

The Emergence of Early Municipalities in Myanmar

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Abstract

In Myanmar, it is time to accelerate the local administration with democratization. The aim of this research is to give special insight into the local self government of focusing on municipal administration. This paper is an attempt to compare the early municipal governance of Lower Myanmar with that of Upper Myanmar. It also attempts to account for the early municipalities of Lower and Upper Myanmar. Moreover, this paper also traces the municipal laws of Myanmar which had been imposed by the British in the early colonial period. Quantitative method is used in this research and it is presented as a comparative study. Data are collected from Universities' Central Library, Mandalay University Library, Mandalay University of Foreign Languages Library, Public Relations and Information Department of M.C.D.C. and private book collectors. It was found that the municipalities of Lower Myanmar performed more municipal works for the community than those of Upper Myanmar because of the comprehensive municipal laws. After all, this paper will contribute to strengthening the municipal governance in Myanmar. It is suggested that further researches are still in need to cover the complete municipal governance of Myanmar.

Keywords: local administration, municipality, municipal law

Introduction

The municipal administration emerged in Myanmar since the time when the British colonized her. After the first Anglo-Myanmar War, the British seized Rakhine (Arakan) and Tanintharyi (Tenasserim) provinces. Thus, the British administration started in Myanmar. After the annexation of Rakhine and Tanintharyi provinces, the British levied night watch tax as the first municipal tax in Dawei (Tavoy) and Mawlamyaing (Maulmain). Some municipal work had been carried out in Mawlamyaing for the development of the town by imposing taxes since 1846.

After the British had seized Bago (Pegu) province, Rakhine, Tanintharyi and Bago provinces were merged into one as the province of British Burma in 1862. On 9 May 1865, general rules regarding the application of municipal funds in the province of British Burma were adopted. According to these rules, some municipal taxes were collected in certain towns of Bago division, Myeik (Mergui) and Dawei. The number of such towns which had been started collecting municipal tax were 45 at that time. Among these towns the population of eight towns was more than 10,000 and population of eleven towns was over 5, 000 and less than 10,000. Another ten towns had population of more than 3,000 and less than 5,000. As for 16 towns they had more than 1,000 and less than 3,000. Therefore, in Myanmar, before Municipal Committees were organized, taxes for municipal work were collected in some towns and the development works were carried out. In 1871, the Chief Commissioner of Myanmar reported the municipal bill to the legislative Council of India in order to be able to organize Municipal Committees in accordance with the law and it was approved as Act VII of 1874 by this council.

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Aim

The aim of the research are to describe fundamental facts of early municipal administration and to express the municipal committees which were constituted in the cities of our country.

Research Questions

1. Why was the number of municipal towns in Lower Myanmar more than that of in Upper Myanmar.
2. How did the British solve the contrast of two municipal laws in Myanmar.

Literature Review

Municipal administration is a part of local administration. There are some books concerned with the local administration namely "*De-than-da-ya Okchokeye*" (Local Self-Government) of Myo Sin, "*Myanmar Okchokeye Thamaing*" (History of Myanmar Administration) of Theikpan Soe Yin and "*Myanmarnaingngan Okchokeye Sanit a myo myo*" (A Variety of the Administration system of Myanmar) of Hnin Kay Tha Yar which give partly description on the matters of Myanmar Municipal Administration. Similarly, the books such as "Colonial Policy and Practices" by J.S. Furnivall and "The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma (Myanmar)" by Hugh Tinker have been described a number of interesting points with regard to the establishment of municipalities and its process. Moreover, some facts and figures are given by the Gazetteer of Burma and the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. On the basis of these above-mentioned books, this paper attempts to reveal the early municipal administration of Myanmar.

Materials and Methods

This research is based on the Quantitative method using the comparative study. Necessary data are collected from Universities' Central Library, Mandalay University Library, Mandalay University of Foreign Languages Library, Public Relation and Information Department of Mandalay City Development Committee and private book collectors.

