



this last season. Demagiri and its neighbourhood is, however, the central point to occupy in order to make our system of defence on the side of Chittagong complete and consistent. Demagiri itself lies on the river at the point where the storos for the advanced posts have all to be landed. It has proved healthier than any of the positions more within the ordinary district that we have hitherto occupied, but it is not nearly so desirable a site as any post on the summit of the Sirthay range would be. The healthiness of the upper ranges is much insisted on in the papers now forwarded. The Lieutenant-Governor, while placing enough men at Demagiri to protect the store magazines, would make the main post on the ranges above. This post should be in fact the head-quarters of the frontier force, and strong enough for offensive measures, should these at any time be required. The Lieutenant-Governor in this part of the frontier would look less to a preventive line of posts than to our influencing and dominating the tribes, and it is in this view mainly that he advocates the maintenance of a strong post on the Sirthay or one of the Syloo ranges.

6. We have here to deal with the nearer Syloos, Howlongs, and other tribes whom we know. As we move south, however, we come abreast of a country of which we know nothing, and have to guard against raids by tribes with whom we can have no intimate relations, viz., the more distant Howlongs and especially the Shindoos. Here we must trust to a line of patrol and defensive posts. The survey has now made it clear that neither of the two alternative ranges which were hitherto supposed to be open to us to choose from can be adapted for a patrol line in its entire length. The northern part of the Oheepoom runs fairly level and clear, and is fit for patrol, and can be comparatively easily supplied. The northern part of the Saichal is broken and cannot be supplied easily. The southern part of the Oheepoom breaks away into hillocks, and becomes impracticable. The southern part of the Saichal rises into a well-defined ridge, exactly what we want. Accordingly, it is proposed to run the line of patrol from Demagiri down the Oheepoom for a certain distance, then across to the Saichal, and so along the Maranetong, till it meets the Arracan line of posts.

7. The local officers think that two posts on the Oheepoom, one about the centre of the Saichal, and a strong guard near Poleetye to cover Rooma, the head-quarters of the Sungoo Valley Sub-Division, would enable them to keep up regular patrols, and be sufficient for all purposes. The position of these posts will be seen from the enclosed sketch, and can easily be identified on the accompanying map on which they are marked with red crosses.

8. Beyond Poleetye to the south, it was intended that the Arracan Hill Tracts should take up its share of the frontier defence, and complete the chain of posts and patrols by establishing a guard half way up the Kerama and another at the mouth of the Kola. It was believed by our officers, and the Arracan frontier officer who met them, that in this way we should have a fair defence against any raids of Shindoos, the most formidable of the tribes in the south, and the dread of whose ravages has made the Upper Sungoo almost a desolation. The Lieutenant-Governor learns, however, that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma has expressed doubts of any proposal to extend the Arracan Hill Tract posts and patrols to link on with those of Chittagong, and has suggested that the Chittagong Hill Tracts should provide for their own defence by carrying its line of defence westward. This proposal would probably in fact involve two extra posts in the south of the Hill Tracts, one between Poleetye and Singopha, and the other at Singopha itself to close the Sungoo Valley to raids from the south. It would, moreover, be reverting to a system of isolated posts in the broken country westward of the clear ranges, which has hitherto proved so unsatisfactory, and which the local officers unanimously condemn. It seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that in settling a matter of this kind much weight must be given to local opinion and the testimony of officers who have seen the ground, and if the plan of a continuous patrol commends itself to the Governor General in Council as a desirable and feasible plan upon the evidence available, the Lieutenant-Governor would hope that the consideration that Arracan and Chittagong are after all only integral parts of one empire, may override any doubts as to how the duties of defence are to be apportioned. The fact is that our officers in the Chittagong Hills have almost no knowledge of the Shindoos. The Shindoos have raided often enough on our people, but we have never been able to establish any relations with them, and hardly know where their villages lie. What intercourse has taken place between them and British officers has been, His Honour believes, confined entirely to the Arracan side. And it would probably be found by far the best plan to make over entirely to the Arracan Hill Tracts officers the control of our



defensive arrangements against the Shindeos, or even perhaps the whole of the Sungoo Valley. There is ample work for the Chittagong officers in the north. This is, however, a matter for separate consideration.

9. The immediate plan of patrol and defence suggested is, it will be seen, a very simple one, and when once it is settled whether Arracan is to make connections with us or not, there will be no great difficulty in arranging the sites of posts.

10. As regards the strength of the proposed posts, the local officers originally suggested the following :—

	Men.
Head-quarters at Demagiri, from which provision may be made for a post farther to the north	200
A small post on Sirthay, north of Demagiri	50
Oheepoom (No. 1)	50
Oheepoom (No. 2)	50
Saichal (No. 3)	50
Sungoo Valley and Poleetye (No. 4)	150
Total	550 in all.

Including 100 civil police, the total number of police in the Hill Tracts of all ranks is now 650, costing Rs. 24,236 per annum. Allowing 100 for civil duties, 550 would remain available for frontier posts. The Lieutenant-Governor hopes that, properly distributed and stockaded, 550 of armed men and officers ought to be sufficient for all the posts and patrols proposed by the local authorities. Some addition will be required for extra guards to the south, if Arracan declines to do her part in the patrol. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that we should have a detachment of troops as a military support in preference to any great increase of the Hill Police. As already suggested, these might find healthy quarters at Sirthay, and set free the police for patrol and outpost duty, and to accompany the political officers in visit to the neighbouring tribes. To sum up, accepting the posts proposed for the Oheepoom and Saichal, the Lieutenant-Governor would have a strong post of troops or police on the ranges north of Demagiri with a moderate guard at Demagiri to protect the store depôts.

11. The cost of provisioning has been separately reported on by the Commissioner, and is now being considered by the Inspector General of Police. At first this will probably be considerable, possibly amounting to an outside sum of Rs. 40,000 per annum. But it is anticipated that, as soon as the guards are settled, they will be able to arrange for supplies of rice with the Syloos and others, and to grow many things for themselves. The Commissioner anticipates that this item of expense will not be long maintained.

12. The Lieutenant-Governor has treated the question above entirely as one involving the situation of a line of defence and not of jurisdiction or absolute boundary. The two questions are in fact quite distinct. The line proposed does not indeed enclose any tribes not now our subjects, and brings in no complications on that account; but the first post on the Oheepoom is just on the verge of the tract in which Rutton Posa is now located. More particulars have been called for as to this Chief's position. He is himself willing to become "our man", but the question will be hereafter submitted to the Government of India. Meantime, we may exercise what influence we can without settling a definite boundary for purposes of jurisdiction. In these eastern countries rivers are better boundaries than ridges, but ridges are best for patrols. The Lieutenant-Governor would not now settle more than the line of our patrols and the general scope of our political influence, leaving the exact boundaries of ordinary and political jurisdiction to be settled hereafter with reference to circumstances, the position of Rutton Posa, and the circumstances that may eventuate.

13. The Lieutenant-Governor has passed orders in my letter No. 2173, dated 18th June, on most of the subsidiary points in the Commissioner's report of the 9th May. The question of administrative arrangements in the Hill Tracts is reserved for separate discussion. There is one matter, however, that he would press very much on the consideration of the Government of India, and that is the necessity of maintaining telegraphic communication with Demagiri. At present the Telegraph Office has, after repeated requests, been temporarily retained at Rungamtee. But Rungamtee is distant from Sirthay fifty miles of extremely difficult travel, and it takes as long for a letter to reach Sirthay from Rungamtee as it would for it to reach Calcutta.



14. On the questions of general policy and the recovery of captives from the Howlongs and others, the Lieutenant-Governor does not feel that at present any very precise instructions can be given. Captain Lewin must, it seems to His Honour, be guided very much by circumstances, and it will be better to defer any positive orders until the result is known of his proposed visit to the neighbouring Chiefs next cold weather; at any rate the subject can be more profitably discussed with Captain Lewin personally when he brings Rutton Poa to Calcutta next cold season.

15. The Lieutenant-Governor, before concluding, would ask attention to paragraphs 63 to 76 of Captain Lewin's report on the political administration of the hills, enclosed in Mr. Hankey's letter of 9th May. These paragraphs refer to the very difficult question of the arms trade. It is suggested that the importation of flint-guns ought to be prohibited in the hills or near them. The Lieutenant-Governor would prohibit it altogether, but would permit the supply of percussion guns, under a proper system of registration, to our own villages and to friendly tribes.

From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department,—No. 3530, dated Calcutta, the 11th September 1873.

Referring to paragraph 12 of my letter No. 3150, dated the 19th August 1873, on the subject of the defence of the Chittagong Hill Tracts frontier, I am now directed to forward, for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 706, dated the 29th ultimo, enclosing copy of a report from Captain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in which that officer discusses the question of the boundary line up to which our jurisdiction in the Chittagong Hill Tracts should extend, and the policy to be pursued towards Rutton Poa and his tribe.

2. Captain Lewin suggests that our line of jurisdiction should be coterminous and identical with the proposed line of frontier defence, and he urges that there can be no valid objection to this so long as the system of administration in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is a loose and non-regulation one. He thinks that the Sirthay, Oheepoom, and Saichul ranges would be about as good a line of jurisdiction as any. This would meet the views expressed in paragraph 8 of your letter No. 1883P, dated the 4th September 1872, viz., that "the line of posts must not be beyond the limits of our actual jurisdiction." The Lieutenant-Governor has, however, already, in paragraph 12 of my letter of the 19th ultimo, expressed an opinion, in which he is supported by Captain Badgley and other competent judges, that in these countries rivers make better boundaries than ridges. He would prefer therefore to take as the boundary the rivers running at the eastern foot of the above-named ridges, as shown on the compilation general map of the eastern frontier of Bengal, submitted with my letter above referred to. It might be described as a line running from Bettong Sib (where the line of boundary for Hill Tipperah, proposed in my letter No. 3149, of the 19th August, turns to the west) along the course of the Tulenpui or Sujjuk River to its junction with the Kurnafoolie, and thence along the course of the Tui Chong to the confines of Arracan. This, it appears, would be as good a line to take for jurisdiction as any (if the Government of India insist upon laying down such a line) even if the rivers are not very accurately described on the map. Captain Lewin has himself demi-officially approved of this line.

3. With regard to the policy to be pursued towards Rutton Poa and his tribe, it will be seen that the tract of country within which this Chief claims the right of joom (marked R in the map accompanying this letter) falls on the borders of our proposed line of jurisdiction, and as regards part of the Oheepoom and Sirthay ranges, within it. Captain Lewin, however, explains that it is not intended to confine him to this tract, but only to give him to understand that while he jooms within its limits, he will receive the support and protection of Government, which he has certainly earned by his services of late years so long as he remains near us. If he moves away we are in no way responsible for the consequences that may ensue, and if he does not like us he will no doubt remove himself from British territory. In point of fact, therefore, the coincidence of our lines of defence and jurisdiction does not affect our relations with this Chief in any sensible degree. We are under no permanent and definite engagement to him, but he



has been allowed to assume that, so long as he remains faithful to us, we will not allow him to be molested by the independent tribes. If our subjects move into his jooming ground, he would perhaps expect to be allowed to tax them, but this is a point which Captain Lewin thinks might be settled when the question arises.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor submits these proposals as they commend themselves to him in a general way; but as he has already said, he would prefer not to lay down anything very precise, either with reference to jurisdiction or the policy to be pursued towards Rutton Posa, until such time as our frontier posts are established and we see our way a little more clearly.

5. His Honour proposes shortly to address His Excellency in Council regarding the future administrative charge of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier and the line of division between the Chittagong Division and British Burma.

From C. BERNARD, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No. 136J., dated Calcutta, the 9th October 1873.

With reference to the latter part of paragraph 2 of your letter No. 2494, dated 30th July last, proposing, when constituting the Chief Commissionership of Assam, to deal with the Chittagong Hill Frontier by leaving the political control of that frontier with the Commissioner of Chittagong, but placing him for that purpose only directly under the Government of India, copies of all correspondence being, however, forwarded by the Commissioner to the Government of Bengal for information, I am to say that there will be a certain amount of inconvenience about this arrangement, and the Lieutenant-Governor has another proposal to make based on several grounds.

2. The Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts has for some time past been urging that, to enable him to do justice to frontier work, he must be relieved of the civil work of the Hill Tracts district. The Commissioner has to a certain extent supported him in this, but the Lieutenant-Governor has resisted the application on the ground that we cannot afford to create three distinct districts in this quarter. The Deputy Commissioner has been told that if he cannot manage the more settled portion of the Hill Tracts along with his frontier duties, he must make it over to the Chittagong district. The accompanying extracts from the letter of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner will show the grounds on which the proposal to separate the frontier work was urged and for the time rejected.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor, though he felt obliged to refuse the proposal of the local officers, considers that there is a good deal of force in what they say. It would be a great pity that the fruit of the Lushai campaign which we have begun so well to gather, should be lost for want of the right man to complete the work. Captain Lewin is emphatically the right man for this, and if he has to devote himself to the management of the settled Hill Tracts much must be sacrificed. It is most desirable that he should be allowed to push forward to the watershed towards Cuchar and establish political influence over the tribes and open communication with Cachar. His Honor's views on this subject are before the Foreign Department.

4. On the other hand there seems to be no doubt that since there is a cessation of raids, the civil and revenue work of the settled Hill Tracts is acquiring much importance. The country has great capabilities if well colonised and settled. We have introduced a system which requires much care and attention. Large colonies of immigrants from Hill Tipperah and elsewhere are taking up land in the Myonee valley. Plough cultivation is being extended all over the hills under a system of advances which necessitates close supervision and inspection. The forest revenue is susceptible of great development, and an organized scheme of village administration and registration of cultivators is being introduced with the best results. Education has to be pushed. The relations of the Jooma Chiefs to their tribesmen call for close study and attention in view of the

* From Chittagong Commissioner's No. 303, dated 9th May 1873, paragraphs 94-110, enclosing Deputy Commissioner's No. 306, dated 28th April 1873, paragraphs 134-137.



rapid strides that are now being made in civilization. With all this, the frontier headquarters post, where the Deputy Commissioner must spend most of his time, is far distant; communication is slow and difficult; while the civil work requires the full attention of a good administrative officer.

5. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma has expressed a wish to annex Chittagong. To that, however, the Lieutenant-Governor would not willingly consent, for Chittagong Proper is a very old regulation district of Bengal, in easy communication with Calcutta, and if it is not to be attached to Shillong, it certainly ought not to go to Rangoon.

6. But, in looking into the question of languages and tribes, the Lieutenant-Governor has been much struck to find how entirely Burmese are the races, languages, and institutions of the Sungoo sub-division forming the southern portion of the Hill Tracts, while the Chukmas and other tribes in the north are of the Bengali type and language. The whole, indeed, of the Khyongtha tribes under the Bohmong are Burmese in origin, maintain Buddhist customs, speak a Burmese dialect, and are to all intents and purposes Burmese. The Kumi or Kweymee tribe came from Arracan, and maintain regular intercourse with their brethren in that district (Lewin's Hill Tracts, Page 88). Of the Mroos and Khyengs, the same may be said. The Census Report shows also that the southern part of Chittagong Proper forming the Cox's Bazaar Sub-division is in like manner largely peopled by Mughls.

7. The records of Government prove that the raiding in the Sungoo Valley has generally been the work, not of the Lushais whom we know, but of the Shindoes who are known to, and communicate with, the authorities of the Arracan Hill Tracts and not with us; and, in discussing lately the arrangements for frontier defence, all the local officers, both of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and of Arracan, were agreed that the shortest and best line of posts for common defence was one linking on with posts in Arracan so as to form a continuous line. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma has objected to advance his posts to meet ours, principally on the ground that it is not for him to extend his posts to defend Chittagong territory. The fact, however, is, that the defence of the Sungoo Valley is a matter which can be managed from Arracan better than from Chittagong. It would be in every way convenient that a tract so essentially Burmese, and having to be defended from tribes approachable only from the Burma side, should be made over to the Chief Commissioner for both administration and defence, it is very difficult for us to deal with the Shindoes at all. If the tract exposed to their ravages be made over to British Burma, the same authorities can deal with the matter as a whole, and judge for themselves what plan of defence is best. The Cox's Bazaar sub-division of Chittagong, lying between the Sungoo sub-division and the sea is, as already stated, largely colonised by Mughls, who are in fact Burmese and speaking a Burmese tongue. It is very remote from Chittagong and practically accessible only by sea. We have great difficulty in properly officering and managing the sub-division. The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to make this also over to British Burma.

8. Reverting to the subject discussed in paragraphs 2 to 4, I am to submit the following proposal:—

The Lieutenant-Governor has already in correspondence with the Foreign Department regarding the political arrangements of this frontier shown that the best way of dealing with the Lushais is to obtain over them political influence by cultivating direct intercourse with them. This it is proposed to do by establishing the headquarters of the frontier police on the Sirihay range, and maintaining in the Sylloo country a post from which our officers can reach both the Sylloos and Howlongs on the south and Sookpial and the Lushais connected with him on the north. Already the temporary establishment of such a post has had the best effects, Captain Lewin having succeeded in obtaining more knowledge of, and influence over, the tribes during the last cold season than had been possible in many years before. If he be allowed to act as a Political Agent for the Lushai country, as Captain Butler is among the Angami Nagas, there can be little doubt that he would soon bring the whole tract between Chittagong and Cachar into permanent friendly relations with us. From his headquarters on the Sylloo ranges he would be as near to Cachar as to Chittagong, and the Lieutenant-Governor feels no doubt that he would very soon be able to open postal communication with Cachar and Shillong. If the Lieutenant-Governor's views about the maintenance of the telegraph, as expressed to the Foreign Department, are accepted, Captain Lewin



would have telegraphic communication with Shillong *via* Chittagong, and the Commissioner and Collector of Chittagong would be desired to give him every assistance in the way of supplies. He might, therefore, very well be placed under the Chief Commissioner of Assam so as to make all the eastern frontier under one administration.

9. If these transfers were sanctioned (i.e., of the Sungoo Sub-division and Cox's Bazaar to Arracan, and of the country outside our ordinary Hill Tracts, say all east of the Saichul and Burkhal ranges, to a Political agency under Assam), the Sudder sub-division of the Hill Tracts, diminished by the country to be politically administered, as above proposed, might be made a special sub-division of Chittagong. It would contain all the people speaking Bengali dialects, but would remain non-regulation as it is now, and subject of the executive authorities in judicial matters. In this manner the Lieutenant-Governor thinks divided jurisdiction in frontier matters would be avoided, and everything be arranged in the best way for all the administrations concerned.

From Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 7P, dated Fort William, 2nd January 1874.

In acknowledging receipt of the several letters from the Bengal Government, noted below, relative to the defence of the eastern frontier, I am instructed to convey the cordial acknowledgments of the Government of India to Captain Badgley, Mr. Power, and the other officers whose services in connection with the recent survey operations on the frontier have been specially brought to notice by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The first question calling for decision in the correspondence above quoted is that of the defence of the southern frontier of Cachar. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, after consideration of Colonel Roberts' scheme of defence, is of opinion that the adoption of the advanced line of posts recommended by that officer is inadvisable, and that the proposals for the defence of the frontier, which have been recommended by the local civil officers and Brigadier-General Stafford, should be adopted. But it would appear from paragraph 8 of the letter to the Military Department, No. 1755, dated 7th May 1873, that the proposal to adopt the less advanced line of posts on the south of Cachar is more or less connected with the view that the tribes can be more effectively overawed and commanded from the Chittagong side, and with the suggestion made in your letter No. 3149, dated 19th August, to establish a post in Laljeeka's village. The establishment, however, of such a post in advance of the frontier line of defence is contrary to the policy deliberately adopted by the Government of India, and cannot be sanctioned. I am, therefore, to enquire whether the non-establishment of a post in Laljeeka's village affects His Honor's recommendations as to the position of the line of posts on the Cachar frontier.

3. The next point for consideration is that discussed in your letter No. 3149, dated 19th August 1873, *viz.*, the definition of the eastern boundary of Tipperah and the measures to be adopted for its defence. His Excellency in Council approves generally of the eastern and south-eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah as proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, *viz.*, the Lungai River between the Hachik and Jumpang ranges to its source, then across to the Dolajeri peak, and then by the recognized southern boundary to the Fenny. The Survey Department should work out the details at convenience.

