

# THE MUSLIM WORLD

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY  
OF ISLAM AND OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM  
RELATIONSHIP IN PAST AND PRESENT

EDITORS

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Compliments & Best Wishes, in Islam -

Rashid A. Farhan

HISTORY OF PANGLONG, 1875-1900:  
A "PANTHAY" (CHINESE MUSLIM) SETTLEMENT  
IN THE BURMESE WA STATES

Between the years 1862 and 1874, during the reign of the T'ung-chih Emperor Mu-tsung, and against all apparent odds, the Ch'ing Dynasty was saved from imminent collapse by the successful suppression of internal rebellion in what has since come to be known as "The T'ung-chih Restoration." During these turbulent years the T'ai-p'ing and Yunnan Muslim Rebellions—which had affected wide swathes of southern China—were effectively brought to an end, leading to the reestablishment of Ch'ing authority in Kwangsi and Yunnan, and to the precipitate flight of rebel troops and their supporters from Chinese soil to the neighboring frontier regions of Vietnam, Laos, and Burma. In Tonkin these events led to the emergence both of "Yellow Flag" freebooters, and of the better-known "Black Flags," former rebel troops granted imperial recognition who subsequently fought for the Ch'ing and Nguyen authorities against the invading French. In Laos, by contrast, where no threat from European imperialism was immediately apparent and where no centralized authority existed to check their depredations, the former rebel bands remained bandits—operating under red, striped, and yellow banners—, looting and murdering the unfortunate Laotians until their final expulsion by the Siamese and the French in the late 1880s.<sup>1</sup>

However, in Burma—the most westerly of the crescent of Southeast Asian states to be affected, by the suppression of rebellion within China and the subsequent egress of refugees and rebel bands—a different situation prevailed. Thus, during the early 1870s, at the time of the collapse of the Yunnan Muslim Rebellion and the extinguishing of Tu Wen-hsiu's "Kingdom of the Peaceful South" (Ch. *P'ing-nan Kuo*), Upper Burma, under the rule of the Alaungpaya monarch Mindon Min from his capital at Mandalay, remained an independent kingdom, as yet unabsorbed by the British, which retained sufficient original power to discourage direct attack by Chinese freebooters and rebel bands.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, while Laos and Tonkin were affected by the overspill of both the T'ai-p'ing and Yunnan Muslim Rebellions, the Burmese frontier was only affected by the latter. The number of refugees was therefore somewhat less, although the Chinese Muslims involved were already thoroughly familiar with

<sup>1</sup> H. McAleavy, *Black Flags in Vietnam: the story of a Chinese intervention* (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1968); see also the present author's "Red, Black, Yellow and Striped Banners," paper read to the present (10th IAHA) Conference, Singapore, October 1986.

<sup>2</sup> Defeated Yunnanese Muslim troops and bands of freebooters of indeterminate origin did, however, trouble the northern and eastern Shan States; for example, Li Kuo-lun, the rebel Muslim governor (Ch. *Ta-ssu-k'ung*) of T'eng-ch'ung (Momi), who fled to the Shan States with many of his followers; here he joined forces with a local rebel, Sang Hai, and "the result was the absolute ruin of the great state of Hsen-wi." J.G. Scott and J.P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon: Government Printers, 1900), Part I, Vol. I, 611.

the region through centuries of involvement in the Yunnan-Burma caravan trade.<sup>3</sup> In the face of Ch'ing reconquest, these Chinese Muslims (Ch. *Hui-hui* or *Hui-min*, but known to the Shans as *Pang-hse* and to the Burmese as *Pàn-thèi*; generally rendered "Panthay" in English) did not flee westwards to trouble the Burman-populated lowlands, but withdrew with their arms and pack-animals to the Burmese Shan States and to the wild and largely unadministered hill tracts along the present Sino-Burmese border. Here some became involved in banditry and freebooting, prompting King Mindon to proscribe their activities in 1873-1874; most, however, seem to have settled peacefully just beyond the frontiers of Imperial China and to have resumed their traditional calling as the preeminent long-distance traders and muleteers of the Sino-southeast Asian borderlands. The most important of these settlements, which by the time of the Sino-British Boundary Commission of 1899-1900 had emerged as the Panthay "capital" of trans-Salween Burma, was the Wa States settlement of Panglong.