Findings and Discussions

The municipal governance was a kind of local administration. The local administration bodies were not only Municipalities, but also Town Committees, District Councils, District Cess Funds and so on.⁶ That is, in some cases, though one law covered the whole country in other, only one law did not suffice. So, the system of administration was divided into central administration as well as urban and rural administration.

The local administration can be divided into urban administration and rural administration. In urban administration, there were two kinds of administrative system: Municipal Committee and Town Committee. Municipal Committee was responsible for carrying out tasks for development of town and a Town Committee was formed for a region that was not as developed as a city but it was larger than a large village.⁷ In Myanmar, the standard of a certain town was not identified for urban administration. For instance, Myitkyina, Tharyawady and Mawlaik were the towns where the office of the Deputy Commissioner existed, only Town Committee could be organized. The towns like Thongwa, Shwedaung and Kyangin where had existed the office of the Assistant Commissioner or Township Officer had Municipal Committees.⁸ In fact, in towns where full municipal functions could be

⁶ U Myo Sin, *Dae-than-da-ra-Ok-choke-yay* (Local Self-Government of Myanmar), Yangon, Gaung Hsaung Press, 1953, p.11 (Henceforth: Myo Sin, 1953)

⁷ Myo Sin, 1953, 26

⁸ Myo Sin, 1953, 24

implemented by taxation, Municipal Committees were established. It could be understood that to establish Municipal Committee or Town committee, the prosperity of the town was more important than the standard of town and population.

The units of local-government for urban development were municipalities. The British Burma (Myanmar) Municipal Act of 1874 (No.VII of 1874), enacted by the government of India for Myanmar was approved on 24 March 1874.⁹ Under the provisions of this act, the seven Municipal Committees were appointed in Yangon (Rangoon) on 31 July 1874, Mawlamyaing on 31 July 1874, Taungoo on 31 July 1874, Patheingyi (Bassein) on 30 September 1874, Sittway (Akyab) on 1 October 1874, Hinthada (Henzada) on 5 November 1874 and Pyaw (Prome) on 12 November 1874.¹⁰ The following table showed the receipts including the opening balances, loans and grants and the expenditure of each municipality during the year 1874-1878.

⁹ Report on the Administration of British Burma during the year 1875-76, Rangoon Government Printing, 1876, p-43 (Henceforth: R.A.B.B, 1876)

¹⁰ Gazetteer of Burma, Vol.I, Delhi, India, Gian Publishing House, Reprint 1987, p.494 (Henceforth: Gazetteer of Burma, 1987)

Table (1)*

| Year | Yangon | | Patheingyi | | Hinthada | | Pyaw | | Mawlamyaing | | Taungtha | | Sittway | |
|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. | Receipts. | Expenditure. |
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 1874-75a | 440,920b | 404,960 | 54,460 | 47,630 | 32,200 | 15,110 | 72,790c | 90,100 | 98,350 | 71,710 | 53,470 | 48,380 | 42,420d | 21,890 |
| 1875-76 | 899,940e | 800,150f | 97,780 | 79,460 | 37,900 | 24,360 | 109,140 | 85,100g | 105,160 | 94,940 | 58,220 | 56,250 | 44,480 | 46,260 |
| 1876-77 | 527,350 | 655,920i | 81,210 | 92,040 | 45,650 | 42,970k | 79,830 | 86,120l | 113,670 | 134,900 | 58,980 | 60,140 | 90,660 | 35,700 |
| 1877-78 | 735,830 | 89,250 | 102,550 | 85,720 | 78,830 | 40,980 | 126,870 | 79,840 | 114,260 | 107,340 | 59,470 | 59,440 | 104,130 | 82,950 |
| 1878-79 | 690,530 | 568,690 | 115,810 | 90,670 | 91,990 | 27,710h | 146,530 | 125,200 | 121,260 | 111,370 | 54,270 | 47,950 | 102,630 | 86,700 |

a. Including opening balance of Rs. 7,440, Rs. 10,740, Rs. 8,690, Rs. 5,340, Rs. 14,770, Rs. 9,770 and Rs. 3,790 respectively, and loans and grants.