4. With regard to the defence of the portion of the frontier so delineated, a hope is expressed in your letter last quoted that the Rajah of Hill Tipperah may be able to strengthen the Sylhet portion of the line, and to cover British Tipperah by establishing proper posts on the verge of his own cultivation. Pending the further information called for from Mr. Power, and the suggestions of the Lieutenant-Governor with reference thereto, the Viceroy and Governor General in Council suspends judgement on the question of the defence of Tipperah. Whether, however, posts be established along one of the ridges or not, it is essential that some scheme of defence be devised. Several serious

No. 1755, dated 7th May 1873.
No. 3149, dated 19th August 1873.
No. 3150, dated 19th August 1873.
No. 3152, dated 19th August 1873.
No. 3530, dated 11th September 1873.
No. 3934, dated 16th October 1873.
No. 4112, dated 22nd October 1873.



raids from which our territories have suffered have been made through Tipperah territory, and no measures can be considered complete which do not bar that door of access. The posts at Chutterchoora and on the south of Sylhet will doubtless afford some protection; but His Excellency in Council is of opinion that the Rajah should be called upon to co-operate effectually in the establishment of a defensive line, and Mr. Power should be required to submit his report at a very early date.

5. It remains now to consider the arrangements for the defence of the boundary from the southern frontier of Hill Tipperah, and also of the frontier boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. As regards, in the first place, the line of boundary, His Excellency in Council sanctions the adoption of the line from the Tipperah boundary along the course of the Tulenpin or Sujak River to its junction with the Kurnafuli, and thence along the course of the Tui Chong. But His Excellency in Council desires me to suggest, for the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor, whether it would not be better to modify the southern portion of this boundary and at the point where the proposed line of posts leaves the Oheepoom range to run the boundary across the Oheepoom to the west and thence along the Thega Khal to the Arracan frontier. The disadvantage of having a ridge intervening between the posts and the actual boundary line would be obviated by this arrangement. But whether the boundary line be taken up the Tui Chong or the Thega Khal, great caution was to be exercised in allowing, at any part of the eastern frontier boundaries, settlements to be made on the eastern slopes of the hills and the country intervening between the outposts on the crests and the boundary line. Settlements located in such positions, it was said, would always be exposed to attack, being beyond the actual line of posts.

6. The principal question raised by the adoption of this or indeed of any other practicable boundary is that of our relations with Rutton Poa. It would appear that whatever to the boundary adopted the country which he claims for jooming will be intersected by it. His Excellency in Council understands from your letter No. 3580, dated 11th September 1873, and its enclosures, and also from personal communication with Captain Lewin that Rutton Poa quite understands and voluntarily acquiesces in his position as regards his possessions to the west of the boundary line and within our jurisdiction. Under these circumstances His Excellency in Council has no objection to the Chief being assured that so long as he continues faithful his jooming lands within the boundary will receive from us the same protection as we extend to other territories west of the boundary line; and in the exercise of our jurisdiction within the line every possible consideration should be shown to Rutton Poa and all reasonable concession made to him.

7. With regard to the proposed line of posts, the recent survey undertaken by Mr. Cooke shows that the only practicable line lies along the Sirthay, Oheepoom and Saichul ranges. His Excellency in Council, therefore, fully approves of the views and proposals of the Lieutenant-Governor in respect to the location and strength of the posts on these ridges, viz. :—

Demagiri ...	...	...	...	...	200 men
Sirthay ...	...	...	...	...	50 "
Oheepoom (1) ...	...	...	...	...	50 "
Oheepoom (2) ...	...	...	...	...	50 "
Saichul (3) ...	...	...	...	...	50 "
Sungoo Valley and Polityo ...	...	...	...	...	150 "

These posts, it is observed, can be taken by the Police at its present strength, leaving 100 men for civil duty.

8. It remains lastly to be considered how this line of posts is to be linked on to the chain of posts in the Arracan Hills, the most northern of which is at Talukmai. The proposals contained in paragraph 8 of your letter No. 3150, dated 19th August, and the suggestion made in the enclosure of your letter No. 3934, dated 10th October, for the transfer of the Sungoo Valley and Cox's Bazaar to Arracan will be referred to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, on receipt of whose reply a further communication will be addressed to you. Meanwhile His Excellency in Council has decided that the question of the transfer of the control of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, which was negative in the communication from the Home Department, No. 2494, dated 30th July 1873, cannot at present be re-opened. The arrangements already decided upon in this respect will be adhered to at any rate until experience is obtained of their practical working.



9. The policy to be pursued by our frontier officers with respect to the Chiefs and tribes beyond the boundary now defined having for its basis the principle of influencing the tribes by direct association while preserving an attitude of defence and preparedness, but abstaining from any attempt to establish one actual Government among them, has been clearly laid down in my letters noted below, and His Excellency in Council hopes that the views of the Government of India on this subject will be carefully followed.

10. Orders will shortly be issued on the minor points calling for disposal in the letters now under acknowledgment.

From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department,—No. 338, dated Calcutta, the 24th January 1874.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 7 P., dated the 2nd January 1874, conveying the orders and observations of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council on the proposals submitted by this Government for the defence of the Eastern Frontier, the definition of the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, the settlement of the line of boundary up to which our jurisdiction in the Chittagong Hill Tracts should extend, and other allied subjects.

2. The first question taken up by the Government of India is that of the defence of the southern frontier of Cachar, and it is with reference to the proposal made by this Government to establish an advanced post in Laljeeka's village, that the Lieutenant-Governor is asked whether the non-establishment of such a post affects in any way the recommendations made by him as to the position of the line of posts on the Cachar frontier. His Honor desires to say that he knows personally less of the Cachar frontier than he does of any other part of the eastern frontier. In recommending the adoption of the less advanced line of posts on the south of Cachar, he was guided by a concurrence of opinions on the part of the local officers, both civil and military, on the subject. The question is, the Lieutenant-Governor considers, a very complicated and difficult one, in which the opinion of the local officers seems irreconcilable with that of Colonel Roberts and the military authorities. It is hardly possible for the Lieutenant-Governor now to go into it very thoroughly, and he would, therefore, recommend that it be left for the investigation of the new Chief Commissioner of Assam on his appointment. He hopes, however, that, without establishing a regular post at Laljeeka's village, the Government of India will not object to posting temporarily a small party of the frontier police at that place when occasion arises, as by this means we give confidence to our friends there, exactly as was done last year with so much success. Captain Lewin considers that failure to support, and in some degree to protect, the Syloos will lead to the utter disruption of that clan, and put a stop to the very promising commencement of intercourse with the Lushai tribes which was made through them.

3. The next question dealt with is the definition of the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah and the measures to be adopted for its defence. The line of boundary proposed by this Government is approved by His Excellency in Council, and it only remains, therefore, to work out the details. The Surveyor General will be asked to arrange to have this done. With regard to the defence of the Hill Tipperah frontier, Mr. Power will, as requested, be called upon to expedite the submission of a report showing the measures which the Rajah of Hill Tipperah may be capable of undertaking for establishing a defensive line of posts on the verge of his own cultivation, with a view to strengthening the Sylhet portion of the line and covering British Tipperah. The report, when received, will be submitted to the Government of India with the views and suggestions of the Lieutenant-Governor.

4. Orders are next passed on the proposals submitted in this Office letter No. 3539, dated the 11th September 1873, regarding the line of boundary up to which our jurisdiction in the Chittagong Hill Tracts should extend. While sanctioning the adoption of the line of frontier boundary proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor, a suggestion is made as to whether it would not be better to take the line along the Thega Khal instead of the Tui Chong River, from the point where the line of posts leaves the Ohcepoom range,

No. 3166 P., dated 12th December 1870.

No. 450 P., dated 1st March 1871.

No. 17 C., dated 11th April 1871.

No. 1883 P., dated 4th September 1872.



Captain Lewin, who has been consulted on the subject, is of opinion that it matters not which of the above lines are taken, and that either will answer. His Honor has no objection to the slight modification suggested by the Government of India; but before deciding finally which would be the better line to adopt, considers that it would be well to see whether the proposal made by him to transfer the Sungoo Valley and Cox's Bazaar Sub-Divisions to Arracan, which it is stated in paragraph 8 of your letter has been referred to Mr. Eden for opinion, is accepted, in which case he thinks the Chief Commissioner of British Burma would probably wish to consider the matter in connection with his own arrangements. The attention of the frontier officers concerned will be drawn to the remarks made in the concluding portion of paragraph 5 of your letter, and they will be requested to exercise great caution in making settlements of lands on the eastern slopes of the hills and the country intervening between the outposts on the crests of the ridges and the actual boundary line beyond.

5. In paragraph 6 of your letter, the question of the policy to be pursued towards Rutton Poca is taken up and orders passed thereon. The proposal to guarantee protection to this chief as regards his jooming lands within our line of boundary, so long as he remains faithful to us, is approved by His Excellency in Council, and it is furthermore enjoined that every possible consideration should be shown, and all reasonable concession made, to him in the exercise of our jurisdiction over him. Captain Lewin will be instructed accordingly.

6. In paragraph 7 the approval of the Government of India is conveyed to the views and proposals of the Lieutenant-Governor in regard to the location and strength of the posts on the Chittagong Hill Tracts frontier. Orders will be issued with a view to the necessary arrangements being carried out as speedily as possible. Captain Lewin, however, mentions that the main line of posts cannot be occupied until next November, as parties will have to be sent out to select sites, build barracks, fortifications, and store godowns, and to make arrangements for the supply of provisions, water, &c., and for the carriage of stores to the several posts, all of which will take time to complete. The local officers will be called upon to submit the necessary estimates without delay, and to select, if possible this season, the proper sites for posts. The whole question of frontier defence, as at present sanctioned, hinges, according to the Deputy Commissioner, upon the question of adequate provision supply. This matter has been recently reported on by Colonel Raban, the Deputy Inspector General of Police, who was specially deputed to the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the purpose. The matter is now under the Lieutenant-Governor's consideration. Captain Lewin considers that Sirthay should be the main post at present; and that all efforts should this year be directed to making it strong and habitable, by constructing reservoirs, strengthening the fortifications, and building good houses, barracks, and store godowns. The post, as it at present stands, cannot, he says, accommodate more than 100 men, and until the necessary alterations and additions are made, the main body of the frontier force will, he states, have to be located at Doma-giri about six miles distant from Sirthay, in a lower and less healthy site.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 505 P., dated Fort William, the 23rd February 1874.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 338, dated 24th ultimo, communicating the observations of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor on the instructions conveyed by the Government of India as to the defence of the eastern frontier of Bengal, &c.

2. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council sanctions the proposal in paragraph 2 of your letter to leave for the investigation of the Chief Commissioner of Assam the question as to the line of posts to be established for the defence of the southern frontier of Cachar.

3. As regards the proposal to place temporarily a small party of the Frontier Police at Laljeeka's village when occasion arises, I am to state that the sanction of His Excellency in Council should in each case be obtained before such a step is taken.

4. The Viceroy and Governor General in Council has no objection to the suggestion made in the 4th paragraph of your letter that the final decision as to the frontier boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts should be deferred pending the submission of the views of the Chief Commissioner, British Burma, on the proposal to transfer the Sungoo Valley and Cox's Bazaar to Arracan.



Extract from a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 1692 P., dated Fort William, the 3rd August 1874.

PARA. 3. As regards the suggested modification of the boundary between Cachar and the Lushai Hills, I am to state that His Excellency in Council considers it undesirable to re-open this question. The boundary has not only been sanctioned by the Government of India, but it has been entered in the sunnuds given by Mr. Edgar to the Lushai Chief Sookpilal. Any alteration of the boundary now might possibly lead to misunderstanding and to mischievous consequences. The technical advantages to be gained, as described in paragraph 3 of Captain Badgley's letter of 20th February, are not worth the risk.

The Lieutenant-Governor, it is observed, states, with reference to the letter from this Office, No. 505 P., dated 23rd February, that the matter is one which now rests with the Chief Commissioner of Assam to investigate. On this point I am to intimate that the question which was referred to the Chief Commissioner in that letter was the location of the different posts for the defence of the boundary, not the question of the boundary which had previously been settled.



APPENDIX F.

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE FRONTIER DEFENCE OF
ASSAM—(PAGE 318.)

I.—From S. O. B. RIDSDALE, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—No. 1621, dated Shillong, the 1st September 1879.

I am directed to submit herewith, for the consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council in the Department of Home, Revenue and Agriculture, the enclosed Note by the Chief Commissioner (Sir S. C. Bayley) on the military requirements of Assam, as it treats of the augmentation which will be necessary in the police force of the province in the event of the military being reduced.

2. The Note has already been submitted direct to the Military Department as an enclosure to my reply to their No. 205 S. B., dated 7th July 1879, calling for information and suggestions to be laid before the Army Commission now sitting.

Note by the Chief Commissioner on the military requirements of Assam, dated the 12th August 1879.

In order to lay fully before the Commission my views on the military requirements of Assam, it is necessary to advert briefly to the physical configuration of the province, and to the nature of the various tribes within and round it. Speaking roughly, the province consists of the two valleys of the Berhampooter and the Surma rivers, with the intervening ranges of mountains. It is bounded on the north by the lower spurs of the Eastern Himalayas, and our neighbours on this border, beginning from the west, are first the people of Bhutan Proper, next the Bhuteas of Towang, a dependency of Thibet. Both peoples live under an organised Government, and have for some years past been very good neighbours, from whom we have nothing to fear.

2. Next come the savage tribes of Akas, Dufflas, and Miris. With the Dufflas we had some trouble five years ago, but none of these are warlike tribes, nor need any serious injury be apprehended from them. Outposts of armed police, however, have to be maintained along the frontier to guard against any petty raids that might be projected. Eastward again beyond these are the Abors, a warlike and turbulent tribe, against whom we have made more than one unsuccessful expedition. In their claim to the whole country between the low hills and the Berhampooter, and in their predatory habits, there are standing causes of quarrel, which will probably lead to an open attack before long. The proposed advance of our line of posts on this frontier will strengthen our position, but for many years to come this portion of the frontier will need to be strongly guarded both to repel and, if need be, to punish aggression.

3. Beyond there are the Mishmees, who also occasionally give trouble, but who will be held completely in check by the advanced line of posts. From them no serious danger need be apprehended: but, in their case likewise, numerous armed posts have to be maintained for defensive purposes. On the eastern frontier, the Mishmee hills, which sweep round the Berhampooter Valley, form our boundary, and are inhabited by Singhpooas and Khampis, the latter a Shan tribe, and the former having also a Burmese origin. These tribes give no trouble, and under ordinary circumstances are



unlikely to give any; but through their country lie the routes between the valley of the Berhampooter, and both Upper Burma and the Bathang-Bhamo road, and it is probable that we shall some day come into closer relations with them, either amicable or hostile.

4. There is a portion of the boundary here, where the hills turn to the south-west, not yet surveyed. These hills are inhabited by some of the tribes who go under the indiscriminate name of Nagas, but the Nagas generally will come under consideration hereafter. Turning southward, the frontier marches with that of Manipur for some distance. Manipur has an estimated army of 5,000 or 6,000 strong. The men are said to be of good physique and possessed of many soldierly qualities, and the Political Agent thinks that, with the assistance of a few European officers, they might be made of very great use in case of complications arising with Burma, and, even as they now are, may be very useful auxiliaries against the Nagas on one side or the Lushais on the other. Their ignorance of drill and discipline makes them of little account in scientific warfare, and, under present circumstances, I apprehend no danger whatever from Manipur. I ought not to omit here the fact, *quantum valeat*, that the Assam valley has been, and might again be, disturbed by the incursion of Burmese over the Patkoi into the Valley of the Dehing. Personally I look upon such a contingency as in the highest degree improbable, but attention having been called to it in the newspapers by a gentleman* of great knowledge and experience, I think proper to mention it.

5. Leaving Manipur, the boundary of the Assam Province on the south may be said for the present to be the range of low hills inhabited by the Lushai tribes, and further west by the people of Hill Tipperah, beyond which it is needless to go. The Lushais have at times given us serious trouble, and inflicted very considerable loss; but since the expedition of 1871-72, there have been no raids made by them, and by the maintenance of bazaars in their neighbourhood we have acquired a very considerable hold over them. But pressure from other tribes to the south-east, or internal dissensions, or the rise of a new chief, may at any moment bring about a renewal of their restless spirit, so that, on our part, an incessant watchfulness, and the maintenance of numerous and efficient posts, are still of the first necessity along this part of our boundary.

6. I have hitherto abstained from speaking of the most formidable and aggressive of the tribes with whom we have to do, viz., the heterogeneous clans, or tribes, whom we group under the name of Nagas, because they are not, geographically speaking, external to the province, but inhabit the range of hills dividing the valley of the Berhampooter east of the Doyang, from that of the Surmah, east of the Jynteah hills, and may be said to be almost wholly within the territorial boundaries of the province. We have lately taken up a permanent position at Kohima, in the centre of the Angami tribe of Nagas, from which we can control this, the most warlike of the clans, far better than from Samuguting; but with this position we have also undertaken the responsibility of bringing the tribes gradually under subjection to the law, and of repressing the unceasing raids and massacres which have, with sickening reiteration, been reported in every annual report, but which have never yet been systematically met or repressed. It is needless to say that the retention of Kohima and its sub-division of Wokha in the Lhota-Naga country will, no less than the steady enforcement of the Government policy, be in all probability resented by them, and that both our outposts and communications in this country will require to be most carefully guarded. Consequently a strong force, not only for defensive purpose, but available for punitive and repressive measures, must be deemed an absolute necessity, and, for some years to come, our position will be that of a garrison in an enemy's country.

7. Little need be said of the other races inhabiting this range of mountains. To the west of the Nagas come the Syntengs or Jynteahs who broke into rebellion 18 years ago, but who, like their neighbours, the Khasiahs, are now a peaceful and contented race, unlikely to give trouble; and again, to the west of the Khasiahs and Jynteah Hills, come the Garos, who likewise are settling down into a peaceable and civilised community. But though I anticipate no trouble from these hill tribes, it must be remembered that their peacefulness and abstinence from bloodshed is of recent date, and is a lesson still only partially



learned; consequently that they cannot be left, like the people of the plains, to the mere moral authority of the civil police, but must be subjected to the visible control of some armed force among them.

8. From the above survey it will be seen that we have little to fear from any organised aggression of a foreign enemy, or from internal rebellion; but that, on the other hand, we have to guard, at every point along an enormously extended external frontier, and along the quasi-frontier of the Naga hills, against raids from barbarous tribes, who, of no organised strength, can yet issue from the hills, cut up villages, and carry back their plunder with great ease, causing us much harassment and expense in the endeavour to enforce punishment. Speaking generally, none of these tribes have any cohesion; none of them act together. Some of them have neither tribal nor even village Chiefs; and if it were a question of meeting them in our own territory only, 50 men at any one point would be more than a match for any force that could well be brought against that point. But it might very easily happen, not by design, but accidentally, that we were simultaneously called on to meet Lushai incursions in the south and Abor incursions in the north, while a Naga expedition was going on in the middle of the province. The occasional necessity, moreover, of meeting these incursions by punitive measures, and making hostile expeditions into the enemies' country, must not be lost sight of. This necessity involves something in the shape of reserves at particular points on the frontier, in addition to the actual strength of the defensive posts, besides central reserves properly so called; and it is from the double necessity of guarding and strengthening numerous posts along the frontier, and at the same time being ready to undertake frequent hostile expeditions, that the existing system of distributing our armed force has grown up. This system I now proceed to describe.

9. The central reserve consists of the head-quarters of four Native regiments, each 800 strong. Of these, two are stationed at

Present system of frontier posts.

Shillong, which has the advantage of being

very healthy, and so far centrally situated as to be equidistant from the northern, southern, and Naga Hills frontier. But it has some disadvantages in that supplies have to be brought up either from the Berhampooter by 60 miles of an imperfectly metalled cart-road which is almost impassable in the rains, or else 50 miles from Bholaungze (the nearest point for water-carriage on the south side) by a steep and difficult bridle-path. Consequently Shillong is one of the most expensive places in India, the moving of troops from there is not easy, and the reserve there, though equidistant from many points of danger, is within easy reach of none. For the requirements of the Khasia Hills themselves two companies would suffice.

The head-quarters of another regiment is at Debroghur, the highest point on the Berhampooter to which the river steamers ply, and a glance at the map will show that at present this is the most suitable place that could be chosen in Upper Assam, and the head-quarters of the remaining regiment is at Cachar (Silchar), which, being the furthest available spot on the Surmah River, having the Lushais to the south, Manipur and Burma to the east, and Naga Hills to the north, is obviously an obligatory spot in any system of military defence.

Next in the chain come what (for want of a better name) I may call the local reserves, or detachments from these regiments at Gowhatty, Jeypore, Golaghat, and Sudya, none of which (hardly even the last) are frontier outposts; and finally come the series of frontier posts strictly so called, including the Naga Hills posts.

10. These frontier posts are 50 in number (excluding the above local reserve stations), and, of these 50, some 36*

* Including the frontier police of the Naga Hills reserve at Kohima.

held by frontier police with 734 men, and 14 by the military with 646 men.