#### *The Foundation of Panglong*

The establishment of the original Panthay settlement at Panglong, on the east bank of the Salween River in 23° 15'N., 98° 42'E. (Map 2, No. 1; henceforth 2/1) dates, according to both Wa and Panthay tradition, from 1875, two years after the fall of Ta-li, the capital of the Yunnan Muslim Kingdom, and after the death of Tu Wen-hsiu, the rebel leader and "Sultan."<sup>5</sup> The Panthay founders of Panglong were followers of Tu Wen-hsiu who, according to information subsequently recorded by the 1891 Daly Expedition to the Northern Shan States, had made their final stand against the Ch'ing at Tawnio, north of the Salween-Nam Ting confluence (2/13).<sup>6</sup> According to G.E. Harvey, Superintendent of the Shan States in the late 1920s and a noted authority on the Wa region, the original home of these "Panglong folk," was Ho-wei, a settlement in 99° 16'E., 24° 33'N., some three kilometers south of Yao-kuan in western Yunnan and some 155 kms. north northeast of Panglong as the crow flies; at the time of Harvey's report (1927) "a tiny hamlet surrounded by gravestones, literally in their thousands, of the Panthays who fell in the rebellion of 1855-73."<sup>7</sup> After their defeat at Tawnio, these scattered remnants of Tu Wen-hsiu's once powerful forces fled southwards across the Nam Ting to the Wa States, where they "gratefully accepted" the hospitality of the Wa *sawbwa* (Ch. *wang*) of Sumu (Ch.

<sup>3</sup> A.D.W. Forbes, "The 'Cin-Hq' (Yunnanese Chinese) Caravan Trade with North Thailand during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History*, December 1986 (in press); see also his "The Panthay (Yunnanese Chinese) Muslims of Burma," paper read to the International Conference on Middle Eastern Studies (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), July 6, 1986.

<sup>4</sup> J. Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1876), pp. 343-45.

<sup>5</sup> G.E. Barton, *Barton's 1929 Wa Diary* (Rangoon: G.B.P.C.O., 1933), p. 79; G.E. Harvey, *1932 Wa Precis* (Rangoon: Government Printers, 1933), p. 5; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740.

<sup>6</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 5 (citing Sir Hugh Daly, April 1891).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99 (citing "mainly" Oberlander, September 1927).

community was consistently to improve, so that in the mid-1920s, during the Wa-Panthay War of 1926-1927, the Chinese Muslim inhabitants of Panglong would be able to boast with some accuracy that:

Neither the Chinese Government nor the British means anything to us. It's we who rule here.<sup>14</sup>

*Topography, Administration, and Population of Panglong*

- Because of the isolated geographical location of the Wa States in an area fully administered neither by the Chinese nor by the British, information regarding Panthay settlement in the region is scarce, and the historian of Panglong must rely primarily on intermittent notices in British administrative reports on the Northern Shan States, as well as on occasional scattered references in the accounts of contemporary travellers, or in Chinese studies of the disputed frontier tracts.<sup>15</sup>

In this context, mention has already been made of the 1891 expedition of Sir Hugh Daly, Superintendent, Northern Shan States, to the fringes of the Wa region. This expedition brought back the earliest official British accounts both of the Wa, and of the "powerful Panthay colony at Panglong," though the latter had already been established for some fifteen years at the time of Daly's visit. From this and subsequent reports, however, it is clear that between 1875 and about 1890 the Panthays had succeeded in establishing themselves as a significant and increasingly dominant economic and military force in the Wa States, and that their primary concern beyond the immediate security of their main settlement at Panglong lay—as ever with the Panthays—in trade. Accordingly, Daly reported their sympathy towards the British (whom they recognized as an essentially friendly trading power, as well as a potentially important client for their mule services), and their desire to be taken under British rule.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>15</sup> The most important western language sources are Barton's 1929 *Wa Diary* and Harvey's *Wa Precis*, both already cited, as well as the encyclopaedic *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*. In Chinese, see particularly Li Sheng-chuang, *Yun-nan ti-yi chih-pien chü-yü nei chih jen-chung t'iao-ch'a* (Kunming: Yunan-nan pien-ti wen-t'i yen-chiu, 1933); Hau Ch'i-yün, "Chung-k'an Tien Mien nan-tuan-chieh-wu ti jen-shih," *Tung-fang Tsa-chih* (Eastern Miscellany, Shanghai), 11 (June 1, 1935).