b. Including a loan of Rs. 11,100. c. Including a loan of Rs. 7,260. d. Including a loan of Rs. 12,460. e. Including a loan of Rs. 27,000. f. Includes repayment of loan, Rs. 170,000. g. Includes repayment of loan, Rs. 36,760. h. Includes repayment of loan, Rs. 12,000. i. Includes payment of debt Rs. 30,000. k. Includes payment of debt, Rs. 15,000. l. Includes payment of debt, Rs. 20,000. The Hinthada municipality which had a closing balance of Rs. 63,980 is saving its money for a complete scheme of conservancy.

* Gazetteer of Burma, 1987, 495

In these municipalities, the municipal commissioners were appointed by the Chief Commissioner and at least two fifths of their number must be persons other than salaried officers of Government. The president is appointed by the Chief Commissioner, the **Secretary is elected by the committee.**¹¹ The meetings are monthly and may be general or special, the quorum for transaction of business is the one- half of the members. The framing of bye-laws and rules of business or the imposition, abolition or alternation of taxation can only take place at a special meeting.¹² The Burma Municipal Act of 1874 was drafted by the Chief Commissioner of Myanmar and approved by the Legislative Council of India. It was comprised with six chapters.¹³ It did not contain term of office for municipal committee. Relating with municipal revenue, water-rate and lighting-rate are allowed to levy without anything else. The authority for these rates is only granted if the committee wants to levy. No descriptions of welfares to conduct by municipalities are lack. Only 44 sections have been included in the Municipal Act of 1874. The Act is not a comprehensive one. It is projected that actions for municipal functions conducted by municipalities organizing from this Act could not be broad.

In the orders of September and October 1881, the Government of India decided that efforts should be made to extend the local self-government and that real and wider discretion should be left to the local bodies.¹⁴ Eight years after municipal administration had started in Myanmar, the elective system was introduced to organize the Municipal Committee.¹⁵ The elective system was first introduced into the Yangon Municipality and then extended to the others.¹⁶

By the year 1884, population of the towns had increased and accordingly municipal works needed to be extended so that the Burma Municipal Act, 1874 was annulled and superseded by The Burma Municipal Act, 1884 (No.XVII of 1884).¹⁷ The new municipal act came into force at the beginning of 1885 and 10 towns were constituted municipalities.¹⁸ By 1885-86 municipal towns in Lower Myanmar numbered 12 in all. The five towns to the original seven were Bago, Paungde, Nyaungdon (Yandoon), Kyaukpyu and Thandwe (Sandoway). The status and working capability of a municipality can be gauged from the revenue it could collect from time to time.¹⁹ The following table shows the financial status of these 12 municipalities during the year 1884-1886.²⁰

¹¹ Gazetteer of Burma, 1987, 495

¹² Gazetteer of Burma, 1987, 494

¹³ The British Burma Gazette, Part II, 18.4.1874, Rangoon, Published by Authority, 1874, p.140 (Henceforth: B.B.G., 1874)

¹⁴ Ma Mya Sein, Administration of Burma, Zabu Meitswe Pitaka Press, Rangoon, 1939, p.96 (Henceforth: Mya Sein, 1939)

¹⁵ D.G.E.Hall, Burma, Hutchison House, London, Second Impression, 1950, p.148 (Henceforth: Hall, 1950)

¹⁶ Mya Sein, 1939, 96

¹⁷ The British Burma Gazette, Part III, 25.10.1884, Rangoon, Published by Authority, 1884, p.210 (Henceforth: B.B.G., 1884)