I should explain that in Assam the police are divided into two branches—(a) the civil police, who take the ordinary station duties connected with detection and prevention of crime; and (b) the armed or frontier police, whose duty it is to guard jails and treasuries, furnish escorts, and man these frontier outposts, but who have nothing to do with the ordinary criminal work of the district. These frontier police are armed with rifles and



are drilled and receive musketry instructions, and their duties are almost entirely of a military nature; and in the districts where they have to deal with hostile tribes, such as Garo and Naga Hills and Cachar, they are enlisted mainly for their qualities as soldiers from among such races as the Nepalese, or the tribes inhabiting the hills and slopes of Assam, such as Jharuas, Rabhas, Cacharis, &c.

These 50 frontier outposts, as I have said, are held partly by military and partly by frontier police. A complete list of them, with their geographical distribution and the class and number of the garrison, will be found in Appendix A, from which it will be seen that the members garrisoning them vary in the outposts proper from about 50 men of all ranks to 14 of all ranks in those held by the military, and even dwindle down to five and seven in a few of those held by the police.

They are held, moreover, quite indiscriminately—here a police outpost, there a military, then two more police posts, then again one held by troops. There is no sort of system, such as central posts being held by troops and flanks by police, or important and dangerous posts by troops and the less dangerous by police, or even one district by troops and another by police; but it is an absolutely haphazard arrangement, with a slight tendency observable to relieve the military of the most unhealthy and of the most distant posts, but even this much has been carried out in a very erratic and uncertain fashion.

11. The inconveniences and objections to this system are obvious. The first is the want of administrative unity. The posts being garrisoned by men under different organisations, they cease at once to be a connected chain of posts ready to co-operate with each other, but each post communicates with its own military or civil head-quarters only, and practically, instead of being a link in a chain, is merely an isolated garrison commanding the ground on which it stands. Patrolling between the posts is not kept up. The duty can be enforced on the police but not on the military, unless the Commanding Officer approves. The district officer, who is responsible for meeting and repelling such petty raids, can do what he likes in regard to the police outposts. He can give no orders to the military without delay and circumlocution, and without obvious danger of friction.

12. From a military point of view the objections to the present system are even greater. It breaks the hearts of Commanding Officers to see their regiments split up on this petty detachment duty. Small bodies of troops, rarely more than 50, and sometimes as few as 15, are sent off by themselves to distant and unhealthy posts in the jungle, where it is difficult to supply them with food, and where they remain unvisited by an European officer sometimes as much as six months together. Naturally the Commanding Officer complains that it is impossible to keep up proper drill, proper shooting figures, proper health, or proper smartness in such circumstances; and there cannot be a doubt that detachment duty, when it involves, as in these cases, enforced idleness, isolation in small parties, and absence of supervision, must have the worst effect both on the health and discipline of the men. Add to this that the provisioning and maintenance of these posts is a troublesome and expensive business, and it will be admitted that the military dislike to sending men on this duty is justified.

13. Unfortunately, as I have shewn above, the frontier posts must be kept up, and detachment duty must be done; but I am quite of opinion that it need not in Assam be done by the troops. It seems to me that, theoretically speaking, this sort of small outpost duty is strictly and properly worked for an armed frontier police: not for disciplined troops organised on the regimental unit. It is not the defence of the country against invasion, it is to guard against petty raids, committed by 50 or 100 savages at a time, that we keep up these posts. I conceive the legitimate duty of the military to be that of an armed reserve, collected at convenient central stations, whence they could be sent to support the police on an emergency, or to undertake the brunt of any hostile expedition outside our own territory. I may observe, in support of my views as to the proper distinction of duties, that in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and along the Arracan frontier (I believe), where the circumstances are almost identical with those of the Assam frontier, the outpost duty is wholly and entirely taken by the armed police.



14. I next have to enquire whether such an arrangement as is here suggested is feasible, and this depends on the question whether our Frontier Police are up to the

Substitution of police for military.

work (1) in efficiency, (2) in numbers. In point of efficiency I have little hesitation in saying that for this special business—the prevention and punishment of raids among savage tribes in jungle-covered hills—the armed police are even more efficient than the military. The actual fighting is the smallest part of the task. The essential qualities are mobility and bandiness. Now, the troops are not easily moved, and are, in fact, very helpless in the jungle. I am not speaking of exceptional regiments like the 44th S. L. I., which is recruited from Nepalese, and has had very special experience of jungle warfare, but of the ordinary Poorbea or Punjabi sepoy. The troops require a large proportion of carriage; they require to have their paths cut for them, their supplies brought to them, their stockades built for them. In fact they require to be waited on, whereas the armed policeman is accustomed to the jungles from his infancy, cuts his own paths, runs up his own huts, fetches his own food, and waits upon himself. The sepoy is armed with a breech-loader, and is thus no doubt more useful in actual fighting; but in actual fighting, when it comes to musketry, none of the wild tribes are much to be dreaded, and there is ample evidence on the records both of the Bhutan and Lushai campaigns, and of the many subsequent expeditions that have taken place in the Naga Hills, that, in actual fighting, the armed policeman is quite fit to take his place side by side with the sepoy. That I am not speaking without authority in the foregoing remarks, I would refer to what took place in 1875, when it was resolved to send a punitive expedition against the Nagas. Colonel Keatinge, who was at that time Chief Commissioner of Assam, found that the orders of the Supreme Government could not be carried out, and in explanation stated that, owing to panic amongst the coolies, he was unable to impress them for transport purposes, or even to guard them when impressed, and as he could not provide carriage for the baggage and provisions, the troops were unable to leave their head-quarters. Finally, a small force of 150 men was sent out, but, being under orders to return within three days, they accomplished nothing. It was not until the coolie corps liberated by the termination of the Dufla expedition had been placed at the Chief Commissioner's disposal that effective measures were taken for the punishment of the Nagas.

Colonel Johnstone, Political Agent at Manipur, in his annual report dated 25th February 1879, to the Government of India, notices this want of mobility in our troops. He points out that while the Manipur raw levies were ready to march at a moment's notice, carrying their own baggage supplies, and at the end of the march building their own huts and stockades, our Native troops were unable to move without a long array of coolies, who had to do everything for them.

15. In point of efficiency, then, I say that the frontier police are even now not less efficient than the men of ordinary Native

Comparative expense of military and police.

regiments, and from their greater mobility, would be, if armed with breech-loaders, decidedly more efficient for this particular duty. In point of expense there can be no comparison. Each soldier of an Assam regiment costs the Government not less than Rs. 337 a year, each policeman costs Rs. 180, and, if equal efficiency is granted, it is obvious that considerations of economy point to the change; but numerically the force of armed police is at present too weak to relieve the military of all the frontier posts, and will have to be increased by about 1,000 men. If this is done, I am of opinion that two Native regiments can, with perfect safety and unquestionable economy, be set free from Assam.

The following are the details of the scheme:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 16. The Assam armed police force, as at present constituted, consists of— | |
| 13 English officers, | 185 Head Constables, |
| 8 Inspectors, | 1,899 Constables, |
| 30 Sub-Inspectors, | 21 Buglers, |

distributed over the different districts as shown in Appendix B (not printed), and holding 35 frontier posts.

The cost of the present force of armed police, including a moiety share of European officers' salaries, is Rs. 3,43,208.

In making up the strength of the police to 3,000 men, I would propose certain modifications both as to the constitution of the force and as to salaries.



The following statement gives my views as to the constitution of a cadre of 1,000 men, and shows the salaries that would have to be paid to officers and men:—

	Rs.		Rs.
4 Inspectors, &c.—		20 Buglers—	
2 Inspectors at Rs. 150.		10 Buglers at Rs. 10.	
2 Ditto at „ 100.		10 Do. at „ 9.	
Yearly cost. ...	6,000	Yearly cost. ...	2,280
10 Sub-Inspectors, &c.—		2 Armourers at Rs. 50.	
2 Sub-Inspectors at Rs. 60.		Yearly cost. ...	1,200
8 Ditto at „ 50.		Good conduct pay at Re. 1 per 15	
Yearly cost. ...	6,240	per cent. of strength, 150 by 12.	
100 Head Constables—		Yearly cost. ...	1,800
20 Head Constables at Rs. 25.		1 Marksmen's pay at Rs. 50.	
20 Ditto at „ 20.		Yearly cost. ...	600
40 Ditto at „ 15.		Clothing allowance at Rs. 8 per	
20 Ditto at „ 12.		man, 1,120 men ...	8,960
Yearly cost. ...	20,880	Contingencies at Rs. 5 per cent. ...	7,750
1,000 Constables—			
200 Constables at Rs. 10.		Total ...	1,62,510
500 Ditto at „ 9.			
300 Ditto at „ 8.			
Yearly cost. ...	1,06,800		

On this scale of pay the cost of 3,000 Frontier Police, including the full complement of Native officers, would be Rs. 1,62,510 by 3 = Rs. 4,87,530. The present Frontier Police Force is officered by seven District Superintendents and six Assistant Superintendents, whose salaries amount to Rs. 80,000, one-half of which, or Rs. 40,000, is debited to the Frontier Police; the other half (as these officers have to perform ordinary police work) is met from civil funds. It would be necessary to increase the European staff on strengthening the present police force, and I consider that four additional Assistant Superintendents of Police would be sufficient.

The European staff would be graded as follows:—

1 District Superintendent at Rs. 1,000.	4 Assistant Superintendents at Rs. 400.
2 Ditto ditto at „ 800.	4 Ditto ditto at „ 300.
3 Ditto ditto at „ 600.	2 Ditto ditto at „ 250.
2 Ditto ditto at „ 500.	Total yearly cost ...
one-half of which would be met from civil funds.	Rs. 94,800

	Rs.
The total yearly cost of the proposed new Frontier Police would be ...	4,87,530
Half-pay of European officers ...	47,400

Total ... 5,34,930

which gives an average cost of Rs. 179½, or, roughly, Rs. 180 for each constable (excluding pension charges). For distribution of this force see Appendix D (not printed).

17. It will be seen from Appendix C (not printed) that each sepoy costs the State Rs. 337.

There is therefore a saving of Rs. 157 on each Frontier Police constable substituted for a sepoy.

18. Assuming that the military are relieved of the entire outpost duty of the province, the question remains as to what force is necessary for the purposes of a reserve pure and simple.

I am of opinion that a garrison of two full regiments would be ample.



In the earlier part of this Note I have shewn what, in my opinion, the chances of danger from external attack are; and for offensive operations, should we have to undertake a serious punitive expedition against any one of the most powerful tribes, such as Nagas, Lushais, or Abors, I consider that a force of 500 men is the largest that could be effectually utilised, considering the quality of the enemy, the nature of the country, the difficulties of transport, and the want of communications.

If we had to invade Manipur or Bhutan, it might be necessary to increase our strength; but this would involve imperial and not merely local interests, and in either case there would be ample time to draw upon the central reserves at Calcutta.

I am of opinion that with such an armed police as I have proposed, maintained at its full strength, and armed with breech-loaders, a force of 1,200 troops would, in existing circumstances, be sufficient to ensure the safety of the province; but as regiments are now organised at a strength of 800 men, I would say two full Native regiments are ample.

To make this force effective for instant defence and punishment of the frontier tribes, it should be placed, more directly than is usual, at the disposal of the Chief Commissioner, not of course in matters of detail, but in the general power of ordering immediate operations of reinforcement or pursuit.

These two regiments I would distribute as follows:—

One full regiment at Shillong.	
One regiment ..	{ 400 men at Suda. ... } 400 men at Cachar.

I prefer Suda to Debroghur as being somewhat healthier and more available for reinforcing the chain of posts along the north bank of the Berhampooter, as it is 60 miles up stream, and the troops can come down stream rapidly, but move up stream with difficulty. The choice, however, between these two sites is quite open, and I lay no great stress on the selection. The reasons for selecting Cachar have already been explained. With these as the stations for the central reserve, all the minor reserve stations may eventually be abandoned, though, until the police force is brought up to its full strength, the local reserves at Golaghat and Suda must necessarily be retained.

The regiments should, if possible, be recruited from Nepalese and other hill tribes. Neither Hindustanis nor Punjabis thrive in the climate, nor are they well adapted for jungle work. It is probable that, with only two Native regiments in Assam, a separate brigade staff will be deemed superfluous.

* * * * *

26. To sum up, my proposals are—

- (1) to relieve the military of all frontier outpost duty;
- (2) to make this duty over to the frontier police;
- (3) to bring up the strength of the frontier police to 3,000 men;
- (4) to reduce the military garrison of Assam by two regiments;
- (5) to abolish the brigade staff;
- (6) to place the two remaining regiments—
one at Shillong,
one-half at Suda or Debroghur,
one-half at Silchar, abolishing all other cantonments;

* * * * *

S. C. BAYLEY.



APPENDIX A.

Names of Outposts, with strength of Garrisons, on the Assam Frontier.

SURMA VALLEY.

SYLHET DISTRICT ...	Police ...	Adampore ...	32
		Khambar Ghat ...	32
		Langai ...	33
	Total ...		95
	Military ...	Alinagar ...	46
		Chargola ...	45
		Total ...	91
CACHAR DISTRICT ...	Police ...	Assaloo ...	11
		Thenkar ...	18
		Hengroom ...	18
		Mangloo ...	18
		Chatarchura ...	40
		Jbalnacherra ...	42
		Mainadhar ...	27
		Jhiri Ghat ...	19
	Total ...		193
	Military ...	Monierkall ...	41
		Nawarband ...	41
		Political Agent's guard ...	41
	Total ...		123

HILL DISTRICTS.

GARO HILLS ...	Police ...	Rongrengirri ...	27
		Mijulgirri ...	14
		Ryak ...	14
		Damalgirri ...	14
	Total ...		69
KHASI HILLS ...	Military ...	Jowai ...	50
		Dimapore ...	18
	Police ...	Diphupani ...	9
		Bhandari ...	7
		Wokha ...	44
NAGA HILLS ...	Police ...	Samugudting ...	30
		Total ...	108
	Police ...	Reserve at Kohima ...	100
		Wokha ...	61
	Military ...	Samugudting ...	43
		Kohima ...	100
	Total ...		214



ASSAM VALLEY.

DIBRUG	{	Police ...	{	Helem	...	...	13
				Balipara	...	...	13
				Daimara	...	...	13
				Total	...	...	39
		Military ...		Oodalguri	...	...	58
NOWGONG	...	...	...	...	...	...	NIL.
GOWHATTY	...	...	...	...	...	...	NIL.
GOALPARA	...	...	...	...	...	...	NIL.
SIBSAGAR	{	Police ...	{	Debrapahar	...	...	9
				Anguri	...	...	5
				Gelleki	...	...	11
				Behubar	...	...	14
				Obhoypore	...	...	11
				Total	...	...	50
LUKHIMPORE	{	Police ...	{	Mukhum	...	...	17
				Diphoo	...	...	18
				Dikrong	...	...	11
				Domoh	...	...	11
				Bordoloni	...	...	7
				Lalakdoloni	...	...	7
				Borpathar	...	...	7
							78
		Military ...	{	Pobha Mukh	...	...	46
				Seesri	...	...	24
				Dibrong	...	...	14
				Jaipore	...	...	26
				Total	...	...	110
Police Posts	...	...	...	...	...	...	35
Military do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
				Total	...	...	49

Excluding head-quarters, there are—

35 police outposts with 634 Frontier Police.

14 military outposts with 646 military.

The average strength of police outposts' garrisons : strength of military outposts : 18 : 46

	Rs.
Total	2,66,208
Add miscellaneous charges	37,000
Half-pay of European officers	40,000
Total	3,43,208

1,890 men cost Rs. 3,43,208 = Rs. 180 per man.



II.—From C. BERNARD, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,—No. 119, dated Fort William, the 27th March 1880.

In your memorandum of the 12th August 1879 was submitted to the Army Organization Commission a scheme for reducing the garrison of Assam from four regiments to two, for raising the strength of the frontier police to 3,000 men.

2. The Army Commission have fully accepted the view that frontier outpost duty in Assam should be undertaken by police, that the distribution of regiments over many small outposts impairs the efficiency and discipline of the troops, and that the frontier police force should be increased so as to undertake the whole outpost duty. But the Commission do not support the proposal to reduce the military garrison of Assam to two regiments of the present strength. They propose to leave in Assam two-and-half battalions of Native Infantry, such battalion being 912 strong; and also to place a division of Mountain Artillery, two guns with about 40 men, in Assam. They propose also to keep standing Government carriage, elephants, mules, and a coolie corps sufficient to move out half the force, fully equipped, at 24 hours' notice.

3. The Government of India have not yet passed orders upon the Army Commission's Report. But I am to ask you to report, as soon as may be convenient, how far your scheme for increased frontier police can be modified, if the garrison proposed by the Commission is sanctioned for Assam. The saving caused by military reductions, under the scheme put forward by the Commission, will of course be considerably less than under the scheme set forth in your memorandum of August last. Meanwhile, an increase of 300 men to the frontier police has been sanctioned by the Government of India to meet present needs. And it would be well to consider what is the least addition to the

Home Department No. 100 of 15th March 1880.
Foreign Department No. 175 of 13th February 1880.

frontier police you would require, on the understanding that all the outpost duty is to be undertaken by the police.

III.—From C. J. LYALL, Esq., C.I.E., Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—No. 1206, dated Shillong, the 23rd July 1880.

The Chief Commissioner has delayed answering your letter No. 119, dated the 27th March, till he could see some prospect of a definite settlement as to the future policy to be adopted in the Naga Hills. In paragraph 56 of my letter No. 948, dated the 17th June, to the address of the Foreign Department, the Chief Commissioner recommended that, for the present, a whole Native regiment should be quartered in the Naga Hills and at its base of supplies (Golaghat). This view has, he understands, been urged also by General Nation on the military authorities, and it has been recommended both by Captain Williamson and by Major Michell, the present Political Officer of the Naga Hills.

2. Sir Stuart Bayley is not aware what view the Government of India are inclined to take of these recommendations, but he is unwilling any longer to delay answering your inquiries as to the number of frontier police required to take up all the outpost duty in Assam, in accordance with the views expressed by the Army Commission. On the assumption, however, that Kohima, or some other central position in the Naga Hills, will be maintained, in order to control the Angamis and protect our settled districts from their raids, and that a full regiment will, for some time at all events, be absorbed in this duty, I am to say that the retention in Assam of two-and-a-half battalions, instead of the two regiments which he had previously recommended, will not enable the Chief Commissioner to reduce by a single man the estimated number of frontier police proposed in his memorandum of the 12th August for garrisoning the frontier posts.

3. Sir Stuart Bayley does not hesitate to admit that his views have been considerably modified since that the memorandum was written. First came the massacre of Mr. Damaut and his party in October, and the inability of the garrison at Kohima to disperse their foes and secure food and water; and these were followed by the protracted operations of General Nation's force, which though at one time it amounted to 1,400 men, required six months to reduce three Naga villages to submission, was unable to subject them to any very memorable defeat, suffered in killed and wounded more loss than it



inflicted on the enemy, and was unable either to prevent or adequately to punish such during attacks as those on the Baladhan garden in Cachar. Sir Stuart Bayley does not recapitulate these facts as in any way reflecting on the troops or their officers. On the contrary, he has no reason to suppose that any Native troops could have done the work with better spirit, or more efficiently; but it is for that very reason that he appreciates what a difficult task it must be for a long time to come to control the Aizamis in their own hills and to prevent their raiding on our territory. It is not surprising if, in the face of these events, the Chief Commissioner desires to modify the views expressed in paragraph 18 of that memorandum, and to place the minimum military force of the province, even when all outposts are held by the police, for the present at three regiments, and hereafter at two-and-a-half battalions and two guns, as proposed by the Commission.

4. But this will not diminish the number of outposts, nor of frontier police required to garrison them. The frontier police will still have to take over 14 posts, which will absorb 646 men. The proposed re-establishment of the North Cachar Sub-Division will absorb 100 men, who will practically be a reduction from the 400 men estimated for the Naga Hills Police. The same force may also have to strengthen the Cachar Police, who ought to supply the escort of the Political Agent at Manipur, but are too weak to do so, as the posts required to protect the exposed tea gardens of Cachar must still be maintained. While all over the province the reserves are so weak that the strain of sending up 200 men to the Naga Hills last October caused them absolutely to disappear from every station. Without some reserve, regular drill and instruction cannot be maintained, and the Chief Commissioner is convinced that the scale of 3,000 constables, as proposed in the 16th paragraph of his memorandum above referred to, is the very lowest which will allow of the outpost duty being taken over from the military. This number, of course, is inclusive of the additions of 200 men recently sanctioned in your letter No. 110, dated the 10th March 1880, to the frontier police of the Naga Hills, and of 100 men similarly added to the Cachar Frontier Police by letter No. 176 J.P., dated the 13th February 1880, from the Foreign Department. In regard to the general expediency of the transfer of all outposts from the charge of the military to that of the frontier police, the Chief Commissioner has no doubt whatever; the pecuniary saving will be less than was at first estimated, but it will still be considerable, and will be accompanied by increased administrative and military efficiency.