<sup>16</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 5. The British consistently employed the services of Panthay muleteers, frequently from Panglong, in their occupation and exploration of the Shan (and Kachin) regions. See, for example, the accounts of the 1891 Daly Expedition (*Wa Precis*, p. 5); the Kengtung-Kengcheng Mission of 1893-1894 (H.B. Walker, *Report on the Keng Tung Keng Cheng Mission for 1893-94* [Calcutta: Government Printers, 1895], p. 53); the Mong Hsing Expedition of 1894 (E.W. Carrick, *Report on the Mong Hsing Trip 1894* [appended to Walker, *Report*, p. 91]); also G.C. Rigby, *Report on a Tour through the Northern Shan States, Season 1894-95* (Rangoon: Government Printers, 1895), p. 1; Scott (1899) cited in Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 66; Draye (1903) cited in Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 69; G.H.H. Couchman, *Report on the Kachin Hills North-East of Bhamo* (Rangoon: Government Printers, 1892), p. 31.

At the time of the 1891 expedition, Panglong was a village of 300 to 400 houses, "full of rosy-cheeked children," and already the largest settlement of Panthay expatriates in the Yunnan-Burma frontier region. In addition to this predominant Hui Muslim community, there was also a small (and apparently impoverished) group of Han Chinese from Szechwan, Hunan, and Hupei, living in "a dozen houses, ill built and dirty . . . in contrast with the neat Panthay settlement." Of the Panthays themselves, Daly comments that "the ordinary muleteer . . . is indistinguishable from any other Yunnanese . . . and they are now marrying Shan Chinese women," yet he also noted an "aristocracy" among them, the members of which were "quite different, sometimes six feet tall, with aquiline noses and straight eyes, for they came from Bokhara centuries ago."<sup>17</sup> From his report it is clear that Daly admired the Panthays for their military bearing, open manner, and proficiency as traders, and he comments that:

they would migrate at once if ceded to China and we could raise half a regiment of them, for they are fine upstanding men.<sup>18</sup>

Two years later in 1893, the Sumu region was visited by J.G. Scott (alias Shway Yoe, later Sir George Scott "of the Shan Hills"), who seems to have entertained mixed feelings about the Panthays, for he describes them as "traders by accident, brigands by nature," a judgement which, it might well be argued, would be more fairly reversed.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it would also be difficult to justify Scott's judgement in this matter from the point of view of the colonial authorities at Rangoon and Calcutta, for he also reports that "nobody in the Wa country really wants us . . . Wa or Shan. . . . The only people who want us are Panglong, the Panthay colony, who again asked us to become British subjects."<sup>20</sup> Of Panglong itself, Scott noted that the size of the settlement had grown to between three and six hundred houses.<sup>21</sup>

They are built of a kind of trellis or wattle, covered with mud and sometimes white-washed, and have thatch roofs. Each house stands within its own little fenced enclosure with a garden of peach and pear trees. There is a sort of horse-pond in the village, but the water is undrinkable and the supply of good water is unsatisfactory. It is brought down in little runnels from the western hills. Many of the slopes round the village are jungle-covered, but in some places they are cleared for poppy cultivation.

As for strategic location, Scott notes:

All the roads to Panglong pass through two small defiles, one north and the other south of the village. At both north and south entrances there are

<sup>17</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precip*, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Macquoid, *Northern Shan States*, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precip*, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* ("nearly 600 houses"); cf. Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740 ("certainly over three hundred houses").

recently-built gateways constructed of sun-dried bricks, with loop holes and a thatch roof.<sup>22</sup>

These were all but useless for defence, however, as the ground on either side was undefended, and the settlement had "no sort of stockade or parapet." Elsewhere, however, Scott noted that the Panthay "complained of the dangers of having to live among heathen savages," and that they were engaged in building a defensive wall around the settlement at the time of his visit, though he adds (no doubt with some accuracy): "their fears seem imaginary in view of their strength, for if well armed they could subdue the whole Wa country."<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the main Panthay settlement at Panglong, Scott reported the existence of two smaller villages, each with about eighty houses, in the immediate vicinity. The first of these, Pachang, was situated little more than a kilometer to the east of Panglong, and the second, Pangyao, lay about ten kms. due south of the main settlement.<sup>24</sup> In his 1893 report, cited in Harvey's *Ha Precis*, Scott describes these lesser settlements as "Chinese" (that is, Han) villages, and notes that "the Chinese are slaves or at least servants (opium cultivators and muleteers) of the real Panthays"; by contrast, in his (generally authoritative) 1900 *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Scott identifies Pachang and Pangyao quite specifically as "Hui-tsu" (Panthay, Chinese Muslim) villages.<sup>25</sup>