¹⁸ Mya Sein, 1939, 103

¹⁹ U Hla Thein, "The Formation and early Growth of Municipalities in Myanmar", "Selected Writings of U Hla Thein," First Published, Yangon, Myanmar, Universities Press, 2004, p-6 (Henceforth: Hla Thein, 2004)

²⁰ "Report on the Administration of Lower Burma", during the Year 1885-86, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1886, p-18 (Henceforth: R.A.L.B, 1886)

Table (2)*

| Town | Opening | Balance | Income | | Expenditure | | Closing Balance | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| | 1884-85 | 1885-86 | 1884-85 | 1885-86 | 1884-85 | 1885-86 | 1884-85 | 1885-86 |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £ | £** |
| Yangon | 21,782 | 23,377 | 129,438 | 134,704 | 127,843 | 140,171 | 23,377 | 17,910 |
| Mawlamyaing | 894 | 356 | 12,628 | 12,756 | 13,166 | 12,807 | 356 | 305 |
| Sittway | 2,927 | 265 | 10,866 | 11,420 | 13,528 | 11,554 | 265 | 131 |
| Pyay | 6,119 | 1,350 | 14,416 | 13,020 | 19,185 | 13,665 | 1,350 | 705 |
| Patheingyi | 1,775 | 2,403 | 13,563 | 12,469 | 12,935 | 14,021 | 2,403 | 851 |
| Taungtha | 705 | 504 | 8,593 | 9,658 | 8,794 | 9,183 | 504 | 979 |
| Hinthada | 1,444 | 1,418 | 6,552 | 6,771 | 6,578 | 5,952 | 1,418 | 2,237 |
| Bago | 4,296 | 4,182 | 7,869 | 4,620 | 7,983 | 7,023 | 4,182 | 1,779 |
| Paungde | 1,190 | 911 | 2,339 | 2,117 | 2,618 | 2,352 | 911 | 676 |
| Nyaungdon | 621 | - 57 | 1,951 | 2,189 | 2,629 | 1,907 | -57 | 225 |
| Kyaukpadaung | 1,124 | 1,442 | 2,075 | 1,972 | 1,757 | 2,375 | 1,442 | 1,039 |
| Thandwe | 292 | 185 | 1,650 | 1,620 | 1,757 | 1,638 | 185 | 167 |
| Total | 43,169 | 36,336 | 211,940 | 213,316 | 218,773 | 222,648 | 36,336 | 27,004 |

* R.A.L.B, 1886, p-18

** One British pound sterling has been converted into rupee at the rate of ten rupees to one pound sterling.

Summary of the Administration Report for Lower Burma, 1885-86, p.3

From her revenue which come mostly from taxes on houses and lands, vehicles etc., a municipality contributes toward the provision of public health, education, markets, roads, lighting, water, etc. The following table shows municipal expenditure during the years 1884-1886.²¹

Table (3)*

| Head of expenditure | 1884-85 | | 1885-86 | |
|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| | amount | percentage of total expenditure | amount | percentage of total expenditure |
| General establishment | £ 11,984 | 5.5 | £ 12,016 | 5.4 |
| Public safety (including street lighting, fire engines, etc) | 12,123 | 5.5 | 9,279 | 4.2 |

²¹ R.A.L.B, 1886, 19

| Head of expenditure | 1884-85 | | 1885-86 | |
|--|---------|---------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| | amount | percentage of total expenditure | amount | percentage of total expenditure |
| Public health (including conservancy, water supply, hospital, vaccination, etc) | 72,998 | 33.4 | 72,701 | 32.7 |
| Public instruction | 21,201 | 9.7 | 26,583 | 11.9 |
| Public convenience (including road making) | 53,061 | 24.2 | 52,134 | 23.4 |
| Debt account | 42,850 | 19.6 | 46,766 | 21 |
| Contribution to local or provincial funds | 1,037 | 0.5 | 1,160 | 0.5 |
| Miscellaneous | 3,519 | 1.6 | 2,009 | 0.9 |
| Total | 218,773 | ---- | 222,648 | ... |