IV.—Note by the Chief Commissioner MR. ELLIOTT on the Re-organisation of the Police Department in Assam.

PART I.—FRONTIER POLICE.

During the last cold weather I have paid much attention to the condition of the Frontier Police and to the location and equipment of their outposts; and I have had the advantage of hearing the question discussed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief during his tour in Assam, and of receiving from him subsequently a memorandum in which he recorded his views on the subject. I wish, therefore, to begin these remarks by publicly acknowledging the obligations I am under to him for the assistance which he has thus afforded me. I have also had before me Sir Stuart Bayley's note of 12th August 1879 (forwarded to the Government of India with his Secretary's letter No. 1921, dated the 1st September 1879), in which he treated at length of the changes he proposed to introduce, which were (1) to relieve the military of all frontier outpost duty, (2) to make over this duty to the Frontier Police, and (3) to bring up the strength of the Frontier Police to 3,000 men. His views on heads (1) and (2) have my entire concurrence, though I differ a little from him under head 3, as to the way in which I would propose to organise the Frontier Police.

2. The sanctioned strength of the Frontier Police is as shown in the margin; this

Inspectors	...	...	9	includes an increase of 27 officers, 8 buglers,
Sub-Inspectors	...	...	34	and 300 constables sanctioned by the Govern-
Head Constables	...	...	212	ment of India for special service in the Naga
Constables	...	...	2,199	Hills, but the cost of which has not been
Buglers	...	...	23	included as yet in the Provincial finances and
Total	...	...	2,483	contract. This force, as at present constituted,
				performs semi-civil, semi-military duties.

Except in the Garo and Naga Hills, where no Civil Police exists, they are not employed



in the detection of crime or the arrest of criminals; but the civil duties they perform are those of guarding cutcherries, treasuries, and jails, and escorting prisoners and treasure. On the military side, their chief duty is to guard the 45 outposts, which have been established either to check frontier raids along the borders of the province or else to keep down internal disturbances, as in the case of the Garo and Naga Hills. Then there is a certain strength kept up at each district head-quarters as a reserve for purposes of drill and to supply reliefs and casualties. The exact numbers are of necessity always varying; but, approximately speaking, the present strength of the police force is divided among the three classes of employments as follows:—

Guards, escorts, and other semi-civil duties at head-quarters of district and sub-divisions	...	...	...	...	610
Frontier outposts	...	...	...	...	669
Garo Hills	...	...	...	...	332
Reserves, vacancies, sick, and on leave	...	...	...	...	872
					<hr/> 2,483

3. Regarding the semi-civil duties of the Frontier Police, I agree with some remarks made by the late Inspector General, Major Peet, in a note on this subject, where he says—

"Station guards and escorts do not require highly-trained soldiers. * * * To put a highly trained Goorkha on a jail or treasure guard is a pure waste of money, and more than money."

I propose, therefore, that, except at the stations where in future the reserves of Frontier Police are to be massed, which reserves can conveniently be utilised for this purpose, these station duties should be made over to the Civil Police, who, if armed, and taught to use their arms, should be quite sufficient for the purpose. They are found sufficient in other provinces, and there is certainly no reason why, with a gentle and peaceful population like the Assamese, a more warlike instrument should be required for such purposes than elsewhere. The Frontier man costs rather more than a Civil Policeman, so that for every reason it would be better to transfer these duties to the Civil Police. The change will affect the stations of Sibsagar, Nowgong, Tezpur, Dhubri, all the sub-divisional stations, and, to some extent, Sylhet and Gauhati. But at the two large jails of Sylhet and Gauhati I should still prefer to retain the Frontier Police as guards, since there are no troops in those stations, and an outbreak among the prisoners, however unlikely, might be a serious calamity, if not immediately put down.

4. Turning next to the question of outposts, we have to consider—(1) the nature of the duties to be demanded from Frontier Police at an outpost; (2) the location of the outposts; (3) the manner in which the outposts should be fortified; (4) the strength to be allotted to each outpost. As to the first question Sir D. Stewart has written that the outposts ought to be entrusted entirely from the Frontier Police, and the military should be relieved of this duty, and should be massed to form a reserve; that the duties performed by the police in watching the frontier are "of a military rather than a civil character," that "it is necessary to give them an organisation of a more military character than has hitherto obtained, and to improve their training and equipment;" and that "the purpose of the police posts along the frontier is to acquire information and to guard against a surprise." This authoritative declaration is of great value to me, and especially the last clause of it, which gives the true key-note as to the object with which the outposts are constructed. This object has not been always kept in mind; and, while some posts are so weakly manned that they cannot perform these duties, it has been argued by some officers that they ought to be so strongly equipped as to serve the purpose of a garrisoned fort, able not only to resist prolonged attack, but to prevent the irruption of a strong body of enemies. This, the Commander-in-Chief declares, is not their duty: for such serious work as this we must look to the military to protect the country. The Frontier Police ought to be, in the main, the eye, and not the hand, of the executive; but, in order to be this effectually, they should be strong enough to patrol in force, and to resist a sudden rush, or a slight or ordinary attack, at least for a few hours. To fulfil these conditions, I think the ordinary strength of a police outpost, where it is more than a few hours' march from its reserve, should be 2 head constables and 20 constables. Such a body would be able to supply two sentries—one at the gate and one at a high post of observation; and to send out a patrol daily in two directions to join on to the nearest



outpost. They would also be able, if attacked, to divide into two parties; a head-constable with 10 men could be left in the post, while the other half the force sallied out either to attack the assailants, or to cut their way through and summon assistance.

5. As to the second point, the location of the outposts, Sir D. Stewart has remarked that "as a general rule the actual sites of the outposts have not been well chosen for defence." I am not sure if His Excellency is writing here only of those military outposts which he saw himself, on the way to and near Sadiya, or if he refers to information received as to other frontier police outposts in that neighbourhood. I would not put my own opinion in opposition to that of so great an authority: but I venture to think that, if the Commander-in-Chief had seen a large number of the outposts which I visited, he would not have formed so unfavourable an opinion of their sites. At least, I paid particular attention to this question, and was seldom, if ever, able to suggest a better site, all points considered. In an undulating and wooded country it is often impossible to secure a site which is perfect both from an engineering and from a political point of view, which is completely suitable for defence and secure against attack, and at the same time commands the road or path or stream which it is necessary to hold in check. Water is one of our chief difficulties in selecting a site; it is always found low down, and the outpost must be close to water: a necessity which prevents it being placed on the top of a hill. But if the jungle is cleared for a distance of 200 yards all round, and the ground sloped so that it can be swept with fire from the outpost throughout that distance, I think that, considering the class of enemies with which we have to deal, the site may be considered fairly strong, even though it would be untenable against an enemy armed with weapons of precision.

6. Passing now from the actual site chosen to the general location of an outpost in a particular valley or on a particular road, the principle adopted seems to have been to choose a line along which the frontier tribes have already raided, or which is a track used by them for communication and trade, and likely to be used by them in war. It is difficult to say what other principle could be adopted, for it is impossible to guard every track and pathway. I may, however, refer to my two notes on the South and North Cachar lines of outposts, dated the 24th February 1882 (copies of which are appended to this paper), as showing my views in greater detail, and illustrating them by application to particular cases. And I would say briefly that the following principles might be laid down: (1) that the outpost should command a track along which frontier tribes have raided, or which is so convenient of access that they would be likely, if they did raid, to use it; (2) that it should not be far in advance of the population and cultivation it is intended to protect; (3) that it should not be nearer another outpost, nor further, than the distance which can be conveniently covered by a patrol, provided that the intervening country is such that it is important to patrol through it in order to learn what is going on.

7. On the whole, I think the location, as now existing, has been the result of common sense and practical experience, and cannot be much improved upon. I have ordered one or two alterations, such as the abolition of the Jaipur post, which was only four miles off another post, and commanded no regular route of Naga access: and there are three or four of the smaller outposts which I have not yet visited, and about the necessity of which I am not quite certain. But these are matters of small detail. If, as is suggested in the 5th paragraph of my note on the southern line of outposts in the Surma Valley, the Government of India think it worthwhile to appoint an officer or a commission to decide on the question of general location and of actual sites, I shall be well pleased, but I doubt myself if the gain will be commensurate with the cost. I should think it sufficient if the Government of India would lay down the general principles by which the location of an outpost should be governed, and if I were to authorise Major Williamson, the Inspector General of Police, now on furlough, to see that those principles are carried out. He has had both Civil and Military training, and has also had experience of fighting with the Garos and Nagas; he knows therefore what is wanted and how to provide it.

8. Subject to any further reconsideration, the list which I have drawn up shows my present proposals as to the positions of the Frontier Police outposts which ought to be kept up: of these Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 32, 39, 41, 43, 45 have been chosen, I believe, as commanding easy and much-used lines of communication. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 44, have either been actually attacked by raiders or have been constructed to guard paths along which raids have been made. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 34, 36, and 37 have hitherto been occupied by the military. It was my predecessor's wish, and it has been mine, to substitute Frontier Police for sepoys; and now that the Commander-in-Chief has pronounced that the frontier duties can be more efficiently and economically performed by police than by



soldiers, I have no hesitation in proposing the substitution. No. 10, Bomjur, has been recently occupied to check an expected advance of the Abors. Nos. 27, 28, and 29 have not yet been occupied, but are posts which the Deputy Commissioner has selected under my orders in the Naga Hills, and which I propose to establish, and to man with Frontier Police, so as to hold that country more thoroughly in hand, and to make our Government more visible to the Nagas than it can be while concentrated at Kohima and Wokha. In the course of time, no doubt, it will be possible to reduce their strength, but it would not be wise at first to expose our new system of administration to any disaster by planting out too weak a force in the midst of these barely-tamed savages. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, and 18 are those which I mentioned in the preceding paragraph as posts regarding the necessity of which I am somewhat doubtful. Of these 45 posts I have visited 26 during my cold weather tour.

9. I have not included in this list the ten outposts in the Garo Hills, of which I have only seen three. These are outposts of a rather different character, being intended (like Nos. 27, 28, 29 in the Naga Hills) to hold the district in check, and prevent the still half-savage Garos from giving trouble, and they take the place of the civil thanas and outposts in other districts. I am not able to offer any suggestions regarding this district, and have no reason to think that any change is required, as the outposts were selected by Major Williamson while he was Deputy Commissioner of the district, and knew more of it than any one else. The number of police was shown not to be excessive last year when there was a rising among the Garos, and Major Peet had some difficulty in bringing together 100 or 150 men to put it down; but, and at the same time, I do not think it is too small, and I propose for the present to make no change in the strength of the Frontier Police in the Garo Hills or in their location.

10. As to the manner in which these outposts should be fortified, I beg leave to refer to paragraph 9 of my note on the Cachar outposts. Since writing that note, I visited the new stockades made by Major Beresford at Nizaungbat and Bomjur, and found that they fulfilled all the conditions which I had thought necessary. I think all the outposts should imitate the defences set up here, though those less exposed to attack need be less strongly built.

11. I come next to the way in which the police should be distributed at these outposts. As was stated above, I propose generally to man them with two non-commissioned officers or head constables and 20 men: but to place a smaller number in those minor outposts, such as Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 18, 20, 39, where the frontier tribes have for years shown themselves so peaceable that there is now little apprehension of an attack, and at those places, such as Nos. 11, 12, 23, 24, 43, 45, which are so near their reserves that they could be reinforced in a few hours if attacked, where there are three or four outposts in a continuous chain, I would give a Sub-Inspector to visit them constantly and keep up discipline. At sub-divisional head-quarters, such as Sadiya (No. 15), Wokha (26), and Gungong (40), and at posts particularly exposed, such as Nos. 10, 27, 28, 29, 34, and 42, I propose to give a stronger force, amounting in some cases to 50 men, and would place in some of them an Inspector in charge.

12. The numerical total of the force distributed at outposts, as I propose, is 5 Inspectors, 16 Sub-Inspectors, 95 Head Constables and 940 Constables: the present force being 2 Inspectors, 10 Sub-Inspectors, 55 Head Constables, and 603 Constables.

But then I set free 8 commissioned and 35 non-commissioned officers and 263 sepoy of the regular force, besides providing for three new outposts in the Naga District, which will employ 150 constables, together with their complement of officers. I trust, therefore, my proposed distribution will not be thought extravagant. Including the guard for the two large jails, the effective force required is 5 Inspectors, 16 Sub-Inspectors, 99 Head Constables, and 976 Constables.

13. The next question is the strength of the reserve, which has to be kept in order to maintain the Frontier Police in a state of efficiency. It is admitted by every one that a long continuance of outpost service has a bad effect on the morale of the men: they forget their drill, and get slack in their discipline; in the constant performance of the same routine duties they lose their alertness and carry out their work in a perfunctory way. It is necessary that they should be frequently relieved and brought back to head-quarters to recover their *esprit de corps* and their drill. I propose that they should never spend more than six months of the year at outposts, that is to say, the reserve always be equal to the force required to hold the outposts. It will depend on local circumstances, such as distance from head-quarters and state of the communications, whether should spend six months continuously on outpost duty or have two spells of three months at a time.



14. In order to keep both the force on actual duty and the reserve at their full numbers, it is necessary to provide for casualties, such as sickness, leave, and short recruitments. Vacancies cannot always be filled up at once: the Chief recruiting season is the cold weather, and the recruit requires six months' training before he is sufficiently efficient to be sent on outpost service. I find that the average number of men on leave and sick in hospital has during the last year been about 6 per cent. of the whole. We have of late been about 7 per cent. below our full nominal strength through failure to recruit, and the average duration of a Frontier Policeman's service may be taken as about ten years. The average number of recruits to be obtained annually is therefore about 10 per cent.; and as these are ineffective for half a year, we may reckon that half of the number, or 5 per cent., are permanently ineffective throughout the year. The total number of ineffectives to be provided for is therefore about 11 per cent.; but in the present calculations it will perhaps be sufficient to estimate it at 10 per cent., and the total Frontier Police force should be constituted as follows:—

	Inspectors.	Sub-Inspectors.	Head-constables.	Constables.
On outpost duty (including jail) ...	5	16	99	976
Reserve for reliefs ...	5	16	99	976
Surplus to supply the place of ineffectives, at 10 per cent. ...	1	3	20	194
Garohills Police ...	2	6	24	300
Buglers ...	...	...	...	20
Total ...	13	41	242	2,466

15. Lastly, we come to the question of how these Frontier Police should be organised. Hitherto it has been the practice to allot to each district a fixed number of Frontier Police sufficient to perform both the semi-civil and semi-military duties described in my 2nd paragraph, and also a reserve sufficient both to supply reliefs and casualties and to be available to put down any disturbance which may arise. In this way, the reserve strength of the Frontier Police, which according to the figures in paragraph 2 looks considerable, has been frittered away by being divided among ten districts, so much so that in none of these, except Cachar, was it ever possible to bring any considerable number of men on to parade at one time. As I have already said, it is part of my scheme to relieve them of the semi-civil duties (except the guarding of the Sylhet and Gauhati Jails); and by this change there will be no Frontier Police left in the Goalpara and Nowgong Districts, in Kamrup only at the Gauhati Jail, in Darrang two small outposts (Nos. 1 and 2), and in Sibsagar three (Nos. 18, 19, and 20). It has hitherto been the practice to place both the Civil and Frontier Police under the same District Superintendents, who are in no case military men. Sir D. Stewart has laid his finger on this blot, by advocating that experienced officers should be appointed to serve with the Frontier Police, so as to make it really efficient as a military (or, as I should rather call it, semi-military) police. Accordingly, I propose that, instead of being organised in ten distinct bodies, and attached to ten districts, the Frontier Police should in future be organised in four bodies: two for the Garo Hills and Naga Hills, the area of jurisdiction being identical with that of the civil district; one for the Surma Valley, consisting of the Cachar and Sylhet Districts, with head-quarters at Cachar; one for the North-Eastern Frontier, with head-quarters at Dibrugarh or Sadiya, embracing the small outposts in the Sibsagar and Darrang Districts, and supplying the Gauhati Jail. If a special political officer is placed in charge of our relations with all the tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier, and is posted to Sadiya, I should be inclined to place the head-quarters of the Frontier Police reserve at Sadiya: but, as this is not settled, I have in the appendix proposed to divide it between Sadiya and Dibrugarh, since Sadiya is at a rather inconvenient distance from the outposts lower down the valley.

16. These would be the four divisions of the Frontier Police. As I have said, I propose no change in the Garo Hills at present, because I am not well acquainted with the district; and, as there are no roads, and the police must be much scattered, I hardly think it is possible to attain much military discipline and efficiency there: at least, I would rather wait and try what can be done under more favourable conditions. The other three divisions should, as the Commander-in-Chief proposes, be ordinarily commanded by young military officers, who would be lent for the purpose for a five years' term. But, for the present, I should be content that the Cachar-Sylhet Division should remain under Mr. Daly, who, though a civilian, has a good deal of military knowledge, and who has brought his Frontier Police into a state of much greater efficiency than those of any other district. It would be a great discouragement to him to take the reformed police out of his hands, when he has done so much for the unreformed police, and I think it will be safe to retain him at any rate for a year or two, till we see if his police fall behind



those of the two other divisions or not. If, then, my scheme is sanctioned, I should ask for two young officers as "Commandants of the Assam Frontier Police." Their pay as Lieutenants would be Rs. 225, and I recommend that a staff pay of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 should be added to it. The amount of the staff allowance which is requisite to make these appointments attractive can be best decided by the military authorities. Brigadier-General Nation thinks that less than Rs. 400 would not tempt a young officer to forfeit his chance of succeeding to the adjutancy, or even to an acting wing command, during a period of five years; but perhaps it would be better on this account to fix the term at three years as a minimum, with option to continue for five years. It must be remembered that in both the Dibrugarh and Naga Hills Districts living is very expensive. The staff pay, however, should cover everything except travelling allowance. I would not grant the Naga Hills allowance to the Commandant of the Frontier Corps.

17. To keep up the pay bills and returns of each corps the clerical establishments which already exists can be utilised. The separation of Frontier Police and Civil Police will, if anything, make office work easier, and diminish the amount of office establishment required. No extra expenditure will be required on this account.

18. One small change which I advocate has been very urgently pressed upon me both by the men and their officers: it is that their titles should be assimilated to those of the Military and not to those of the Civil Police. There is no doubt but that the service will be more popular, and recruitment among fighting castes easier, if they are called Sipahis, Havildars, Jemadars, and Subadars, and I trust the Government of India will see no objection to this. It has already been conceded in the case of the Chittagong Hill Police.

19. If these proposals are approved, I should recommend that, of the annual number of recruits enlisted, 50 per cent. should be chosen among Jharwas (men of the Assam Valley) or Cacharis, and 50 per cent. among Goorkhas. We cannot get for the police quite as good a class of Goorkhas as the military can obtain; but I am informed that we have for the last two or three years succeeded in enlisting a very fair number of Nepalese of good physique and fighting traditions. It is of course essential that they should be enlisted on the terms of the Regulation proposed in my Secretary's No. 884, dated the 11th June 1881, in order to bring their term of service, the period of notice they have to give on withdrawing from the force, and the punishments to which they are liable while in it, into conformity with those prescribed for sepoy.

20. I have shown this note to Brigadier-General Nation, C. B. (as requested by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief), and am authorised to say that he agrees in all the proposals it contains. He has also suggested that the reserves at Dibrugarh, Kohima, and Silchar should be occasionally called on to parade with the regular regiments stationed there, and be annually inspected by the superior officer the Brigadier-General may nominate, the inspection report being communicated to the Chief Commissioner through the Inspector General. These suggestions have my entire support, and I think such a collection of the Frontier Police and military will be most valuable.

21. I refrain at present from entering into the comparative financial effects of these proposals, because they must be taken in conjunction with the changes they necessitate in the strength of the Civil Police, to which I shall next advert. But the expense of the Frontier Police, organised as above proposed, may be estimated as follows:—

	Monthly. Rs.	Annually. Rs.
4 Commandants of Frontier Police Corps—		
2 Lieutenants at Rs. 225 and staff pay Rs. 300 ...	1,050	12,600
Mr. Daly, Cachar ...	800	9,600
Mr. Fisher, Garo Hills ...	600	7,200
13 Frontier Subadars, average pay Rs. 150 ...	1,950	23,400
41 Do. Jemadars, average pay Rs. 60 ...	2,460	29,520
242 Do. Havildars, average pay Rs. 16 ...	872	46,464
2,466 Do. Police Sipahis, average pay Rs. 8-8 ...	20,961	2,51,532
Naga Hills allowance, 630 men, at Re. 1-8 ...	1,020	12,240
Total ...		3,92,556

The present costs of the Frontier Police (taking only salaries of officers and men into the account) is put down at Rs. 3,15,522 in the budget for 1882-83. The proposed cost, omitting the pay of the four officers, is Rs. 3,63,156. For the former sum 2,483 officers and men, for the latter 2,762, are provided, but the number of officers is raised in a larger proportion than that of the men. This is a necessary consequence, flowing from the detached nature of the duties which the police will be called upon to perform, since it is essential (as shown in paragraph 4) that there should always be at least two officers with every force, however small, which may be exposed to attack.