Of the administration of Panglong, Scott notes that at the time of his visit the Kyemmöng or headman was a young boy, authority being vested in an eminent Panthay called Ma Kaw-shin or Kwè-shin (presumably Kuei-shin), who was regent during the former's minority. Ma Kuei-shin was assisted in this by a council of three elders, one of whom, An Ts'ung-kuei, had been governor of one of the eighteen provinces of the rebel Yunnan Muslim kingdom, at which time he had held the title *An Ta-ssu-chü*. The other two, named Ma Yin-hsin and Ma Tsu-tsin respectively, had similarly been officers in the service of Tu Wen-hsiu. In addition to their Chinese designations, these Panthay elders also employed Muslim names: An Ts'ung-kuei was styled Muhammad, and Ma Yin-hsin was Ismā'il; more mysteriously, Ma Tsu-hsin gave his Muslim name as "Shiliao

<sup>22</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740.

<sup>23</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> According to Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740, Pachang lay "about a dozen miles" east of Panglong (a distance which, if accurate, would locate the village well beyond the territorial limits of Panglong, eastwards even of the neighboring statelet of Yungkang [site of the Lufang mines] and within the frontiers of Panglao); the same source places the village of Pangyao a similar distance ("about a dozen miles") south of Panglong, a claim which, if accurate, would locate the settlement well within the frontiers of Panghawn. The *Gazetteer* is, therefore, inaccurate, as can clearly be seen from Barton's large scale (1 inch to 2 miles) "Map of Panglong, Panghawn & Panghung" (Rangoon, 1933). Distances in the present article (text and maps) are based on the latter source.

<sup>25</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 16; cf. Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740. It seems probable that Daly's "Chinese village a few hundred yards away" from Panglong was Pachang (Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 5).

Longti," causing Scott to remark that "it is such slips that excite the derision of the immaculate [Indian Muslim] Sepoy."<sup>26</sup> The identity of the young Kyemmöng mentioned by Scott remains uncertain, but he may well have been the son of Ma Yin-ang, reported by Lieutenant Macquoid (1896) to have ruled Panglong in 1891, but to have since died, so that "Kway Hin [presumably Ma Kuei-shin] reigns in his stead."<sup>27</sup> On the basis of this somewhat scanty information it appears that Panglong was governed by a group of exiled Yunnanese Hui who had held office—and sometimes senior office—in the rebel Muslim Kingdom of Tu Wen-hsiu. The first Kyemmöng that we have notice of was Ma Yin-ang, who died between 1891 and 1893, and who may well have been responsible for the original founding of Panglong in 1875; certainly the recognition of a minor as legal Kyemmöng of Panglong in 1893 suggests that the latter's predecessor was a figure of some importance, as does the apparent acceptance of an hereditary "sawbwa-ship" by the Panglong Muslims.

According to Scott, the greater part of this dominant Muslim population was composed of settlers from Ta-li, Meng-hua (the birthplace of Tu Wen-hsiu), Yung-ch'ang [Pao-shan], Shun-ning [Feng-ch'ing] and Yün-chou [Yün-hsien].<sup>28</sup> They were "all merchants, mule owners and men of substance" who employed "numbers of hired men as mule-drivers and to do the drudgery generally." Never a great partisan of the Panthays, Scott noted that at the time of his 1893 visit they were "in a minority, above manual labour, wealthy, feared and disliked"; subsequently, however, he was to opine (in 1900, using the colonial idiom of the time) that the Panthays were "still a much finer race than the ordinary [Han] Chinese, and history shows that they are not deficient in warlike qualities."<sup>29</sup> In addition to this ruling group, the inhabitants of Panglong included increasing numbers of Shan-Chinese and Yunnanese (both Han and, probably, poorer Hui, unrelated to the original founders of the settlement).<sup>30</sup> The numerical dominance of the Panthays was, apparently, in decline: both because restrictions on Hui settlement in Yunnan imposed after the collapse of the Muslim rebellion had been lifted, resulting in some re-migration of Burmese "Panthays" to China,<sup>31</sup> and because intermarriage between Panthays and Han Chinese or Shans was becoming increasingly common. Further afield, Kachin and Wa tribespeople continued to live, as before, in isolated and fortified hill-top villages.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 16; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 1, I, 610; 2, II, 741.

<sup>27</sup> Macquoid, *Northern Shan States*, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 741. This source makes no mention of Ho-wei (cf. Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 99, also fn. 7 above) as "the original home" of the Panglong settlers, but the hamlet of Ho-wei is, in any case, in the Yün-ch'ang/Shung-ning region.