* R.A.L.B, 1886, p-19

Municipal Committees formed after 1884 were established in accordance with the Burma Municipal Act, 1884.²² This act was made according to the opinion of the Chief Commissioner who intended to implement all large towns where European are stationed should be constituted municipalities.²³ This act contained nine chapters like the constitution of municipalities, its powers, duties and responsibilities exactly and stringently is more comprehensive than its preceding one. Facts like tenure of Municipal Committees, appointment of President and Vice-President, imposing laws for levying municipal taxes and its comferment to conduct for municipal business are contained. It aimed to be distinctive the position of preceded municipalities. In other words, it is also aimed to implement effectively local administration laid by Government of India.

After annexing Upper Myanmar by the British Upper Myanmar except from Shan States was specified as the Scheduled District according to Chapter (3), Statute Law (33) on 1 March 1886.²⁴ From that specification, Upper Myanmar was degraded as very outdated region, isolated administrative area and underdeveloped region that was not relevant to administer art of laws. Also, specific regulations were imposed for Upper Myanmar since it was the Scheduled District which current laws and regulations could not be applied.²⁵ Those regulations for Upper Myanmar (The Scheduled District) were adjusted and amended from the imposed acts of Lower Myanmar.

²² "Report on the Administration of Lower Burma", during the Year 1883-84, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1884, p-8 (Henceforth: R.A.L.B, 1884)

²³ A.H. Loyd, Burma Gazetteer, Thayetmyo District, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1911, p-59 (Henceforth: Loyd, 1911)

²⁴ Ma Kyan, *Maha-Wun-Shin-daw-min-gyi-Oke-choke-ye* (1886-97) (The Administration of the Chief Commissioner), Yangon, Sarpelawka Press, 2003, p.12 (Henceforth: Kyan, 2003)

²⁵ Kyan, 2003, 26

In order to organize the Municipal Committees, the Upper Burma Municipal Regulation, 1887 (No. V of 1887) was enacted on 1 July 1887.²⁶ This regulation vested the authority, duties and responsibilities of the Municipal Committees, was approved by the Viceroy and Governor General of India. According to that regulation, Mandalay and other 15 cities in Upper Myanmar, Municipal Committees were organized and the municipal administration commenced.²⁷ In 1889-90, there were 17 Municipal Committees in Upper Myanmar. The new committee was Ye-U Municipal Committee, which was organized in February 1890.²⁸ The following statement shows the opening and closing balances and the income and expenditure of the Upper Myanmar Municipal Funds during the year 1890-1892.