Comparative Statement of present and proposed strength at Police outposts, including proposed strength of reserves and provision for casualties.

	PRESENT.				PROPOSED.			
	Inspectors.	Sub-Inspectors.	Head Constables.	Constables.	Inspectors.	Sub-Inspectors.	Head Constables.	Constables.
North Eastern Frontier—								
1. Daimara	1	7	...	...	2	12
2. Balipara	1	8	...	...	1	12
3. Borpathar	1	6	...	...	1	12
4. Lalukdoloi	1	6	...	...	1	8
5. Behillohak (or Bordoloi)	1	6	...	...	1	8
6. Dighur	1	20	...	1	20	20
7. Pobanakh (Military)	1	4	40	...	1	3	30
8. Sesseri Do.	1	3	29	...	...	2	20
9. Dibong Do.	1	3	16	...	...	2	20
10. Boonjer Do.	8	42	1	1	6	60
11. Dikrang	1	1	10	...	...	1	4
12. Disoi	1	10	...	...	1	12
13. Diphu	2	12	...	...	2	20
14. Sonpura	1	10	...	...	2	20
15. Sadiya (Reserve)	1	1	2	20	200
16. Makum	1	13	...	...	1	12
17. Jaipur	1	13	...	...	2	20
18. Rihubhar	1	1	10	...	...	1	12
19. Gaiski	1	8	...	...	1	12
20. Debrupar	1	24	...	...	2	16
Gauhati Jail	2	...	...	1	2	15
Head-quarters reserve	2	15	144
Casualties, at 10 per cent.	1	7	68
Total { Police	2	19	173	3	9	77	750
{ Military	4	17	127	...	...	...	...
Naga Hills—								
21. Borpathar	1	6	...	...	1	12
22. Dimapur	1	1	22	...	1	2	20
23. Samaguting	1	10	...	...	1	12
24. Nchu Guard	1	1	16	...	...	1	12
25. Pichima	1	12	...	1	2	20
26. Wokla	1	4	60	1	1	5	60
27. Lozema	1	5	60
28. Lakhema or Henima	1	1	5	60
29. Vishwema	1	5	60
Head-quarter reserve	2	6	27	276
Casualties, at 10 per cent.	1	6	55
Total Naga Hills Corps	1	8	9	126	5	13	607
Surma Valley—								
30. Adampur	2	30	...	...	2	20
31. Ahinagar	1	2	30	...	1	2	20
32. Langai	2	30	...	...	2	20
33. Oliacherra	2	29	...	...	2	20
34. Chatachura (Military)	1	4	30	1	1	3	30
35. Jhalacherra Do.	1	41	...	...	2	20
36. Nourbund Do.	1	4	25	...	1	2	20
37. Monierkhal Do.	1	6	43	...	...	2	20
38. Mainadhar	2	23	...	...	2	20
39. Jalima Valley	1	4	...	...	1	8
40. Gantong	1	5	45	1	1	4	40
41. Gailong	1	3	26	...	1	2	24
42. Hangram	1	3	32	...	1	3	30
43. Aisacherra	2	15	...	...	2	13
44. Jaipur	1	2	25	...	...	...	...
45. Baladhar	2	15	...	...	2	20
46. Jirighat	2	23	...	...	2	12
Syhet Jail	3	32	...	...	2	20
Head-quarters reserve	2	6	37	356
Casualties, at 10 per cent.	1	7	71
Total Surma Valley { Police	1	5	31	359	5	13	81
{ Military	4	18	136	...	...	...	...
Total of three Corps	2	10	59	858	13	35	218
Garo Hills	2	6	24	300	2	8	24
Grand Total	4	16	89	958	13	41	242
Military	5	35	203	...	...	...



PART II.—CIVIL POLICE.

I have two changes to propose in the Civil Police. The first change follows from the proposal to transfer to the Civil Police, in six districts, the semi-civil duties formerly carried on by the Frontier Police. One of these is the provision of escorts to accompany prisoners and treasure. The demands on these accounts vary at different times, but I find that on one date 5 head constables and 36 constables, at another date 8 head constables and 50 constables, were thus employed. I should be inclined to allow to each of the six districts concerned 1 head constable and 10 constables for these duties, or 6 head constables and 60 constables in all. In the Lakhimpur, Cachar, Naga Hills, and Garo Hills Districts the Frontier Police will take these escorts. The arrangements in the Khasi Hills will remain unchanged.

2. In the Sibsaigar District there are five little outposts on the Trunk Road manned by 17 frontier constables, solely for the purpose of patrolling. It will be enough to allow 1 head constable and 12 constables for this object, to be located at a thana somewhere on the Trunk Road; and the patrolling of the road here, as in other districts, will then be undertaken solely by Civil Police.

3. The number of orderlies employed is in some cases excessive. In each of the six districts, two orderlies may be allowed to the District Superintendent and one to the Deputy-Commissioner, 18 in all.

	Treasury, jail, and lines.		Relief.	
	H.	C.	H.	C.
Lakhimpur	2	8	1	4
Sibsaigar	2	20	1	10
Jorhat	2	8	1	4
Golghat	2	8	...	...
Noongong	2	20	1	10
Tezpur	3	24	1	12
Mangaldai	2	8	1	4
Gauhati	1	8	1	4
Barpeta	2	8	1	4
Goalpara	2	8	1	4
Dhubri	2	8	1	4
Sylhet	2	8	1	4
Sonamgarh	2	8	1	4
Habiganj	2	8	1	4
Karimganj	2	8	1	4
Malakandil	2	8	1	4
	32	168	18	84
	48	252		

4. The distribution of police for jail, treasury, line, and magazine guards should be as shown in the margin. This list has been made out after a consideration of the number of sentries required at each place. It is not necessary here, as with the Frontier Police, to provide a reserve equal to the number of these guards; but some provision for relief must be made, and I think it will be sufficient if we arrange that half the requisite number are added to the thana strength, and thus a daily relief can be given from these and other unoccupied police at the thana.

5. The total addition to the Civil Police required on account of these four classes of duties is—

	Per mensem.	Per annum.
	Rs.	Rs.
55 head-constables, average pay Rs. 16 ...	880	10,760
342 constables, average pay Rs. 7-12 ...	2,651-8	31,818
Total	...	42,578

C. A. ELLIOTT,

Chief Commissioner.

The 20th June 1882.

V.—Note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the Chain of Outposts in the South, of the Surma Valley, dated the 24th February 1882.

I have now visited the following outposts in this chain:—Adampur, Alinagar (so called, should be Budbasha), Langai, Olivacherra, Chatechura, Jhalnacherra, and Nonbaud. I have not been able to visit Monierkhul or Mainadhar, nor the site proposed for Rukni.

2. On the whole, I am satisfied with the position of these outposts, and do not wish to see them changed. None of the sites are faultless, but I think they are as good as any others that could be chosen *par se*, and I do not think our object should be to erect



for tresses which should be irresistible to attack or capable of standing a long siege, but strong stockaded posts which cannot be taken by a rush, and present such physical obstacles to an attack that the enemy could not get in, even if the garrison were not on the alert, without some delay. This object they fulfil, or will fulfil, if a few ordinary repairs and alterations are effected.

2. Putting aside objections taken to the sites, *per se*, the chief reasons for the proposals which have been made for changing them have been based on their position in relation to cultivation and tea gardens. It has been assumed that an outpost ought to be in advance of all cultivation, and should be pushed forward as cultivation advances along the valleys or into the jungles. This view I emphatically reject. Persons who advance their cultivation into the jungle do it at their own risk, and must be prepared to protect themselves. The outposts should be located with a view to the protection not merely of the most advanced tea gardens, but of the whole valley or block of cultivation; and, for this purpose, I am of opinion that they are best placed where they are, not on the skirts of the jungle, but a little in rear of the foremost line of cultivation. Raiders will either attack the stockades or they will pass them by and fall on the villages and coolie-limes or garden bungalows. If they attack them, all that we are concerned with is the strength of the site and the stockade's power of self-defence; if they avoid them and fall on the villages, then I consider that the force located at the outpost is more likely to be able to attack and drive off the raiders, and protect the flying villagers or coolies, if the spot assailed is in front of them than if it is behind them. Speaking generally, I should say that a valley with its front advancing into jungle is best protected by an outpost located from three to five miles from the skirts of the jungle.

4. This disposes of the proposal to push forward the outposts of Adampur, Langai, and Nourband, and to remove the Oliviacherra post, trusting to the defence of the Chargola Valley from an outpost perched on the Chatschura range. As to the Chatschura post itself, I consider that it is best where it now is. Supposing it pushed forward to the point advocated, on a level with Jhalnacheria and Oliviacherra, and supposing a Lushai raiding party to slip past this line, the whole country behind lies open to their ravages, whereas the military in their present post would be more readily able to fall upon a party which was engaged in plundering, say, Rupacheria or Kukicherra on one side, or any of the Chargola gardens on the other.

5. I think, indeed, that it is possible that when I have worked out my scheme for the Frontier Police, the Government of India may desire that a mixed military and civil commission should be appointed to consider these outposts in detail, and I should welcome such an appointment. But this makes it all the more unnecessary to discuss changes at present.

6. Assuming, therefore, that the post stand for a year at any rate, it is advisable that they should be made efficient and serviceable to last that time. I have written special inspection notes on the Frontier Police outposts in Sylhet, and directed alterations to be made. With regard to the military outposts in Cachar, I have no doubt the Brigadier General will desire that the same degree of efficiency should be attained. There is at present a great difference between the condition of the police and military outposts, and it is not in favour of the military. I refer to such matters as the timber and bamboos of the stockade, the state of the magazine, the water-supply, and the ability of the defenders to command the approaches to the stockade on all sides. What I recommend is that in all of them the magazine be constructed with mud walls, and a flat timber roof covered with earth, that the stockade timbers or bamboos be renewed where rotten, and the bamboo *panjis* made effective; that a clear glacis be provided which can be swept with fire from the walls to a distance of about 200 yards, that no buildings be allowed within that distance which can afford shelter to an enemy, and that a sufficient supply of earthen *gharras* or iron buckets, or both, be kept in each to provide drinking water for one or two days, and also to preserve the buildings against fire. I further strongly advocate that all these repairs be effected by the men themselves, working pay being given them, and I know that in saying this I am carrying out the wishes of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. I also trust that an efficient system of patrolling may be established. At present patrols are sent out for two or three miles only. It would do the men much good to be sent on long walks of ten miles out and ten miles back, and such patrols would enable most of the outposts to join hands. I think a patrol from Chatschura should go out one day along the ridge some seven miles to a point where patrols from Jhalnacheria and Oliviacherra would meet it returning in the evening. The next day the patrol might go down the hill on both sides, meeting patrols from Oliviacherra on one side and



Jhalnacheria on the other in their respective valleys. I do not think it is necessary for Jhalnacheria and Noarband to be connected, as there is no route from Lushai land between them, but there is such a route along the Rengtipahar and the Rukni, and therefore I think a daily patrol should go from Noarband and Monierkhal, meeting half way, and similarly from Monierkhal and Mainadhar. A patrol-path must be cut for this object, which will be excellent practice for the men, and a rest-house should be built between Monierkhal and Noarband, and another at the point seven or eight miles north of Chatachura outposts, at which the patrols would meet and rest before returning. With these precautions, I think we shall have taken all the steps that prudence requires to guard against a Lushai raid.

7. Since writing the above remarks, I have visited all but one of the northern outposts in Cachar, and have issued orders in the Police Department for making the defences and the patrolling system more efficient.

8. A copy of this Note should be sent to the Brigadier-General, with the request that, if he agrees with the remarks I have made, he will favour me with a copy of the orders he issues on the subject.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

77.—Note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the Frontier Police Outposts in Cachar, dated the 24th February 1882.

I have visited all the outposts in Cachar manned by the police, except Aisacheria and Mainadhar, and record a few notes on them.

2. *Gunjong*.—The fort has been realigned by Mr. Daly on a smaller scale than before, and there are a large number of coolies and a few police engaged in digging the ditch and throwing up the parapet. The site is a good one. As to the defences, what I have to say elsewhere applies here also. Some fresh decision should be come to as to the numbers to be stationed here, which were, I think, too small before. District Superintendent and Deputy Commissioner should report their proposals through Inspector General of Police.

3. *Guilong*.—Re-building. Defences consist of ditch and parapet, both at present very weak; position good; magazine of straw; no patrolling done; huts erected too close to the stockade.

4. *Hangrum*.—Very fine position for defence, but far off the road along the Chiri, it is supposed to guard; water rather far. Defences, a wall of rough stone which any one can climb over in a moment; magazine good, earthen walls and roof, safe from fire, but no door or lock. No patrolling done.

5. *Baladhan*.—Situation as good as can be got here; slopes steep and earthen wall high except at west end, where it is low and weak. The level part outside at this end should be taken in as an outwork, and cut down in height, and the parapet raised so as to protect the inner fort if the outwork were taken. Patrolling every other day to Jaipur (four miles). Angami Nagas who come to trade in Lakhimpur show their passes here, and hillmen from other parts report themselves, and their coming and return is entered in a very chaotic register; those from distant places not known to the police receive passes. Magazine, good, but no door.

6. *Jaipur*.—A low wall and no ditch, situation not particularly good, and place hardly defensible; no magazine at all; ammunition kept in a corner of the sleeping barrack, which is thatched. A well which runs dry, but fills again with very little rain, evidently only surface drainage, not spring; slope close to north-east bastion so steep as to afford protection to enemy. Patrol goes every other day to Baladhan, and every day half-way to Aisacheria; no written password. This place is only four miles from Baladhan, and it commands no road. I cannot conceive what was the reason for erecting a fort here.

7. *Thiriphat*.—Fairly good site, but commanded by hill about 200 yards off, or less; parapet weakest and lowest on this side, where it should be highest. Earthen wall (no ditch), steep slope, stuck with *panjis*, which come out at a touch, and could almost be blown away with a high wind. Patrol to Baladhan daily; no written password.



8. These posts do not come up to the efficiency which I expected and which I desire. The chief points to be noticed are defences, patrols, drill supplies, registers.

9. *Defences.*—What I desire in these outposts in such an amount of defence as will hinder by natural obstacles the rush of an enemy, supposing the garrison to be caught unprepared. Some of Mr. Daly's defences fulfil this condition. They should all be stockaded and *panji* interwoven in the bamboos or timber of the stockade, in such a way that no one can get in without losing a little time in tearing down the stockade, and during that time the garrison would be able to run up and collect themselves. The magazines should all be secure from fire; earthen walls and a timber flat roof covered with earth, as at Guilong, are sufficient, but there should be a door and a lock, and the key should be kept by the officer in command. Each outpost should have its full complement of 200 rounds to a man; at present they are far below this. There should be a large supply of water in *chungas* in the fort, both to put out fire and to support the garrison in case they were cut off from water for a day or two. There should be as few cooking-houses as possible: at Jaipur there are two lines of them, which take up nearly the whole interior area. I think there were four houses to five men. One for each caste is enough. It is not enough to *panji* the slope of the ditch and parapet: Mr. Daly suggested this, and I thought at first it might do till I saw the weakness of the defences at Jhirighat.

10. *Patrols.*—I wish more attention to be paid to this. It is essential to have constant patrols, not only in order to get and convey information, but also to train the men, who must get soft and out of condition when cooped up in these posts with no exercise. I wish to see a continuous line of daily patrols from Gunjong to Baladhan and back, and another from Jhirighat to Aincheria and back. A written pass would be given at Gunjong of this kind:—

Patrol Pass.

Gunjong, January 1,	Constables A and B	left for Guilong at 7 A.M.
Guilong do. 1,	do. C and D	arrived, having met the
Gunjong patrol at 6 P.M.		
Ditto do. 2,	do. E and F	left for Hangrum 7 A.M.
Hangrum do. 2,	do. G and H	arrived, having met the
patrol from Guilong at 6 P.M.		
Ditto do. 3,	do. I and M	left for Baladhan at 7 A.M.
Baladhan do. 3,	do. N and O	arrived, having met the patrol
from Hangrum at 6 P.M.		

and so on from Baladhan back to Gunjong, where it would be laid before the Sub-Divisional Officer. A similar patrol pass should run from Jhirighat to Aisacherra and back, and thence be posted to the District Superintendent. The form used above might be printed, and the words in italics left blank and filled up at each station. Three rest-houses would have to be erected half-way between Gunjong, Guilong, Hangrum, and Baladhan; I have already mentioned this in my Note on North Cachar. The patrol-path must be very much improved; at present no regular path exists between Baladhan and Guilong, and the path from Jaipur to Baladhan, which I went along, has been utterly neglected, in spite of the grant of special funds.

11. *Drill.*—These outposts might be made the best possible training school for the Frontier Police, but at present they are very injurious to discipline, because little or nothing is done to employ the men. Hardly any have a rifle-range, and the drill-ground in most of them is extremely small. Even the patrolling system I have ordered will only employ two or four men a day, and the rest will have a great deal of time on their hands. I should wish a rifle-range to be made at each outpost, and arrangements made for putting them through target practice. Whenever the Inspector and the District Superintendent visit the outpost, they should take the men out to fire, their visits should last some days; and the District Superintendent should train them in firing not only on measured ground but at unknown distances and uneven heights, across ravines and up hill sides. I should also like him once in every year to take a large party of police (leaving only enough for the current work at the outposts) out with him on a rough expedition in the hills, cutting their way through jungle, hutting themselves every night, and so forth; in this way they will be trained to the work they would have to perform if actually called out to serve against an enemy.

12. *Supplies.*—I have already written about sending up a year's supplies at a time to the hill posts: as for these in the inner line, the men should provide their own food,



and the present system of paying for coolies at Government expense must be abandoned. There are tea garden bazaars near all these posts; at Jhirghat one is held under the very walls of the fort, and yet a boat is kept up at Rs. 25 a month, chiefly in order to fetch supplies a little cheaper from Lakhipur. This cannot be allowed to continue.

13. *Registers*.—At most of the outposts they have merely to record the setting of sentries and the sending out of patrols. At Baladhan and Aisacherra, and also at the little post at Cutlicherra, in the Jatinga Valley, they have to watch over the coming and going of Angami Nagas and other hillmen. A proper book should be sent to each outpost, ruled and paged, with printed headings, to record these events, and a counterfoil pass-book out of which to give passes. The Register might perhaps be drawn out as follows:—

1. Date (*i. e.*, date when party reports itself on its way to the plains).
2. Tribe to which party belongs.
3. Village from which party comes.
4. Name of head of party.
5. Number of persons composing party.
6. Place to which going.
7. Object of journey.
8. If Angami Nagas, number of pass given at Kohima, and copy of particulars given in it.
9. If hill people from North Cachar, number of pass given by head constable.
10. Date of return on homeward journey.

A monthly abstract of this book should be made and sent in to the District Superintendent, showing the number of persons who have passed towards the plains, whether Angamis, North Cachar people, or people from nearer *punjis*; and the District Superintendent should communicate to the District Superintendent, Naga Hills, to see if the number of passes given by him corresponds with the number of Angamis visiting the plains. The Annual Administration Report should contain the statistics resulting from these registers.

The pass-book kept at each outpost should contain the same items as in columns 1 to 7 of the Register, and should be in counterfoil. When the party returns and reports itself, and column 10 of the Register is filled up, the pass should be taken from them, and these passes should be sent in monthly to the District Superintendent's Office.

The police at Lakhipur, Silchar, Barkhola, and other places visited by the hill people, should examine their passes, and report or detain any suspicious cases of Nagas or Kukis coming without passes.