<sup>29</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 16; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 1, I, 607. Scott was, of course, interested in evaluating the Panthays as potential military recruits to the armies of the Raj (cf. the Baluch, the Gurkas, etc.); for a more sophisticated but essentially similar contemporary example of this way of thinking, see J.L. Schrock et al., *Minority Groups in Thailand* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), where each ethnic group is separately evaluated by "Paramilitary Capabilities."

<sup>30</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 740.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 741.

<sup>32</sup> Harvey, "Wa People of the China-Burma Frontier," p. 127.

*Islam in Panglong*

As might be expected, little information is available regarding Islam as practiced among the Muslim inhabitants of Panglong; to the British, its Panthay inhabitants were primarily of interest as traders, muleteers, and the de facto upholders of law and order in the unadministered Wa States,<sup>33</sup> while to the Chinese they were simply the exiled practitioners of a heterodox alien creed who had but recently been involved in a major rebellion against Ch'ing authority in neighboring Yunnan. In fact it is clear that the Panthays of Panglong, like their fellow Hui in Yunnan and elsewhere in Burma, Siam, and Laos, were uniformly Sunni Muslims of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.<sup>34</sup> Attention had already been drawn to their custom of employing Muslim as well as Chinese names<sup>35</sup> and though their poor knowledge of Arabic and somewhat untutored practice of Islamic observances may have excited 'the utmost disdain' of Scott's Indian Muslim sepoys, it must be remembered that to a considerable extent (whether or not justifiably) Islamic orthodoxy has long been perceived to diminish as distance from Mecca increases. Thus, the same Indian Muslim sepoys would probably have been considered heterodox in Ḥanbalī circles of the Ḥijāz, while the Panthays of Panglong would certainly have looked askance at the Islamic observances of the Cambodian Chams.<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps the most extreme charges of religious heterodoxy among the Panthays were leveled by Colborne Baber, who reported after travelling in the Ta-li/T'eng-yüeh [T'eng-ch'ung] region in 1878 that the Yunnanese Hui did not practice circumcision, observe the sabbath or employ Muslim names, could not identify the *qibla* (direction of prayer) or understand Arabic, and were only Muslims in so far as they abstained from eating pork.<sup>37</sup> Baber was far too sweeping in these charges, however, and indeed only the last (poor comprehension of Arabic) is generally correct—as, of course, is the case in many Islamic communities of the non-Arabic-speaking world, now as then. Certainly many Hui '*ulamā*' in Yunnan (Ch. *A-hung*) were versed in Arabic, and—as we shall see with Panglong—the Panthay communities living in Burma were conscious of their deficiencies in this area, and were anxious to correct them.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, we see that at the time of Scott's 1893 visit, the Panthays of Panglong

<sup>33</sup> Barton, *Wa Diary*, p. 105 (Young's Deposition).

<sup>34</sup> A.D.W. Forbes, "The Muslim National Minorities of China," *Religion*, VI (1976), 75-77; Dawood C.M. Ting, "Islamic Culture in China," in Kenneth William Morgan, ed., *Islam: The Straight Path; Islam interpreted by Muslims* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1958), pp. 344-74.