Table (4)*

| Town | Opening balance | | Income | | Expenditure | | Closing Balance. | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| | 1890-91 | 1891-93 | 1890-91 | 1891-92 | 1890-91 | 1891-92 | 1890-91 | 1891-92 |
| | Rs. | Rs | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Mandalay | 1,43,376 | 76,050 | 3,69,535 | 3,35,990 | 4,36.852 | 3,69,768 | 76,059 | 42,281 |
| Bamaw | 12,718 | 16,722 | 9,252 | 15,517 | 5,248 | 18,137 | 16,722 | 14,102 |
| Shwebo | 1,074 | 3,232 | 13,470 | 12,777 | | 15,770 | 3,232 | 239 |
| Sagaing | 3,081 | 5,752 | 13,229 | 23,051 | 11,312 | 31,575 | 5,752 | 7,228 |
| Ye-u | 683 | 4,753 | 7,285 | 17,818 | 10.558 | 18,973 | 4,753 | 3,598 |
| Monywa | 4,830 | 7,287 | 9,441 | 14,832 | 3,215 | 15,333 | 7,287 | 6,786 |
| | 2,357 | 5,131 | 17,629 | 14,494 | 6.954 | 14,602 | 5,131 | 5,023 |
| Myingyan | 851 | 7,976 | 9,116 | 3,384 | 6.954 | 9,722 | 7,976 | 1,638 |
| Yesagyoy | 1,683 | 2,134 | 4,774 | | 14,855 | 5,146 | 2,134 | |
| | 5,300 | 5,168 | 20,692 | 3,413 | 14,855 | 35,183 | 5,168 | 401 |
| Bagan | 3,029 | 1,253 | 9,502 | 37,011 | 2,041 | 9,380 | 1,253 | 6,996 |
| Pakokku | 3,859 | 9,332 | 15,507, | 11,452 | 4,323 | 10,386 | 9,332 | 3,325 |
| Minbu | ---- | 2,842 | 8,424 | 15,059 | 4,323 | 18,248 | 5,857 | 3,325 |
| Salin | 2,199 | 7,643 | 11,832 | 5,857 | 20,824 | 17,521 | 7,643 | 14,005 |
| Taungdwingyi | 3,825 | 1,511 | 10,532 | 10,611 | 11,288 | 10,271 | 1,511 | 7,665 |
| Kyaukse | 7,949 | 16,122 | 68,759 | 13,891 | 10,034 | 40,885 | 16,122 | 7,665 |
| Yamethin | 1,437 | ---- | 2,536 | 36,079 | 10,034 | ---- | ---- | 733 |
| Pyinmana | | | | 3,963 | 5,399 | | | 5,131 |
| Myinmu | | | | | 6,388 | | | 11,316 |
| Total | | | | | 12,846 | | | ---- |
| | | | | | 60,586 | | | |
| | | | | | 3,963 | | | |
| Total | 2,01,103 | 1,75,932 | 6,01,515 | 5,95,435 | 6,26,686 | 6,40,900 | 1,75,932 | 1,30,467 |

* Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 522

²⁶ The Burma Gazette, part II, 16.7.1887, Rangoon, Published by Authority, 1887, p.183 (Henceforth: B.G., 1887)

²⁷ J.G Scott and W.P. Hardiman (comp.), Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Vol.I, part ii, Rangoon, The Superintendent Government Printing, 1901, p-521 (Henceforth: Scott and Hardiman, 1901)

²⁸ A. Williamson, Burma Gazetteer, The Shwebo District, Vol.A, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1963, p.222 (Henceforth: Williamson, 1963)

The decrease in income from Rs. 6,01,515 to Rs. 5,95,435 was caused mainly by the fall in the receipts of the Municipalities of Mandalay and Pyinmana.

Receipts are credited to municipalities from the following heads of revenue collected within their limits: rent of fisheries within municipal limits, bazaar rents, slaughter-house fees, fines under the gambling and excise laws. In addition to these assigned funds, Municipalities received taxes levied under the Regulation and fines imposed for the breach of municipal rules. Most of the municipalities imposed taxes which took the form of a house-tax.²⁹ The following statements show the total receipts of Municipalities under the principal heads.

Table (5)*

| Head of receipt. | 1890-91 | 1891-92 |
|--|----------------|----------------|
| | Rs. | Rs. |
| Taxes on houses and lands | 2,24,218 | 1,91,903 |
| Taxes on animals and vehicles | 1,007 | 1,837 |
| Tolls on roads and ferries | 2,203 | 1,815 |
| Conservancy-tax | ---- | ---- |
| Lighting rate | ---- | ---- |
| Water -rate | ---- | ---- |
| Total income from taxation | 2,27,428 | 1,95,555 |
| Fines | 22,939 | 22,220 |
| Miscellaneous | 3,05,488 | 3,33,621 |
| Grants from Provincial and Local-Funds | ---- | 2,682 |
| Debt accounts | 45,660 | 41,357 |
| Total | 6,01,515 | 5,95,435 |

* Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 523

The duties of the Municipal Committees include the provision of funds for the police establishment of the town, the care of roads and drains, the maintenance of works of public utility, the encouragement of education, and generally the promotion of the health and comfort of the inhabitants in the municipality.³⁰ Besides the building of markets, hospitals and dispensaries, the water supply, lighting the streets, conservancy and sanitation had been improved in the municipalities of Upper Myanmar.³¹

As the bulk of the municipal funds was absorbed by the public safety, health and convenience, all of the municipalities closed with a dangerously small balance which in all the financial condition had improved.³²

²⁹ Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 521

³⁰ Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 521

³¹ Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 523

³² Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 522

In February 1891, the Myinmu municipality was abolished,³³ and in May 1892, Yesagyo followed.³⁴ In 1896, Ye-u municipality had been ceased to exist. So, there were 14 municipalities in Upper Myanmar.³⁵ During that period, though the number of Municipal Committees in Upper Myanmar decreased, that of in Lower Myanmar increased. In 1894, Letpadan and Gyobingauk Municipal Committees³⁶ and in 1897, Thonze Municipal Committee were constituted.³⁷ Thus, 28 municipalities were in Lower Myanmar and 14 municipalities in Upper Myanmar. The Municipalities of Lower Myanmar carried out the conduct of business according to the Burma Municipal Act, 1884 while the municipalities of Upper Myanmar executed the duties and responsibilities in accordance with the Upper Burma Municipal Regulation, 1887.

Conclusion

To sum up, in order to implement the municipal administration, the British Burma Municipal Act of 1874 was first enacted. According to this Act, seven towns were fixed as municipal towns and the municipal committees were organized. Then, a new act, The British Burma Municipal Act of 1884, was proclaimed for municipalities. After the British annexation of Upper Myanmar, the Upper Burma Municipal Regulation of 1887 was passed. Accordingly, the municipal administration was commenced in Upper Myanmar. Concerning the municipal laws, the British Burma Municipal Act of 1884 was more comprehensive than the British Burma Municipal Act of 1874, having the constitution, powers, duties and responsibilities. That law aimed at defining the status of the former municipal committees. In other words, it can be said that it aimed at effectively implementing the policy of Local-Government laid down by the Government of India. After, the Upper Myanmar fell under the British, it was out of the question to exercise the Municipal Act of 1884 in Upper Myanmar. Because the Upper Myanmar was specified as the Scheduled District which current laws and regulations could not be applied. Thus, the Upper Burma Municipal Regulation of 1887 was enacted and municipal committees were set up. But as there were only 22 sections in that Regulation, it may not have sufficed for the business of municipality. Moreover, though elected representatives were included in the Municipal Committees in Lower Myanmar, the Upper Burma Municipal Regulation did not contain any reference for municipal election. That Regulation was adjusted and summarized from the Municipal Act of 1884 of Lower Myanmar so as to implement the municipal administration quickly in Upper Myanmar. Accordingly, the Regulation is assumed that it is not sufficient for municipalities to establish the municipal administration. It can be said that as the Municipal Act of 1884 is comprehensive for municipal administration, the number of municipal towns increased in Lower Myanmar. On the whole, Myanmar municipal governance during the late nineteenth century had a little success. In the British drive for municipalization there had been accompanied no suitable and appropriate legislation. The two different municipal laws in Myanmar resulted in the attempt of the British to pass a new more comprehensive municipal act which could exercise throughout the country.

³³ "Report on the Administration of Burma" during the year 1890-91, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1891, p-40 (Henceforth: R.A.B, 1891)

³⁴ F.C.Owens, Burma Gazetteer, The Pakokku District, Vol.A, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1913, p-100 (Henceforth: Owens, 1913)

³⁵ Williamson, 1963, 222

³⁶ B.W. Perkins, Burma Gazetteer, The Tharawaddy District, Vol.A, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationary, 1959, p.121(Henceforth: Perkins, 1959)

³⁷ "Report on the Administration of Burma", during the year 1896-97, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1897, p.26 (Henceforth: R.A.B, 1897)

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