14. As to the inner line of posts, I am of opinion that it was right to construct them at the time of the Baladhan raid, but that they must not be looked on as a permanent necessity. They may, however, continue for the present, all but Jaipur, which is quite useless; it is too near Baladhan to be wanted, and it is on no trade route. When it is vacated at the beginning of this rains it should be dismantled, and not re-occupied after the rains.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

VII.—From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam,—No. 26, dated Fort William, the 31st January 1893.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 933, dated the 22nd June 1892, forwarding a Note on the subject of the reorganization of the Police Department in Assam. The chief proposals made by you in that Note are—

- (1) to relieve the troops of all frontier outpost duty, and to make such duty over to the Frontier Police;
- (2) to relieve the Frontier Police of all station duties, and to entrust those duties to the civil police, except at stations where in future the reserves of the Frontier Police are to be massed, which reserves can conveniently be utilized for this purpose;



- (3) to constitute four divisions of the Frontier Police, and, excepting in the Garo Hills where the existing arrangement will continue, to place young military officers in charge of the other three divisions, Mr. Daly remaining at present in charge of the Cachar-Sylhet Division; and

* * * * *

The net extra cost involved in the proposed reorganization is estimated at Rs. 79,964 per annum, and you request that, if your proposals are approved, a sum of Rs. 80,000 may accordingly be added to the Provincial allotment on this account.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Government of India see no objection to your proposals (1) to (3) from an administrative point of view, but the Governor General in Council regrets that he cannot promise at the present time such a large addition as Rs. 80,000 per annum to the Provincial allotment. His Excellency in Council is advised that, by relieving the troops of all outpost duty, it will be possible to withdraw from Assam the Bengal Native Regiment now stationed at Cachar, and it is estimated that an annual saving of approximately Rs. 40,000 would thereby be effected. This sum, if so made available, the Government of India would not object to place at your disposal in order to enable you to carry out to such extent as may be possible the reforms which you recommend.

* * * * *

4. The above remarks deal with the more important recommendations made by you; and I am now to request that you will be good enough to submit revised proposals, bearing in mind that the contribution from Imperial Funds cannot exceed Rs. 40,000.

* * * * *

VIII.—Note on the re-organization of the Frontier Police, dated 18th May 1883.

The Government of India, in the Home Secretary's letter No. 26, dated the 31st January 1883—

- (1) decided that they could not give me Rs. 80,000 for the purpose of re-organizing the Frontier Police, but could probably give me Rs. 40,000, and directed me to frame new proposals suitable to the expenditure of that sum;

* * * * *

2. I have now gone carefully over my original plans and estimates, have discussed them with the Inspector General of Police and the District Officers concerned, and have reduced them as much as possible. I originally asked for force of 13 subadars, 35 jemadars, 218 havildars, and 2,146 sipahis, over and above the Garo Hills Police, which I do not propose to alter, and do not further allude to in this Note. I think now that the work may be done with 9 subadars, 34 jemadars, 190 havildars, and 2,008 sipahis. In some respects I should prefer to have a rather larger number. In every case I have cut down the strength a little below what the District or Police Officers would like to have; but, on the whole, I think we can do with this force. In my revision I have followed the advice verbally given me by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was good enough to examine for me the details of my original plan. He thought it undesirable to have the Gauhati and Sylhet Jails manned by Frontier Police at a great distance from head-quarters, and he thought the outposts in the Darrang and Sibsagar Districts would also be too much out of the way of supervision. Accordingly, I now propose to guard Sylhet and Gauhati Jails with armed Civil Police, and to keep up two detachments of Frontier Police at Tezpur and Sibsagar. The former will supply guards and reliefs to the two outposts of Daimara and Bahpara, and will keep the peace at the annual Udalguri Fair. I have intimated to the General Officer Commanding the Eastern Frontier District that



the detachment of military hitherto stationed at Tezpur may be withdrawn, and I hope after next year, if the scheme works well, to relieve the military also of the duty of attending the Udaiguri Fair, a duty which has hitherto always been followed by much sickness. The Sibsagar detachment will provide guards and reliefs for the four outposts on the Naga frontier, and a reserve to assist them in case of trouble. I do not think so long a frontier as this should be left with no troops nearer than Dibrugarh.

3. Thus we shall have 6 bodies of Frontier Police. Two small detachments will be stationed at Tezpur and Sibsagar; the Garo Hills corps will be unchanged; and three strong corps, consisting respectively of 712, 614, and 502 sipahis (with their complement of officers), will be posted in Cachar, Lakhimpur, and the Naga Hills. The Lakhimpur corps should have its quarters at Sadiya, only enough men for current duties being stationed at Dibrugarh and at North Lakhimpur. It will be observed that the Cachar force is the strongest, and has the strongest reserve; this is necessary if the project of the Government of India, of withdrawing the regiment from Hindustan and posting a wing of one of the local regiments at Silchar, is to be carried out. The outposts in South Sylhet are kept up, but are attached to the Cachar District, with which they are in fairly close contact. It will be as easy to relieve and support them from Silchar as from Sylhet; and on every ground it is desirable that, forming, as they do, a continuous chain of outposts on the Lushai frontier, they should be under one system and one authority.

4. On the whole, I think, the scheme now submitted is better and more suitable than the one I originally proposed. If the Government of India could give me 100 men more, with their complement of officers, I could improve some details which are a little starved, and should be quite satisfied.

5. The cost of the Frontier Police as now proposed will be as follows:—

				PRESENT.		PROPOSED.	
				Number.	Rate (average).	Number.	Pay.
					Rs. As.		Rs.
Subadars ...	...	...	7	150	0	9	1,350
Jemadars ..	...	...	27	60	0	34	2,040
Havildars ...	...	...	187	16	0	180	3,040
Sipahis ...	...	...	1,970	8	8	2,008	17,068
Total ...	...	...	2,191	.....		2,241	23,498

The increase in numbers is 50 men: in cost Rs. 1,091 a month, or Rs. 13,092 a year, in pay alone. Besides this, there are additional annual expenses on account of Naga Hills allowances for 80 men (Rs. 1,200), and contingent expenditure at Rs. 16-8 per annum for 50 additional men (Rs. 825): and also a large initial expenditure for increased barrack and hospital accommodation and medical attendance, arms and accoutrements for the additional men, and so forth.

6. The next point is the strength of the armed Civil Police, who are to take the place of the Frontier Police in the districts of Sylhet, Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, and Sibsagar. These also I have revised after careful scrutiny and consultation, and have given up the proposal that a reserve of one-half the strength should be kept up as a relief: these men will have to do continuous duty, without relief, or with very little relief, as treasury and jail guards or escorts, and in cases of sickness or leave their places must be taken by the ordinary Civil Police. This decision has enabled me to cut down my proposed numbers, so that, although I now provide for the Ganthati and Sylhet Jails and for escort duties, I only require 1 Sub-Inspector, 45 head constables,



and 301 constables, instead of the 55 head constables and 342 constables originally asked for in my Note, Part II, paragraph 5. The cost of these will be—

			Average rate.		Total pay.	
			Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
1	Sub-Inspector	...	60	0	80	0
45	Head constables	...	16	0	720	0
301	Constables	...	7	13	2,332	12
Monthly total					3,112	12
Annual do.					37,353	0

Contingent expenditure, at Rs. 16-8 per head per annum, will come to Rs. 4,968.

7. The appendix shows district by district the full details of the establishment I propose to employ, both the Frontier Police and the armed Civil Police, and a reference may be made to it to clear of any obscurity. I should mention here that the Brigadier-General would like to be relieved of the guard at the Jowai black-house, which has always been held by a detachment from the regiment stationed at Shillong, and thinks that, if there is only a wing of a regiment stationed at Shillong, it will be impossible for it to provide this guard, in addition to other station duties. I shall be quite ready to relieve the Military, if I can be granted money to pay for an equal guard of armed Civil Police,—1 Sub-Inspector, 2 head constables, and 25 constables,—whose cost at Khaeia Hill rates will be Rs. 4,094. Under present circumstances, however, and unless any reduction in Military strength takes place, this is less urgent than the other changes proposed, because Jowai is the only outpost whose guard is supplied by the Shillong regiment, now that I have relieved them of Tezpur (they keep up a small detachment at Gaubati, but that is only to guard their own stores, I am told, and is not needed by me for the defence of the Province), whereas the other regiments have several outposts to keep up, and their strength at head-quarters is much reduced in consequence.

8. I come next to the question of the Commandants and Superintendents of Police. With two large bodies of Frontier Police at Kohima and Sadiya, it is absolutely necessary that there should be special officers to look after their drill and discipline, or they will become a mere rabble. I rely on being granted the services of two young Military Officers as Commandants of these corps. The other corps will be under the officers of the present staff.

16. Orders were issued in December to concentrate all the Frontier Police from Goalpara, Kamrup, and Newgong, on Sadiya, and to supplement them by armed Civil Police, and these orders have been gradually carried into effect, so that almost the full strength indicated in paragraph 6 is now actually employed, and the military have been relieved of the outposts of Nizanghat, Poba, and Tezpur. I would not ask for any grant on this account for the months of January to March, but the Government of India will probably think it fair to make the grant of Rs. 40,000 payable from the 1st April 1883, so as to recoup the Province for expenditure incurred in 1882-83. I would also repeat the request made in paragraph 3, Part III of my former Note, that in any new financial arrangements made on account of police reorganization, the so-called Imperial Frontier Police may be amalgamated with the Provincial force, and a grant made for their pay (which appears to be Rs. 55,000, not, as before stated, Rs. 57,000), this obviating the necessity of keeping up a separate set of accounts and submitting separate bills.

17. In conclusion, I think it right to acknowledge the great assistance I have received from Mr. Murray, Inspector General of Police, Assam, in revising this scheme. I may add that a proof of this Note has been shown to the General Officer Commanding the Eastern Frontier District, and I understand the scheme has his approval.

C. A. ELLIOTT,

Chief Commissioner of Assam.

The 18th May 1883.



Appendix to Note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated the 18th May 1883.

STATEMENT I.

Proposed strength of Frontier Police.

(a).—CACHAR.

Outpost or Station.	Dry-weather strength.				Rains strength.			
	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.
Adampur	2	20	...	...	2	10
Fatah-kuli	...	1	2	20	...	...	2	10
Langai	2	20	...	...	2	10
Olivia Cherra	2	20	...	...	2	10
Chatachura	...	1	2	20	...	...	2	10
Jhalna Cherra	...	1	3	30	...	...	2	10
Noarband	...	1	2	20	...	...	2	10
Monierkhal	2	20	...	...	2	10
Muinadhar	2	20	...	...	2	12
Jatinga Valley	1	4	...	...	...	...
Gunjong	...	1	1	4	...	...	2	12
Guilong	...	1	2	24	...	...	2	12
Hangrum	...	1	2	24	...	...	2	12
Marti Cherra	2	12	...	...	...	...
Baladhan	...	1	2	20	...	...	2	12
Jhirighat	2	12	...	...	1	8
Total of outposts	2	7	34	326	...	...	27	154
Silchar Jail	2	12	...	...	2	12
Treasury	1	6	...	...	1	6
Hailakendi Treasury and Lock-up	2	8	...	...	2	8
Reserve at head-quarters	1	6	28	300	3	14	41	532
Casualties and recruits	...	1	6	60	...	...	...	...
Grand Total	3	14	73	712	3	14	73	712

(b).—DARRANG.

Outpost or Station.				Jemadar.	Havildars.	Sepoys.
Daimara	...	...	...	...	2	12
Balipara	...	...	...	...	1	12
Reserve	...	...	...	1	3	36
Total				1	6	60



(c).—SIBSAGAR.

Outpost or Station.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.
Abhaipur	...	1	12
Behubar	1	2	20
Gulchi	...	1	12
Debrugar	...	1	12
Reserve	1	5	64
Total	2	10	120

(d).—LAKHIMPUR.

Outposts or Stations.	Dry-weather strength.				Rains strength.			
	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.
Borpatthar	1	12	...	...	...	...
Lahukdeloni	1	8	...	...	...	...
Bhebeli Suk	1	8	...	...	...	...
Lakhimpur (including a small reserve)	...	1	3	18	...	1	2	8
Dinapur	...	1	2	20	...	...	...	...
Poba	...	1	3	40	...	1	3	40
Sesseri	2	20	...	...	...	...
Dibong	2	20	...	...	...	...
Bomjur	1	1	8	100	...	...	...	...
Dikrang	1	16	...	...	1	16
Disoi	1	12	...	...	...	...
Dipha	...	1	2	20	...	...	...	...
Chunpura	2	20	...	...	...	...
Makura	1	12	...	...	1	6
Jaipur	1	8	...	...	1	8
Total at outposts	1	5	31	334	...	2	8	78
Jail	2	12	...	...	...	...
Treasury	1	6	...	...	...	...
Reserve at Dibrugarh and Sadiya	1	3	19	212	2	6	50	536
Casualties and recruits	5	50	...	...	...	...
Total	2	8	58	614	2	8	58	614

(e).—NAGA HILLS.

Borpatthar	...	...	1	12	...	...	1	4
Dinapur	...	1	2	20	...	1	2	20
Nicha Guard	...	...	2	20	...	...	1	10
Pipima	...	1	2	20	...	...	1	10
Wokha	1	1	5	80	1	1	4	50
Lozema	1	1	4	50	...	1	4	50
Hemima	...	1	3	40	...	1	3	40
Head-quarter reserve	2	4	20	220	3	5	27	318
Casualties and recruits	...	...	4	40	...	...	...	...
Total	4	9	43	502	4	9	43	502



STATEMENT II.

Proposed force of Armed Civil Police to take the place of Frontier Police.

(1).—SYLHET.

	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.
Sylhet Jail	2	24
Do. Treasury	1	9
Magazine	4
Orderlies	3
Escort duty	2	15
Four sub-divisions	8	...
Reserve at Sylhet	1	1	8
Total	1	14	63

(2).—GOALPARA.

	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.
Dhubri Treasury	1	6
Do. Magazine	4
Escort duty	1	10
Orderlies	3
Goalpara Treasury and Lock-up	2	8
Reserve	1	8
Total	5	39

(3).—KAMRUP.

	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.
Gauhati Jail	2	24
Do. Treasury	1	6
Do. Magazine	4
Escort duty	1	10
Orderlies	3
Barpeta Lock-up and Treasury	2	8
Reserve	1	8
Total	7	63



(4).—DARRANG.

	Inspector.	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.
Tezpur Jail	2	15
Do. Treasury	1	6
Escort duty	1	10
Orderlies	3
Mangaldai Lock-up and Treasury	2	8
Reserve
Total	6	42

Note.—No reserve is provided, because the Frontier Police reserve is expected to take any casual duty that may be required.

(5).—NOWGONG.

Treasury ... ..	...	...	1	6
Jail ... ..	...	...	1	8
Magazine ... ..	...	...	...	4
Escort duty ... ..	...	...	1	10
Orderlies ... ..	...	...	...	3
Reserve ... ..	...	...	1	8
Total ... ..	...	...	4	39

(6).—SIBSAGAR.

Sibsagar Jail ... ..	...	...	2	8
Do. Treasury ... ..	...	...	1	6
Escorts ... ..	...	...	1	10
Orderlies ... ..	...	...	...	3
Jorhat Lock-up and Treasury ... ..	...	...	2	8
Golaghat do. do. ... ..	...	...	2	8
Derhgaon Thana ... ..	...	...	1	12
Reserve Nil ... ..	...	...	...	...
Total ... ..	...	...	9	55

Note.—No reserve is provided, because the Frontier Police reserve is expected to take any casual duty that may be required.



SUMMARY.

Frontier Police.

DISTRICT.	PROPOSED STRENGTH.				PRESENT STRENGTH.			
	Subadars.	Jamadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.	Subadars.	Jamadars.	Havildars.	Sepoys.
(a) Cachar	3	14	73	712	...	...	...	...
(b) Darrang ... ..	...	1	6	60	...	...	...	...
(c) Sibsagar ... ..	...	2	10	120	...	...	...	...
(d) Lakhimpur	2	8	58	614	...	...	...	...
(e) Naga Hills	4	9	43	502	...	...	...	...
Total	9	34	190	2,008	7	37	187	1,970

Additional Civil Police.

DISTRICT.	PROPOSED STRENGTH.		
	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.
(1) Sylhet	1	14	63
(2) Goalpara ... ..	...	5	39
(3) Kamrup ... ..	...	7	63
(4) Darrang ... ..	...	6	42
(5) Nowgong ... ..	...	4	39
(6) Sibsagar ... ..	...	9	55
Total	1	45	301

LX.—The scheme submitted in the last preceding note was sanctioned by G. O. No. 236, dated 15th August 1883, the Government of India contribution being raised to Rs. 50,000.



APPENDIX G.

HOPKINSON'S EXPEDITION UP THE KOLADYNE—(PAGE 336).

The following extracts from Lieutenant HOPKINSON'S Journal of an expedition up the Koladyne in December and January 1847-48 are reproduced as giving a lively account of the kind of work Frontier Officers in the Chittagong and Arakan Hills have to perform at times.

[After seven days' journey in boats up the Koladyne from Akyab (four days' journey beyond the Koladyne Thana) the force arrived at the mouth of the Bhuroon Khyoung, at which point the land journey began. They mustered fifty sepoy with Native officers, besides a civil force of musketeers and burkundazes.]

We got the men together, and about 5 A.M. commenced our march directly up the bed of the Bhuroon Khyoung. Sandys had formed his detachment into three sections, and our order of march was first the guides, in charge of two or three trusty musketeers; then a section forming the advance guard, its rear brought up by S. self and our highland gillies bearing our guns; then came centre section followed by the porters; lastly, rear guard of sepoy and musketeers. These latter I had contemplated throwing out on either flank as skirmishers to dislodge any ambush, but soon saw that the nature of the country rendered this impracticable, and that a rigid Indian file was the only formation we could preserve. It had been strongly impressed on us Europeans, when we left the station, that the only way to escape getting jungle fever was by being careful to avoid wetting our feet, and at first starting therefore we took amazing care to be lifted over, when the course of the stream afforded no narrow edge or margin to admit of our passing dry shod; yet we found it impossible to persevere in this precaution, for at a few windings from its mouth, the nullah, hemmed in by either impervious jungles or rugged rocks, presented no passage save in mid channel, so that, as we could not submit to be carried altogether, wading was clearly our only alternative,—rather unpleasant we found it at first, for the water was death cold. In this way we proceeded for about a couple of hours up the stony bed of the nullah, now become a mountain torrent, huge stones and large trees obstructing its course, and still more ours. Suddenly the party came to a halt, and going to the front, I found our guides had lost their way; but after a deal of pipe-smoking and consultation on their part, and threats on mine, they discovered that they had gone up a wrong branch of the torrent, and that there was nothing for it but to try back; so right about we trudged, luckily not having to retrace our steps very far. About twenty minutes brought us to the right branch, a smaller nullah apparently more stony than the bed of the one we had wrongly taken. Proceeding up this for a short way, we passed a cleared spot of ground and a shade tree shewing where a village had once stood; but who had been its occupants I could not learn. Nearly opposite this deserted village we quitted the nullah by its right bank, turning sharply to our left, and commenced the ascent of a steep hill, up which we plodded our weary way blessing nature that she had planted it abundantly with bamboos, which growing singly about two feet apart supplied us with excellent standing walking sticks, or rather climbing poles; for we had to make more use of our hands than our feet, and here and there too with all the bamboos found a little judicious assistance from our attendant highlanders in the shape of a shove behind, indispensably necessary. At length coming to where some large crags jutted out from the hill side, I judged (the appearance of the native rock is generally a sign), that we were near the top, and telling Sandys he cried a halt, and all hands sat down for a smoke, but resumed our march to find that our hardest task lay yet before us. We had in fact merely surmounted a spur of the hill, the chief ascent still remained; and on we went higher and higher, when, as I was beginning to look around me for ferns and firs, doubting whether we should stop but at the regions of eternal snow, a joyful shout ahead conveyed the welcome information that the mountain crest was at last gained. Of course there was another halt here and the guides



climbed a large tree whence they pretended to be able to overlook the Akhoong Hill and wanted me to get up and have a look too, but I was not going to incur any unnecessary waste of physical force; and as soon as our party was tolerably well breathed, we commenced our descent, meeting after some little time the source of a mountain stream down whose rocky bed our course, a most painful and toilsome one, lay for the rest of the day's march. Now we were wading through the stream, stumbling over the boulders that strewed its bottom, now where it leaped down some frigid precipice, turning the fall by climbing the hill that overhang it. We passed several cascades, beautiful and picturesque, enough to have roused all our feelings of admiration, had excessive weariness not dulled us to the sense of everything but the path we were pursuing, our only thought where we might safest plant each successive footstep, for often would a false step have been destruction. At length about sundown we reached the spot where it was intended we should bivouac for the night, the bed of a nullah, the Rulet Kyoung, of which the mountain torrent which we had been descending is a feeder. The course we have come to-day has been on the whole, I imagine, a north-easterly one, but at intervals we have followed every point of the compass. We managed to make our bivouac a very comfortable one, the bamboos and wild plantain which surrounded our camp soon providing us in the expert hands of our hill allies with very excellent cover. A dense fog too descending after sunset on the valley where we lay, permitted us to light fires, without any fear that the enemy would see the smoke.

