Prince.

After the rebellion Prince Myingun sent a letter to his father in which it was said that he had defeated the Crown Prince and Commander of Crown Prince with his glory and power and that he was ready to follow his father's Orders(MaungMaung Tin 2004). According to this letter,it can be assumed that Prince Myingun had been expecting the support of King Mindon Moreover it can be assumed that Prince Myingun assassinated the Crown Prince as he knew well his father was quite suspicious of Crown Prince Kanaung and would like to remove him. King Mindon might have no intention for such an outcome as the death of his brother but it is certain that he aroused misunderstanding between his son and brother by mean of political stratagem. Finally Crown Prince who was the target of the colonial British was assassinated as expected by the British. Crown Prince Kanaung was regarded as an obstacle by the British in their plan to colonized Myanmar but King Mindon did not seem to notice the strategy of the British. He made efforts to arouse misunderstanding between his son and his brother and his son Prince Myingun became a pawn of the British. The death of Crown Prince Kanaung was great loss for the country as the country was just on her way to become an industrial country with the effort of Crown Prince Kanaung.

Ⅱ. Discussion

To sum up Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion, the fundamental cause is that there were two factions in the palace: King Mindon's conservative group and Kanaung's reformist group and it was great opportunity for the British. Myingun-MyingonDaing revolution had not come to a conclusion. There were two factors which supported to down fall of Konbaung Dynasty. Firstly, it made great lost to build developed and industrialized country due to the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. Moreover political and economic situation turned back to bad. As a consequence of Myingun rebellion and Badine rebellion, people became decreased in Upper Myanmar. For example, about half of a total of 186 households in Thabyewa village near the town of Meikhtila fled to lower Myanmar(Keith 1910).

It was first migration of people from Upper Myanmar to Lower Myanmar. Population decreased led to poor economy. Therefore King Mindon requested the heads and assistant heads of monastic associations to recall the people who run away to the British territory. He issued an order in which it was that those who came back to Upper Myanmar would have remission of capitation tax(Ameindaw). Moreover Prince Pyinsi, Prince Singu, Prince Malun and MyaDaungMyosaThadoMingyi MinhlaSithu[9] were killed in this accident. In fact, it was a time when Myanmar need much human resources for the development of the country but King Mindon lost these human resources. It was a beneficial factor for the British or they came to get more manpower and human resources. About the population increase in Lower Myanmar and development of agriculture, it was found that after the opening of the Suze canal the rice trade made much profit so the population gradually increased in British Burma including Lower Myanmar. So the migration from Upper Myanmar and India gradually

9) He was one of the resource person for the King and one of the Hluttaw ministers.

increased in delta region in1869(Andrus 1956, 1014). In fact the rise in popular in delta region could be said to be a consequence of the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion.

On field survey to the village in Maubin Township, Kyaitlattownship, NgathaingChaung Township, villagers were asked to tell about the historical background of their village. It was learnt that these people had fled from the Upper Myanmar during the time of internal instability to Lower Myanmar and they had settled down in places which could be quite convenient for them and later villages were established. As for example, it was learnt that some of the people who fled from Upper Myanmar during the time of the revolt had reached a place in Maubintownship and started to settle down. Then the population gradually increasedand village was established which came to be known as Nggagyigayet village in Maubin township.

It was also found that the village pagoda was built in the year 1878. From these interviews with these villages, it was quite probable that the people fled from Upper Myanmar during the time of the palace revolt and started to establish villages in Lower Myanmar. Likewise, in the interview with U HlaThein who was at the age of 74 at the time of interview 2004, it was learnt that his grandfather was a trader making business trip in big boat (painkaw) up and down along the Ayeyarwaddy Diver. During one of his downstream trip carrying goods from Upper Myanmar he took a rest near a place which was now established as Kyonsoak village. While he was resting he heard about the news of the palace revolt in Mandalay. So his grandfather decided not to return to Upper Myanmar and then started to settle down in that place. Later population in that area gradually increased and the place was established as a village under the jurisdiction of the British Municipal Administration. Up to these days, the descents of the great grandchild of King Mindon and KhunHnitywasa grandchild of Prince Thonze are still living in Maubin township and there was also an old dilapidated

monastery which was known as ThonzeminKyaung (monastery)(Aye Mon Kyi 2008). There was an evidence to confirm the factslearnt from the interview with the villagers and that was as follows:

> I may here remark that their detention of the steamer caused very general satisfaction and comfort to the European Community at large and even to much (worrisome)Burmese traders flocked to me for advice and eager demand to be admitted inside my enclosure in order to ensure for themselves, as they said, protection and safety (Political Revolution).