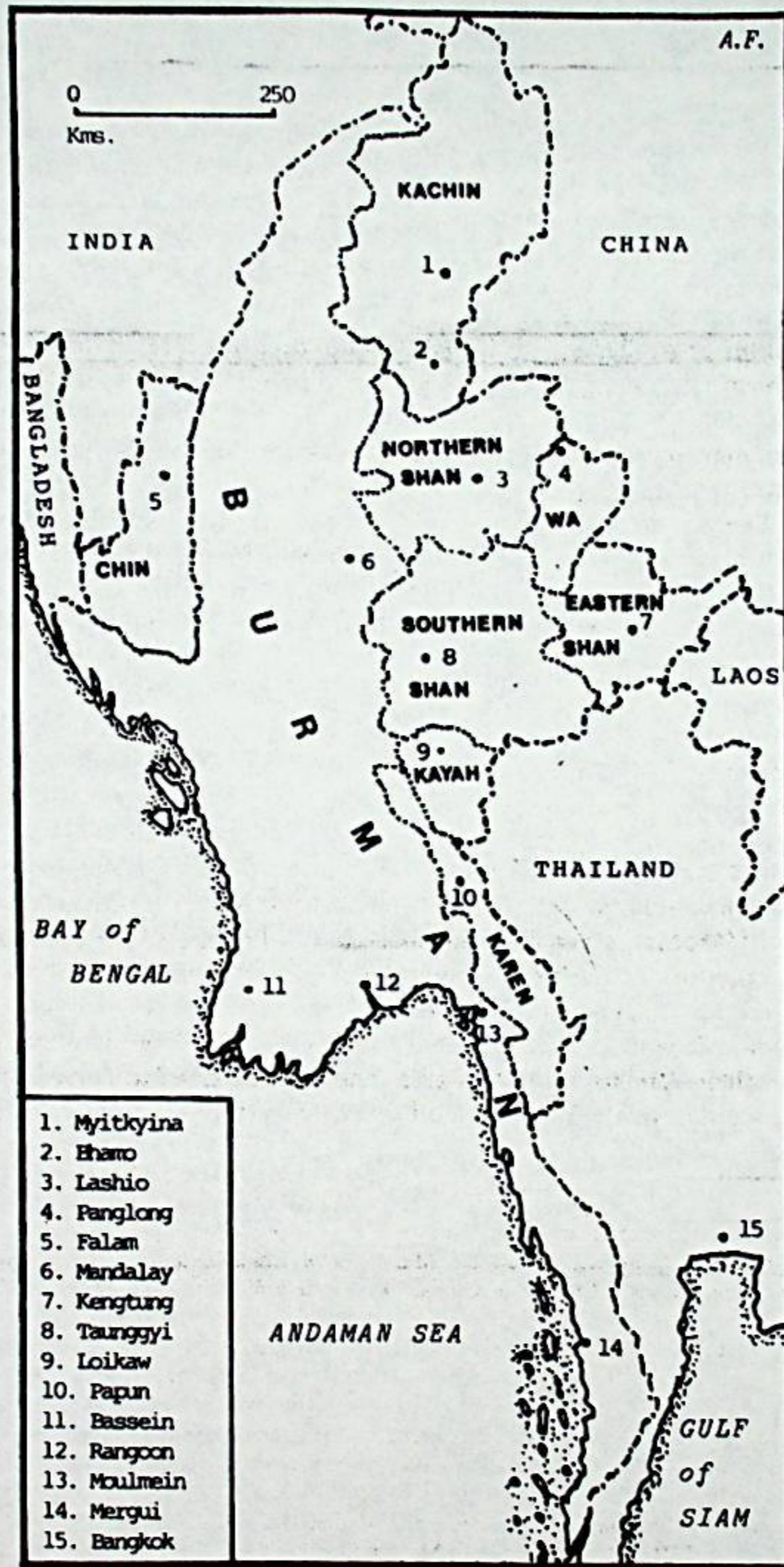
<sup>35</sup> In this context, see also *An Englishman's Siamese Journals, 1890-93* (Bangkok: Siam Media International, n.d.), pp. 68-69, which indicates clearly ordinary Yunnanese Muslim muleteers travelling in Burma and Siam, as well as Panglong elders, employed Islamic names.

<sup>36</sup> A. Cabaton, "Les Chams musulmans de l'Indochine française," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, II (1907), 129-80.