25th December.—Got the men under arms and at about half an hour after day-light commenced our march, pursuing up stream the course of the Rulet Kyoung. I thought nothing could have been worse than yesterday's march, but our work to-day disagreeably undeceived me. The water in the nullah was much deeper; that was nothing, but its course was blocked up by boulders, or masses of rock, of the most formidable dimensions, and to climb over these, slippery as they were rendered by a green slime, and the falling wet, was a most severe task. I was half tempted to take off my shoes, for their thick soles had no hold whatever on the surface, but I feared that I might not be able to put them on again when it was requisite. The sepoys did not like this march at all, and after about some four or five hours of it, when we came to a check at a barrier of stone extending right across the stream, and beyond which the road was so intolerably bad, that even our hill guides appeared to have some misgivings as to whether it could be pursued any further, loud were the murmurings; however we got on again, and in a short time turned into a jungle, and halted under some large forest trees, when our guides went forward to reconnoitre, and after some little delay returned with the most welcome intelligence that we were all right (I was beginning to have my doubts), that they had come on the hill cultivation of the village we were to attack, and that the village must be therefore close at hand; then diving again into the jungle they again returned after a few minutes, and bid us follow them, as they had now found the path that led to the village itself. We had then to retrace our steps for a few hundred yards until we reached the foot of a mountain fall, which found its way from the left into the stream we had been ascending. Sandys here halted, and having completed his military arrangements for an immediate advance and attack, we resumed our march up the fall, following it to its source, and then continuing our ascent up a steep hill-side. Here I was toiling along in somewhat of a nonchalant mood, when one of the guides put his hand on my shoulder, and pointing to some object before him, but to what I could not see, told me with most extravagant gestures that the prey was in our hands: that he would put up a hundred thousand prayers for our success, but that I must let him now stay behind as he was a non-combatant. He had scarcely spoken—and I was laughing at his absurd antics—when I heard the sudden report of a musket, then the sharp rattle of a dozen; there was evidently work ahead then. I snatched my gun from a fellow behind me, rushed on, and making my way through a lot of gateways and spiked doors, found myself in the midst of a good-sized village, regularly stockaded, and the gallant A. L. B. in possession, blazing away in great style. I passed on at once to the front, when observing a young child of some six or seven years old running off at the opposite end of the village, and aware of the importance of any capture, I pursued and succeeded in catching it, and bringing it back in my arms to where I quitted the detachment. I found Sandys busy getting his men under proper cover, the enemy annoying him by a galling fire kept up principally from two block houses—human nests I may call them erected like eagles' eyries in the lofty branches of two gigantic forest trees, which sprung up from the side of the hill whereon stood the village; the block-houses being actually connected with the village by very ingeniously contrived bamboo suspension bridges, about two feet broad, and which a kick would sever from their connexion with the door of the block-houses, and hurl into the abyss.



below. Immediately on our entrance to the village, the women and children, supported by one or two of the ablest warriors of the clan, who were now firing on us, had retired to these block-houses; they were of course quite inaccessible, and we could only silence the fire from them by sharp volleys from below. However, these at length ceased and very glad I was, for I could not help thinking that each of our bullets might find for its destination the person of some unfortunate woman or child. A few shots came still dropping in from the neighbouring hills, but they did us no harm, and we now betook ourselves to the consideration of the course to be pursued next.

It was by this time nearly sunset, and of course therefore we must bivouac where we were for the night, using what day remained to entrench ourselves in our new possessions and make all secure against a night attack. The stockade was examined and repaired, houses likely to afford cover to the enemy removed, and bamboo spikes plentifully set. Whilst thus engaged, my attention was attracted to the sound of shouts and cries from the neighbouring hills, and soon after, one or two of my headmen and the hill guides came and told me that the enemy sought a parley. To this, after some consideration, desiring first that the stray fire kept up on us from the neighbouring hills might be stopped, which was immediately done, I consented; a little hesitation, arising from doubts as to our good faith perhaps, succeeded on the part of the Akhoungs and their confederate clans (for by this time all the fighting men from the adjoining villages were collected and hovering round us); but at length two of their head men (one might be considered the first of the tribe: he was at least represented as the most influential man in it; he turned out to be too, by an odd coincidence, the father of the little child I had caught: this had induced him to come into us) came up to the wicket of the stockade, and were admitted. They were in a great state of alarm, and it was some time before they could recover themselves sufficiently to find speech. They proceeded to say that "mistaking us for the Shans, they had alone dared to fire on us; had they known that it was the officers and soldiers of the "Lord Company" who had come down on them, they would have offered no resistance. That they hoped we should be content with the injury we had already done them, and spare their village, with their wives and children in the block-houses. That they had been made aware that our attack was in retaliation of the dacoities they had committed on the Mrus and others, but if we would now show them mercy they would swear henceforth to engage no more in such depredations, but tendering their entire submission to pay us their due quota of tribute, and to be in all things dutiful and obedient subjects.

* * *

Having thus then determined on a pacific settlement, I now told the interpreter to signify to the Anoo chieftains that I was prepared to accede to their prayer, whereupon they proceeded to make oath, swearing by the demon of the sword, the shield, and the spear, the demons of the hill and of the valley, the demon of the forest, and the demon of the mountain torrent, and the great spirit of the Koladan, to observe all the conditions they had previously submitted, and which I have given above. The solemn compact was finally sealed by the sacrifice of a fowl to the powers whom they had thus invoked, and the bloody knife used to cut the fowl's throat was pressed against theirs, that its imprint might be a sign against them unto the avenger if they broke their vow. This business over, Sandys at my request kindly paraded his men in single rank, making as much of them as he could, and a very satisfactory effect they appeared to have upon the nerves of these wild men. We also treated them to a bugle blast. Both the envoys were with their own consent detained in our camp as hostages for the good conduct of their people during the coming night, or as long as we might remain in the village. Sandys, however, very properly did not the less take all precautions against a surprise by establishing his chain of sentries posting pickets at the wickets of the stockade, &c., &c. Our Anoo hostages soon seemed to feel quite at ease with us, and made themselves useful in showing our people where to procure water, &c., &c. We on our part allowed them to collect their dead and carry them up and deposit them in the block-house. They also brought out a wounded man from the block-house to receive surgical assistance from us, but he was past all skill. A ball had entered his abdomen, injuring the vital parts and coming out at the reins, and the blood was running freely from both apertures. I ascertained of the Akhoungs that seven persons had been killed outright, two (including the case I have just mentioned) had received mortal hurts, and four others were wounded more or less severely; fourteen casualties in all; a large proportion in a village of twenty-five houses. On our side a musketeer was killed (shot through the brain), another



musketeer was also shot in the knee, and a sepoy received a ball in the hip, but in both instances the wounds were likely to do well. We were fortunate to have got off so cheaply. Had the enemy been prepared for us and stood, our loss must have been very severe. In fact, I do not see how we could have taken the place. It was a position that four resolute men might have maintained against a whole battalion; the village was stockaded, and the main wicket, the one we gained entrance by, protected.

Sunday, 26th December.—Up betimes, but did not hurry our departure from the village. I suppose it was about 8 A.M. before we prepared to quit, our people and ourselves first taking a comfortable breakfast. I required our hostage chieftain and his companion to accompany us, not merely to act as guides, but, if I may use the expression, as a piece of feudal service or homage to mark our new relations.

I also stipulated that they were to conduct us through all the country in occupation of their tribe, and to point out the respective villages among which it was distributed. Thus our route, after leaving Akhoung village, was altogether different from the one by which we had gained it; no longer following a painful course up the stony bed of the mountain torrent, we now pursued, alternately ascending and descending a regular beaten track over successive crests of hills. We were evidently on the Anoo highway. About a couple of hours' march brought us in sight of Tweeng, perched on a high hill on the distance to our left. This village belonging to the Anoo confederacy, was one which, by the terms I had granted, I was bound to respect, and it was a respect I was just as well pleased as not at having to observe, for it would have taken some six hours' very hard marching to have reached it, and the sepoys were already beginning to show signs of fatigue, some unable to carry their muskets, walking lamely with a stick, and so on. About 12 A.M., or a little later, we passed Adeng, another of the Anoo villages. The road went within a stone's throw, thirty or forty yards' distant from it at the outside, so that I could see clearly into the village. There was not a single living thing in it, man and beast had all cleared out.

I was somewhat annoyed at the want of confidence which the abandonment indicated; it was almost a breach of faith; and I expressed a half intention to burn the place down, but here again friend Raipho interposed, representing if I did anything of the kind it would be a violation of the compact, and would upset all that I had done, so I refrained and passed on. Another two hours' march brought us within hail of Phivelan, the last of the Anoo villages, at some little distance from the road, but perched house above house on the craggy summit of a hill, a position exactly like that which Phayre describes the Wallein village to have occupied; a deep and precipitous valley also intervened between us, and the road, the approach to the village, was down this valley by a narrow pathway profusely studded with bamboo spikes. The Phivelan gentlemen were at home, trusting either to their almost inaccessible quarters, or, as I would rather hope, to the convention of yesterday at which they had assisted. On our halting in front of their village, however, their confidence partially deserted them, for they quitted their houses and commenced, gun in hand, climbing, as I should have thought monkeys could scarcely have done, much less anything human, the bare face of the almost perpendicular rock that overhung their village. Our Akhoung chieftain on seeing this movement assumed grand airs of indignation, and ascending a tree overhanging the pathway that led to the village, commenced a long harangue, in mingled tones of anger and command, nor was his speech wanting in effect. In a brief space the villagers descended the rocks, re-entered the village, and might be seen rushing hither and thither, and dodging about under the floors of their houses. Not understanding the meaning of these singular motions, I applied to the Akhoung chieftain for explanation, and learnt that his exhortations had had the desired effect of bringing Phivelan to a sense of its duty; that a deputation from the village would immediately wait on me, and that the scuffling I saw arose in course of capturing a hog (the most valuable property these poor people have, and to which they attach the greatest importance are their hogs), to present by way of tribute and in token of submission and homage. Sure enough, immediately after up came hog and deputation. The foreman of the deputation was in a great state of fright; he trembled in every limb while the perspiration ran in streams from his body; however the mild and benignant manner and countenance I did my best to assume, had the happiest effect in re-assuring him.

On leaving Phivelan, a gradually ascending road, but interrupted by slight descents as it passed from the crest of one hill to another, brought us, after about an hour and a half's march, to the summit of what I take to be one of the highest ridges of these our Arracan Alps. The prospect at this elevation was a most extended one, magnificent or



sublime I will not call it, for the boundless waste of hill, peak upon peak, range after range, stretching as far as the eye could reach on three sides, north, south, and east of us, and covered as by a pall with dense sombre jungle utterly unrelieved by any play of light and shade, could convey only impressions of gloom and despair. I counted five principal ranges intervening between us and Anoo, but the far-famed "Blue Mountains", which figure so conspicuously in all our Arracan maps, were nowhere to be seen. As we receded the hill top, and got to the westward of the ridge, the scenery improved considerably, and we had now really a very beautiful view; the valley of the Koladan at our feet, with occasional glimpses of the river itself in the distance winding its way through its rocky bed, the low hills on either bank cleared of jungle, and under the rice and cotton cultivation of the Kweymes, while here and there one of their villages might be seen peeping out. Our descent from the ridge was a very serious affair. For about a thousand yards it was as steep as it could well be; the sepoys were unable to carry their muskets with them, but passed, or slid them down from hand to hand those above to those below. The soil was a nasty loose friable shale, allowing the feet no hold, while in many places, where the path ran along the very verge of the khuds, a false step would have been perdition. I was very glad when we reached a spur which, jutting out about half way down from the main range, offered a more favourable inclination, but the road still continued very bad, wet and slippery in the extreme, and a great deal of it, so that the sun had set by the time we reached the village of Apoung, where we had arranged to bivouac for the night.

Monday, 27th December.—We left Apoung about an hour and a half after daybreak. Apoung, I should observe, is a fine large Kweyme village, containing upwards of thirty houses well stockaded, and is not supposed to have been concerned in any of the late disorders. It belongs to that class of villages arbitrarily termed "Aroeng" (wild, uncultivated) in contradistinction to other Kweyme villages styled "Ayeng" (tamed, subdued). These latter are generally situated in accessible positions on the banks or the Koladan and other principal streams. Our control over them is complete, and of some standing, while their chiefs and headmen are more or less familiar with the Burmese. They are assessed in a money tax, which they remit directly to the Khyoungok of the Koladan. The "Aroengs" live more in the hills; their submission to our rule is of recent date. It is rare to find any one among them who understands Burmese, and they pay contributions in kind, cotton, tobacco, &c., &c., collected through a Kweyme agent. An "Aroeng" clan after a time becomes "Ayeng," while occasionally we have had an Ayeng village relapsing to Aroeng. Though the Apoung people had never before seen a European (they had never even been visited by a Mughl), we found them very civil, anxious to minister to all our wants, bringing us rice, fowls, eggs, &c., &c., and providing a comfortable hut for us to sleep in, but there was more of fear than of hospitality in this. The Chief kept out of the way, leaving his father-in-law and brothers to do the honors, and all the women with their children betook themselves to the jungle. I was struck too with the excessive good understanding apparently subsisting between our Anoo guides from Phivelan and this village.

From Apoung our march was by a gradual descent for about an hour, when we reached the Tulakmwe nullah at, I imagine, a considerable distance from its source, as the stream ceased to be obstructed by boulders, and now ran smoothly over a gravelly bottom with churs at intervals on either side. We continued our march down its bed, occasionally diverging into the jungle for a few hundred yards to cut off an angle or reach of the river, and at length about midday, or somewhat later, reached its junction with the Koladan River. Here a halt was proclaimed, and we awaited patiently the arrival of our boats from the Bharoom Khyoung.

[Further on, Lieutenant Hopkinson shows to what a fortunate chance he owed the success of his enterprise.]

On our marches of yesterday and to-day I could not help thinking how extremely fortunate it was that I had refused to be guided by Koolah Khyoungok when he wished me to advance to the attack of Akhoung by this very Tulakmwe stream. Had I done so, the business must have entirely miscarried. We should then have first reached Apoung, whose people would, I am convinced (from the friendly relations which I have above noticed as evidently existing between them), have communicated intelligence of our coming and object to the Anocs, or even if they did not, the road running over the hill tops exposed the smallest party to be seen by each village hours before it could arrive at it, so that the remotest chance of a surprise would have been out of the question; then too Akhoung would have been the last instead of the first village we should have met,



and by the time we reached it the whole country would have been raised against us. Equally fortunate also was it that we did not proceed *via* the Meekhyung, for the Akhoung chieftain told me himself that rumours of our meditated advance by that route had reached him, and that his tribe had scouts out the whole way.

Tuesday, 28th December.—Halted to-day in our boats. The Native doctor having reported a large proportion of the men unfit for duty, Sandys held a general muster to examine personally into each case, the result of which he made the subject of an official communication to me. I annex a copy. It will be seen that out of the party we had taken with us, viz., 1 subadar, 1 jemadar, 5 havildars, 4 naques, 1 bugler and 50 seboys, a naque and 23 seboys were all that we could reckon on as now fit for immediate service. One subadar, 1 jemadar, 1 bugler could not go another march of any length, and as for the rest of the party they were disabled altogether; our halting then turned out to have been a measure of absolute necessity, and had I on our reaching the Tulakmwe requested Sandys to have continued a forward movement on the other villages to be attacked, we should have exposed ourselves to the chance of a very serious miscarriage. It was annoying enough as it was, for it now seemed uncertain how long we might not be condemned to inaction, and I had calculated that after a halt of one day only we might have proceeded to the Tulakmwe villages, when, our business settled there, we should have returned to the mouth of the Tulakmwe, and have then, if necessary, set out in canoes up the Koladan against the Khons. I say if necessary, as I was not altogether certain that this expedition might be required.

Thursday, 30th December.—Between 11 and 12 A.M., a shout announced that the canoes of the darogah and the Khon deputation were in sight, a few minutes brought them to our mooring ground, and immediately presenting themselves they announced, to my exceeding gratification, that their mission had been entirely successful, and that they had the Khon Chief with them. I desired that he might be at once introduced, and in he walked, a very personable and imposing looking savage indeed, with a most Mongolian cast of countenance, a realization in fact of one's ideas of Timour the Tartar. His headdress was similar to that of the Kweymes, a narrow-checked Khong leoung, but with a magnificent plume of the tails of the mocking bird set in it, rising from a tuft of blue jay feathers; he wore a handsome plaid, evidently of Burmese manufacture, and was attended by two ferocious looking gentlemen of his body guard, one bearing his sword, a strange looking weapon. I made him sit down near me, and we had a long conversation together. He expressed himself delighted at the opportunity afforded him of placing himself under British protection, and expressed his intention of quitting his present location and settling within our frontier on the banks of the Koladan. I look upon our securing the attachment of this Chief as a gain of far greater importance than even the submission of the Anocs. In power and influence the Khons rank second only (but a long second certainly) to the Shantoos, between whom and the Koladan tribes they form the medium of communication, and it is only through them, and with their aid and good offices, that the Shantoos can be got at. We have an additional guarantee now that the Anocs will be quiet, for I find that they are in some sort but the feudatories of the Khons.



APPENDIX H.

HOPKINSON'S REVIEW OF POLICY ON THE CHITTAGONG FRONTIER
IN 1856—(PAGE 340).

From CAPT. JN HENRY HOPKINSON, Commissioner of Arracan, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 40, dated Akyab, the 7th May 1856.)

I have the honour to revert to your Office letter to my address, No. 826 of the 1st April 1854, with enclosures.*

2. This letter found me on the eve of departure for the Neilgherry Hills on sick leave; and it appears that my successor, for what reason I cannot say, having failed to take it up, it has remained unanswered to the present time.

3. It might, however, it appears to me, have been very easily answered, if it were sufficient to confine the answer strictly within the limits of the question propounded, viz., as to the practicability of opening negotiations with the chiefs of the Shindoo tribes. I do not think that I make an overbold assertion in saying that no attempt to open such negotiations would be attended with success. I may go further and say that at present we have no means of even fairly making an attempt.

4. How is the first step to be taken towards entering into even a bare communication with the Shindoos. In some part or another of the mountainous regions lying to the north of Arracan, the west of Burma, and the east or north-east of Chittagong, we have testimony of the existence of a race whom we have agreed to call Shindoos, and suppose to be a branch of the great Khyeng family; but beyond this fact of their existence we know nothing about them: there is no point in our territory from which we could with any certainty say that we were within ten days or a fortnight's march of the nearest of their fastnesses. Ascending the River Koladan, we first fall in among the hill tribes with the Koomees, who acknowledge fealty to the British Government. Beyond these we may meet with other Koomees, who have either cast off their allegiance, or who have never sought relations with us; then we find a host of petty tribes known by different names, and often speaking different dialects, and among them we shall hear for the first time of the Shindoos, yet still not as of a people well known, or with whom there has been any close intercourse. I notice in the correspondence that some reliance is placed on the chance of a man named Chodyn being able to effect a communication with this formidable tribe. Recent circumstances have shown Chodyn to be quite false and untrustworthy, an impostor who had not a tithe of the influence among the hill tribes which he claimed to possess, yet even he, when he most enjoyed our confidence, never pretended to be bold enough to venture among the Shindoos in person and treat with them directly; he does not know a word of their language, and his negotiations for the release of captives among them were by his own showing conducted in the most round-about way; they were opened with a tribe A, who transmitted or interpreted them to a tribe B, whence they passed to a tribe C, who were confidently stated to have relations with the Shindoos.

5. But, supposing we tried this plan, and that our communication, after infiltrating through a series of tribes, did reach the Shindoos, retaining somewhat of its original purport, what is to be the basis of negotiation? What equivalent is to be tendered to the Shindoos in return for their abandoning their slave trade? Are we to get from them an estimate of their annual income by captives, and promise them the same amount in muskets or rapiers? This would be little better than compounding murder and abduction. And what assurance should we have that the composition would be observed in

* Letter from H. Kicketts, Esq., Commissioner, 16th Division, to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. 553, dated 16th August 1854, with enclosures from Secretary, Government of Bengal, to Commissioner, No. 1873, dated 22nd September 1847.

Extract, paragraph 23, from Mr. Colvin's report on the District of Chittagong.

From the Superintendent of Police, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, Chittagong Division, No. 25, dated the 20th January 1854, with two enclosures.

To the Superintendent of Police, Chittagong Division.

From the Secretary, Government of Bengal, No. —, dated 1st April 1854.



good faith by the opposite side? We may be tolerably certain that it would not, such savages understand their own interests as little as children; and no arrangement is to be depended on with them that cannot be backed and supported by strong coercion. Fire and sword are after all the only valid negotiators for the case; and we are not yet in a position to employ these agents with effect. I may take occasion to observe here that I doubt the wisdom of the policy in past times of ransoming captives through the direct interference of Government or its agents. We thus go far towards creating a new inducement to the making of captives for the purpose of selling them, as the tribes may understand the transaction, to Government.