According to the above statement together with the interviews with the local people, it could be assumed that Sladen and Myanmar traders might have some connection and it was also very probably that people from Upper Myanmar fled to Lower Myanmar at the time of palace revolt. The British had tried to attract immigrants from Upper Myanmar by promising remission of capitation tax for the first two years, it was not very successful. Nobody would be willing to leave his mother country when the country is in a state of stability and economy was good. Therefore British might have arranged plans to stop the coordinated effort of King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung for the development of the country. So prince Myingun and MyingonDaing made a revolt against the King due to the playing of British political disintegration in royal affairs. This was situation the British were expecting and it can be said that British had achieved their goal.

Secondly, the revolt of Prince Badine came to an end with suppression; Prince Myingun was still frequent disturbances. The British did not hand over to the King Mindon and they sent him to India with giving reason which was that he was plotting to take over Yangon(Ni NiMyint 2004, 172). Another King Mindon's political strategic was that he did not appoint Crown prince again after

assassinating of the Crown PrinceKanaung and he gave a reason not to occur rebellion again. It could not be decided whether King Mindon's plan is Right or Wrong which is that he divided Upper Myanmar three part and he choose three of his sons: Nyaung Yan, Thonze and Mekhara to rule. It was possible that King Mindon paid attention to have stability and peace in the internal affair until the last day of his reign and became aware of the British colonialism and it was difficult to prevent so he made a plan not to occupy Upper Myanmar easily and they had to negotiate with three of his sons. However his ministers did not agree his suggestion and they nominated the Prince Thibaw. Finally King agreed to appoint Prince Thibaw as a Crwon Prince in 1879. In fact it was found that Myingun was supported by most of Myanmar and they wanted him became a king while King Mindon was terminally ill. The British also considered to appoint Prince Myingun but they waited to watch the situation. A British commissioner in India said that he was ascended the throne by the arrangement of British government. It might be British stratagem because Myingun had many supporters to plot the throne at that time. The British and France became rivalry to occupy Upper Myanmar without waging a war because Prince Myingun and Nyaung Yan were under their protection and they hold a potential trump card in their hand. On the other hand KinwunMingyi and Shin Phyu Ma Shin also secretly contact with Prince Myingun and Prince Nyaung Yan to ascend the throne. According to these situations, King Thibaw could not afford to control well having peace and stability country and could not make possible solution to protect the country. It can be concluded that the origin of Myingun-Myingon Dain rebellion pave the way of down fall of Konbaung.

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Received: Feb. 25, 2013; Reviewed: Apr. 03, 2013; Accepted: Apr. 10, 2013

<Abstract>

Review on the downfall of Konbaung Dynasty: A Case Study of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion and Its Effects

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This study reexamines a covert factor of the colonization of Myanmar kingdom, drawing on the case of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion broke out in 1866. It criticizes that existing discussions on the downfall of the Konbaung dynasty are preoccupied with post-colonialism. These researches were focus on macro level and pointed out the imperialist stratagem and many scholars concluded for the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty that the wave of Imperialism as Sunami hit from Europe to Asia so that Myanmar could not stand as feudal society and down fall Konbaung Dynasty. All of events and comments were quite true but it is necessary to examine carefully past events. There were many controversial facts about third Anglo-Myanmar war. This paper has pointed out the Kings Mindon's false political strategic due to the lack of awareness on external threat with the giving the best example of Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion.

Key Words : King Mindon, Crown prince Kanaung, Prince Myingyun, Rebellion, Anglo–Myanmar Relation