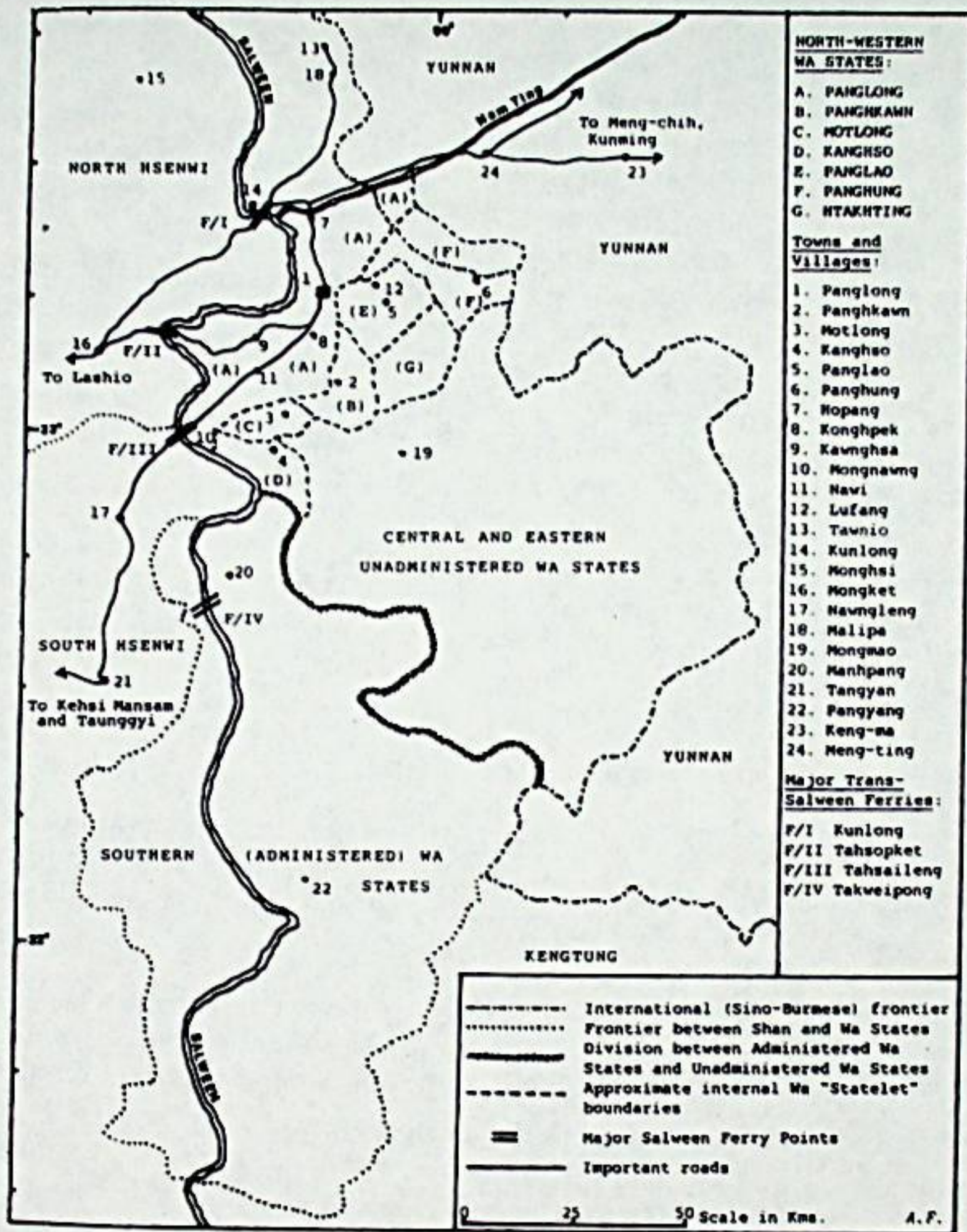
<sup>37</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, I, I, 610.

<sup>38</sup> A.C. Hanna, "The Panthays of Yunnan," *The Muslim World*, XXI (1931), 72-73. Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 741, note that their Muslim identity, while perhaps "more of a tradition





Map 1: Minority States and Divisions



Map 2: The Wa States, ca. 1930

included "not a few" ḥajjīs, while their trade caravans were frequently distinguished by Islamic "house-flags" or pennants bearing Qur'anic texts. The leaders of the community, at the very least, had Muslim as well as Chinese names, and some of the wealthier or more learned citizens were able to introduce Arabic phrases into their conversation.<sup>39</sup> More importantly, the community boasted its own mosque—clearly, as befits a community of more than forty adult male Muslims, a *jamā'a masjid* (Friday "congregational" mosque)—and *madrasa*, the administration of which they had entrusted to an Indian mawlawi from Lucknow, Faqīr Sayyid Muḥammad, who was engaged in 1892 as the senior A-hung and to instruct the community in Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani.<sup>40</sup> Scott further notes in his 1893 report that "many of the Panthays went to Mecca this year," while in the 1900 *Gazetteer* he records that, "since the British occupation several parties [from Panglong] have made the pilgrimage to kiss the black stone of the Kaaba."<sup>41</sup>

Such acts of religious observance as the hiring of an Indian Muslim mawlawi and the regular performance of a (difficult and expensive) ḥajj between the remote Sino-Burmese frontier region and Mecca, indicate clearly that the Panglong religious establishment, at the very least, was both sensible of Islamic proprieties and anxious that the community should acquire a more orthodox knowledge of fiqh.

#### *Panglong at the Turn of the Century*

Following Scott's visit of 1893, the last detailed description of Panglong in the late nineteenth century may be found in Macquoid's 1896 report. At this time Ma Kuei-shin was still Kyemmöng, and Macquoid was invited to visit his home. He records:

I went there and was received at the entrance by Kway Hin himself, who with great ceremony led me into an oblong-shaped room of fair size, in which I was given a seat at the end, behind a table covered with a Brussels carpet of gaudy colours. The other local dignitaries, who had been in the courtyard, then filed into the room and, after I seated myself, took their places on benches which lined each side of the hall; there was barely room for all . . . . Attendants now brought in trays of sweetmeats, which were piled on the table in front of me, and tea . . . was served.

than an actuality" among the ordinary Panglong Panthays, was nevertheless "a great source of pride."

<sup>39</sup> Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 1, 1, 610; 2, II, 741.

<sup>40</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precipis*, p. 16; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 741. This Indian *mawlawi*, who according to Scott "had a poor opinion of his flock, but that is not uncommon with ministers of religion," met Major H.R. Davies at Keng-ma (2/23) in Yunnan during 1894 (*Yunnan: The Link Between India and the Yangtze* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909], p. 106) and informed the latter that he had a great many pupils at Panglong, and that most of the rising generation would know Hindustani.

<sup>41</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precipis*, p. 16; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 1, 1, 610; 2, II, 741.

After a discussion about the proposed Mandalay-Kunlong Railway and its potential impact on Panglong, Macquoid was given two goats and four baskets of rice to add to the provisions of his escort. The British Intelligence Officer had no appropriate reciprocal gifts, and was clearly embarrassed at having to present the Kyemmöng with a small, three rupee musical box from the Mandalay bazaar which played "The Dandy-Coloured Coon!"<sup>42</sup>

Macquoid noted that the settlement was full of healthy children—the average Panthay household being perhaps twice as long as Shan households in the same area—whose constant curiosity became more irritating as the visit progressed. He inspected the mosque, a large, wooden building with a well-attended madrasa close by, but records that the Indian mawlawi, Faqīr Muḥammad, had resigned his post and left the village. He estimated the number of houses in Panglong at about 200, and the population at about 2,000. There were about 1,000 mules in the village for use in the all-important caravan trade, but Macquoid was assured that a further 2,000 might be collected if necessary in the vicinity. Like Scott, Macquoid was struck by the poor water supply to the settlement, though the Panthay augmented their ponds by means of a system of bamboo pipes leading down from the surrounding hills (a system also widely employed by the Was). Agriculture was clearly of secondary importance, with the Panthays (or their hired hands) growing a limited amount of paddy, but importing most of their needs. Rather, the cultivated areas in the hills around Panglong were devoted to poppy cultivation, and opium was the settlement's chief production.<sup>43</sup>

The wealth of the Panthays was clearly based on this latter commodity, and on their dominance of trade routes throughout the region. According to Daly, "whenever anywhere near the really wild Wa" the Muslim caravaners travelled in large, well-armed parties. This is echoed by Macquoid, who was clearly surprised by the extent to which the Panthays were armed, and who counted fourteen rifles (including a Martini-Henry) in the house of Ma Kuei-shin alone, with no house being without at least one rifle. Once again, the Kyemmöng expressed his wish that the settlement should come under British protection, citing as his reason fear of attack by the surrounding Wa. When this conversation had been forgotten, however, he answered Macquoid's enquiries about the poor defences of the settlement (the watch towers noted by Scott in 1893 being still incomplete), by explaining that the Panthays "lived in peace and feared an attack from no-one."<sup>44</sup>

In fact, it is clear that Ma Kuei-shin's confidence of Panglong's self-sufficiency in defence was well-founded, and Macquoid concludes that "the Panthays are well-armed and quite capable of taking care of themselves, provided all able-bodied men are not absent with their caravans, in any purely local trouble."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Macquoid, *Northern Shan States*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26; Harvey, *Wa Precip*, p. 5; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer*, 2, II, 741, note some dry rice cultivation, and manufacture of "some Chinese shoes and skull caps."

<sup>44</sup> Macquoid, *Northern Shan States*, p. 27.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. Harvey, *Wa Precip*, p. 66.

Indeed, Panglong was already quite the wealthiest and most powerful community in the Wa region, and by the time of the 1899-1900 Sino-British Boundary Commission its elders were as much concerned with acquiring a hospital and an English school (for which they offered to pay) as with obtaining British police protection.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, at the turn of the century Panglong remained officially subject to Pangkawn, the Wa rulers of which continued to receive a regular tribute of 100 rupees (payable annually at Hpa Laeng).<sup>47</sup> The arrival of the British was a catalyst which was to change this status quo, however, with the Wa reacting angrily against these officious newcomers and their Panthay "allies," and the latter taking advantage of Wa hostility to cast off the overlordship of Pangkawn, increasingly asserting themselves as the de facto rulers of the region, characterized by Scott in 1900 as "the wealthiest community on the border, indeed wealthier than any community anywhere in the Shan States."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup> Macquoid, *Northern Shan States*, p. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Harvey, *Wa Precis*, p. 66.