6. Another and almost insuperable objection arises to negotiating with the Shindoos; that they are not, as far as we know, a people united together, and obeying a common head or government, but they are split up into numerous clans, each under its own chief and independent of the other. We should thus have to conclude separate engagements with each clan, and if we left any out the whole scheme would be ruined; for this would be but to buy off some to give a freer scope to the ravages of the rest. But how would it be possible to make terms with every clan?

7. The idea of negotiating with the Shindoos has arisen probably from the impression that they lived in our own acknowledged hill country, or on our immediate border; but, on the contrary, I believe them to be the most distant of all tribes that ever cross our frontier; and for the reasons I have above given, I do not think it would be wise to attempt to enter into any relations with them. I am not sure that the Chittagong authorities will agree with me in this opinion; but if not, and the Government support them, I would suggest that they be charged with the negotiations with the Shindoos, who are at least as accessible from Chittagong as they are from Arracan.

8. Even if we bought off the Shindoos, and in the improbable event of their abiding by their engagements, I doubt if any very material diminution in the number of these horrible outrages would be the result. The statement of dacoities appended to Mr. Stainforth's elaborate report shows this. Out of twenty-one dacoities committed by the hill tribes on the Chittagong frontier from 1830 to 1851, only four are imputed to the Shindoos. Again in the detailed account Mr. Stainforth gives of six dacoities, which takes up from paragraph 11 to 37 of his report, not one is established to have been committed by the Shindoos. A darogah was of opinion that the first was committed by that tribe, but the witnesses, who should have known best, declared they were Lochees. Of these Lochees, as well as of the Kookees, who were the culprits in the second, third, and fourth cases, we in Arracan know nothing. The fifth case, the most atrocious of all, seems to have been committed by a Chittagong Joomeea zemindar. The sixth, by Kookees, was an inroad probably from the Arracan side. The fact is, I believe, that the Shindoos have many an outrage of which they are wholly guiltless, imputed to them, and that they are rather receivers and purchasers of captives than abductors on any great scale themselves in the Chittagong District. I think they would not be likely often to come so far, but that when one of these hill dacoities takes place, our police and people have got hold of the notion that in reporting it "by the visitation of the Shindoos" they make an end to the matter, and leave nothing more to be said or enquired about it. This is an impression which, though the Shindoos are not therein mentioned by name, finds support in the observations of Mr. H. Ricketts, stated in the 24th paragraph of his report; and so also the extracts from Mr. Seance's letter, which are given in the two following paragraphs (25th and 26th), are suggestive of a similar conclusion. We may have no legal proof on the subject, but the popular belief does the Phrus and Joomeeas great wrong if they have not had more or less concern in many an outrage that have been laid at other men's doors.

9. I have now reported not only against the practicability in my view of opening communications with the Shindoo tribe, but in giving this adverse opinion, I have also ventured to express a doubt as to the use of any such negotiations, even if I considered them possible. According to the strict tenor of my instructions therefore I might have now closed this communication, had I not had otherwise reason lately given me to suppose that it might be desired I should notice the general question of the policy that should be adopted to check the aggressions along the Chittagong and Arracan frontiers by whatever tribes perpetrated.

10. How difficult the problem is of solution appears by the ability and experience that have been bestowed on it. Without any decided result having been obtained, at least I judge by the very bulky documents on the subject to which I have had access, where I find the last writer always modifying his predecessor's views, and so many schemes and opinions propounded, that I cannot grasp or weigh and balance them all at once.



11. But I do not know that I would stop to examine any proposition, of which the starting point went not to adopt the principle of "Mr. Cleveland's plan of subsidising the chiefs and enlisting the men as soldiers or policemen"—* a plan more fully described by the Honourable the Court of Directors in the following words: "The means which have proved most successful elsewhere have been to enlist the chiefs in the hill country or on our immediate frontier, together with their followers, to keep the peace and to resist the incursions of more distant tribes. In acting upon such a system it is necessary that the forms of official proceedings should be dispensed with, so long as the end in view is obtained without substantial injustice or flagrant acts of violence."

12. I can imagine nothing better than the policy so clearly outlined in the foregoing extract. But it is another question whether the Government will agree with me in what I consider necessary to allow of the first feature in it being carried out with success. I mean that we cannot attempt to enlist and organize hill chiefs and their followers to combine for their own protection, to keep the peace, or, in fact, to do any thing at all that we want them to do, unless we have European officers placed in direct relations with them. Interference will do more harm than good without we can make it of the most immediate and effective kind; and it is certain that the ordinary constituted authorities either in Arracan or in Chittagong are powerless to interfere beyond the mischievous point. Of Chittagong it is broadly stated "that we have no hold at all of the country in the occupation of the Phrus"; or, as in a foot-note of Mr. Ricketts' report, that "the Magistrate has really no means of doing anything in the Kupas Mahals"; and in the hill tracts on the Arracan frontier the state of affairs is still more difficult one, from the absence of any paramount family like that of the Phrus, through whom some general influence can be exercised—every petty Phru chief, of whom there may be some hundreds, being the head of his clan. My opinion therefore is that extraordinary authority must be resorted to; that if the pacification of these regions is a measure that has been seriously and earnestly determined as a thing that has got to be done, special agents must be appointed to do it; in a word, that both the Kupas Mahal and the Upper Koladan should be placed in charge of European Superintendents. In Arracan an extra junior assistant would suffice for the duty, and I presume that an officer in an equivalent position would equally answer for the Kupas Mahal. The exercise of any powers with which such officers were entrusted must be unfettered by regulation law; and as of course they would be ex-officio commandants of the police levies, which it would be probably found necessary to make it their first duty to raise, they must be military men. However, it would be time enough to enter upon details concerning the character of the proposed appointment, and the functions that should attach to it, when I find that Government is so far willing to consider its expediency as to desire any further explanations about it.

13. After what Mr. Ricketts has written of the unhealthiness of the Kupas Mahal, I can fancy it being objected *in limine*, if there was nothing else against the scheme of having an European Superintendent there, that no officer could live in such a country; but on this side, at any rate, I think I could place an officer sufficiently near to the scene of action, without exposing him to much greater risk on the score of health, than he would run in any other part of the province. I have also been thinking that an officer on the Koladan might be so able to extend his influence as to embrace the Kupas Mahal within the circle of his protection; and if the Chittagong authorities would answer for their Jomnongas and Phrus keeping the peace, that he might prevent aggressions upon them. It might be as well, perhaps, if the experiment was looked on favourably, to confine it in the first instance to a superintendency of the Koladan tribes.

14. I do not believe that a more impracticable set of savages than these tribes exists on the face of the earth; and I am sure a more impracticable country than that which they occupy could not be found. All sorts of attempts have been made to win the confidence of the chiefs, to attach them to our policy, and to humanize them in some degree. Messrs. Bogle and Phayre, as Commissioners of this Province, gave great attention to the realization of these objects; but I have now some sixteen years' experience of Arracan, and I never saw any real progress made towards their attainment; and it is my profound conviction that in the establishment of a superintendency lies the last and only chance of success. If this cannot be tried, or if it is tried and fails, the next best thing is, in my opinion, to leave the tribes altogether to their own devices, internally to allow them the unchecked enjoyment of their accustomed pursuits of rapine and murder, externally to cut them off from all intercourse at the point at which

* Memorandum on tribes on the Chittagong frontier, with Judicial Proceedings, 13th April 1841, No. 139.

† Despatch No. 23 of 1855, dated the 22nd August, paragraph 11.



our authority ceases to be completely established. There no boundary has ever been fixed for Arracan on the north, the tract watered by the Upper Koladan and its affluents has never been more than a nominal part of the British dominion, and there are no considerations but those of expediency to prevent our renouncing it.

15. In speaking of cutting off all intercourse from the tribes of the Koladan with the rest of the world, I should not overlook that this is in itself a coercive measure, from which, if perfectly carried out, some advantage might result. In a petty kind of way there is a good deal of trade between the hills and the plains; the former receive rupees, salt, and salt-fish, piece goods, beads, and various trifling articles in exchange for cotton and tobacco; and to stop and intercept this trade, which I believe can be done when any outrage was committed, might tend greatly to keep the tribes on their good behaviour.

16. In taking up the question of the management of the hill tribes under its Arracan aspect, I rely upon my own experience, and can speak more confidently than when I go over to Chittagong and the Kupas Mehal, of which my only knowledge is derived from reading, and that chiefly in the correspondence cited at the head of this letter. So far, however, as I may be permitted to form an opinion on what I have read, I should say that the system of superintendence I have proposed was as applicable to the Phrus and Joomees of the Kupas Mehal as to the Arracan hill tribes. I believe Phrus, Joomees, Koomees, Morung, and Kookies, to be all pretty much the same thing under different names; and I believe further, that if the whole truth could be known, we should become aware that the Joomees of the Kupas Mehal was often the dacoit in the Koladan, and the Joomees of the Koladan the dacoit in the Kupas Mehal. As in Arracan, I think also that in the Kupas Mehal, supposing my idea of establishing absolute superintendence to be dismissed, that the great point should always be to avoid interference altogether; and I think, were I suddenly called upon without any further information to undertake the management of the mehal, I should prefer to revive and revert to Mr. Ricketts' policy of 1847.

17. I might even go further than Mr. Ricketts. I would not care if I released the whole of the sadder jumma of the Phrus, but I would make it more than an expectation from them that they should protect the frontier. I would hold them responsible for its protection. I would exact from them the payment of the ransom of any captives that were taken, and amerce them in the amount value of property plundered in every dacoity. I think if in this way it was made so directly for their interest to stop raids, they would be stopped. Kalindi Raai might be brought under the same engagements; but I have not the proper local knowledge to judge of this point, or how far either the Rojabs, who are settled with for separate mehals, could be similarly dealt with.

18. I do not find it anywhere accounted for how it happened that all forays having ceased for two years after Mr. Ricketts' agreement with the Phrus they should suddenly have re-commenced. Had not Mr. Ricketts then left Chittagong, and does not the suspicion arise against the Phrus, that while their treaty was fresh and the matter on the other part present, they could accomplish its object, and that afterwards they got careless, and the old state of things returned because they would not be at the pains to prevent it?

19. There seems a perfect agreement of all opinions on the subject of the Shindoos, that until they are put down, the frontier will always be more or less liable to incursion; but that marching troops against them would be too difficult and hazardous an operation to undertake in the present state of our information about them. Concurring in all this, I will only add that we shall never be able to get at the Shindoos until we have confederated the intervening tribes and made them our own; but the Shindoos would then be unable to penetrate into our territory, and we should not want to march against them; at the same time I repeat my belief that their incursions into Chittagong are much rarer than is supposed.

20. The policy recommended by Mr. Mytton in his letter No. 131 of the 26th December 1850, might, I think, be justified in its application to the Koladan tract, which can hardly be said to have been ever constituted an integral portion of our territory, the tribes occupying it being regarded rather as tributaries than as subjects; but the Kupas Mehal seems to have been thoroughly incorporated with, and held as part and parcel of the Chittagong District for the last half century, and now to sever and cast it off on the ground that we could not protect life and property in it, or that we were unwilling to incur the cost of doing so, would, it appears to me, be a proceeding as unworthy of us as it would be inconsistent with the traditions of our policy.



21. Mr. Stainforth mentions another proposition, one by Mr. E. Lantour, for the establishment of four frontier posts; and if there were only four passes by which the hillmen could come, this plan might answer: but, as I should expect, Mr. Steer says that the whole line of frontier is exposed to their attacks, and in that case neither four nor forty, nor four hundred posts would keep our territory inviolate. In such a country, too, I am of opinion that a post can only protect itself the ground it actually covers. If circumstances were otherwise favourable, the existence of a military post within a mile of a village would not interfere with the success of a dacoity in it. When the Burmese stockaded Naregan, and the whole of the Arracan local battalion was thrown into the Aung Pass, and not a mile of the road could be reckoned on beforehand as free from the presence of military parties, the hillmen found means to carry off the officers' stores, their wine, beer, and cheroots, and, if I remember rightly, either two of their servants or two sepoy, acting as convoy, were on one occasion made prisoners.

22. Mr. Plowden proposed, and is supported by Mr. Stainforth in, a scheme for the establishment of a Joomeeas police "within the Joom tract, locating thannahs in such number and in such places as might be necessary for effecting police administration." Whatever the merits of this plan, I doubt whether we should have an opportunity of testing it by experience, for I quite agree with Mr. Steer in thinking that the difficulty would be to find men to carry it out. I can imagine no inducement prevailing with the Joomeeas to give up their Jooms and to become policemen; or, if tempted in their ignorance to enter the police, they would never submit to the necessary restraint and discipline. The only possible way in which I believe a force could be organized among these people is through the agency of an European Superintendent, such as I have recommended the appointment of. Located among them, if he could gain their confidence and affection; if he could get them to look up to him as their leader, their protector, their chief, he might in time engage them generally to assist him and be able to command the services of a more immediate body of adherents, who would at length become the police we want: but any attempt to embody the Joomeeas through thannah darogahs, or their own hill chiefs, would, I am satisfied, prove a perfect failure. If I were hereafter told that such a police had been raised in that way, I would not believe it.

23. Besides the natural disinclination of the Joomeeas themselves to enter the police, we should have, I fear, the powerful influence of the chiefs against us, if its establishment was to be accompanied, as proposed by Mr. Stainforth, by the discontinuance of the remission of revenue heretofore sanctioned by Government in their favour.

24. As I would place the Kupas Mehal under a special officer, so of course I would exclude it from the regular jurisdiction of the Chittagong District. I observed that Messrs. Ricketta, Plowden, Bowring, and J. R. Colvin are all in favour of such a separation; while the considerations on which Mr. Stainforth has been laid to think it inexpedient have no application in the case of the appointment of a Superintendent. Another objection as to the difficulty and expense of laying down a boundary line between the two jurisdictions I do not dwell on, I do not see the necessity of laying down such a line; there is a tract that has been always known by the name of the "Kupas," or cotton mehal, quite distinguishable from the settled part of the Chittagong District by natural features, which must prevent any confusion as to the limits of the two; and the term Kupas Mehal would be a sufficiently particular description of the tract in any Act passed to exempt it from the operation of the general law. No boundary line has ever been laid down between the Province of Arracan and the Chittagong District, but I never remember any case arising in which the authorities had any difficulty in determining the jurisdiction on that account.

25. Having, as far I trust as will be considered necessary, noticed what has been previously written on the subject, I may now proceed with the consideration of Mr. Commissioner Steer's report of the 10th March 1856 (No. 78 of 1856). I understand by it, first, that Mr. Steer is of opinion "that the Poang cannot be relied on," and is not to blame for his failure; in other words, that experience has shown that Mr. Ricketta in his arrangements of 1847 overrated the power and influence of the Phrus, and that they have therefore been ineffective; second, that the establishment of a strong police on the plan proposed by Mr. Plowden would prove equally useless; third, that to procure tranquillity we must look rather to retributive than to preventive or detective measures; and fourth, that for this last purpose, though he overlooks none of the risks, Mr. Steer would employ military force to be exerted by the Arracan local battalion. Upon the two first propositions I have already expressed an opinion, venturing to question whether the papers prove that Mr. Ricketta's policy was as thoroughly enforced as it might have been; and whether the experiment of pushing it further, by giving the Phrus greater privileges, yet making them more responsible, might not have been tried, and coinciding with Mr. Steer in thinking that the Joomeeas police plan would



not answer. In his third proposition also I very nearly concur with Mr. Steer, and I will return to it again when I have stated shortly the difficulties that to my mind oppose the reception of his last proposition.

26. Upon the general question of the employment of troops in the hills against the Shindoes, I submit that Mr. Steer has shown no good grounds for reversing the judgment of condemnation pronounced against it by Colonel Bogle, Colonel Lister, and other authorities, and which was so emphatically affirmed by the Supreme Government itself; and that upon the evidence of the report of the very expedition, to which Mr. Steer alludes as having succeeded, that success appeared so fortuitous, that it is not enough to say now that there is no reason why a similar expedition from Chittagong should not succeed, but rather reasons are wanted to show that it would. Let us at least first learn against whom the troops are to go, where they are to go, the distance, and how they are to be supported. In the way of a mere special objection or objections, I have to explain, in allusion to the 13th paragraph of Mr. Steer's report, that sepoy of the Arracan battalion are only comparatively better than Hindoostances, that is to say, so far as service in the plains of Arracan goes. Their constitutions suffer cruelly in the hills, and they are not accustomed to travel in them before entering the service. In the expedition Mr. Steer has alluded to, half the detachment I had with me were footsore at the end of three days. In the present state of the battalion, moreover, no men could be spared under any circumstances and for any service at Chittagong; the corps should now muster a thousand strong, Government having proposed to add two companies to it on the withdrawal of regular troops; but not only has this not been done, but owing to men taking their discharge, desertion and to the difficulty of getting recruits, it is far below its normal strength, and does not suffice for its most ordinary duties—so weak indeed is it, that I believe there has lately been question in the Military Department of sending a wing of Regulars to its assistance.

27. But besides as I have said, that we have no troops adapted to the service, a regular military force is not essential, I think, to carry out the retributive measures, which I concur with Mr. Steer in opinion must be resorted to. Let there be a Superintendent such as I have advocated the appointment of, and let him have his levy of Joomes, Mugh, Koomes, Moring, or Kookie Joomes—(for I understand by Joomes not the name of a tribe, but of a calling, all who cultivate Jooms); and I think a sufficient agency will have been provided to carry out the stern, uncompromising policy, which, if we interfere in the business at all, and if we are to make an end of the disorders on our frontier, we must be prepared to pursue. There can be no question then made of administering the law,—law is for the preservation of order, wherever the latter has been established; but law never terminated anarchy, nor is it its proper remedy, but rather that rougher system (more or less war), wherein the many must sometimes be made responsible for the acts of the few, the innocent for those of the guilty, and suffer with them, that the ends of justice may be attained and peace reign. In this view, on the commission of a dacoity, as soon as I had ascertained who the dacoits were, I would proceed at once against any one or more tribes to which they belonged, and carefully avoiding bloodshed, except in self-defence, I would burn down the villages of those tribes, drive their cattle, and destroy their crops. I would serve without warning any tribes also in the same manner, on proof of their harbouring dacoits, conniving at, or assisting in the commission of dacoity, or buying or selling slaves, knowing the same to have been obtained by dacoity. Such are the retributive measures I should not scruple to employ. So far as I am informed of the nature of the country, and of the habits, customs, and condition of its inhabitants, they are the only kind from which I should expect success; while from detective or preventive measures, I hope little or nothing, except at least from those preventive, not exactly measures but results, which would surely accrue from the establishment of European authority in the hills; that the people would be taught to combine for their mutual protection; that they would become inspired with more confidence in themselves; that the defences of their villages would be better looked after; that their own intestine feuds would be healed, and those traitors (and spies) among them whom the robbers look to, to guide them to their prey, and without whose assistance they will seldom undertake an expedition, would be discovered and got rid of. In some sort as a preventive measure to adopt, I might here suggest that, until some policy be determined on, great care should be taken how muskets and ammunition find their way into the hills on the Chittagong side.

28. I trust I shall not be considered too much out of order in alluding to a leader in the *Friend of India* of the 1st May on the subject of this letter, and received here while writing it, merely to say that had it contained any suggestions which appeared to me plausible or available, I should have considered it my duty to enter upon their examination.



APPENDIX J.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ASSAM CENSUS REPORT, 1881.

The following extracts from the Assam Census Report for 1881 are here reprinted for facility of reference in connection with the subject-matter of this work. The census did not extend to the independent hill tribes, not living within the limits of our districts.

1. Assam occupies the north-east corner of the Indian Empire, and is bounded on the north by the eastern section of the Himalayan range, which portion is inhabited by the

Geographical.

Bhutias, Daffas, Akas, and other hill tribes, on the west and south by Bengal, and on the east by the native State of Manipur and the wild regions of Upper Burma. It is naturally divided into three distinct portions, namely, the valley of the Brahmaputra on the north, that of the Surma on the south, and the hilly regions running west and east which lie between these valleys and form the watershed of the two basins, and help with numerous streams to swell the waters of two of the largest rivers in Assam, which at the present day form the chief highways of communication with the outer world.

Along the banks of the Brahmaputra lie the six districts of (beginning from the east) Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Nowgong, Darrang, Kamrup, and Goalpara, which comprise the "Assam Valley Districts;" then follow from west to east the hill districts of the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the sub-division of North Cachar, and the Naga Hills, known as the "Hill Districts;" and lastly, the "plains" portion of Cachar and Sylhet, forming the districts of the "Surma Valley."

The province of Assam was constituted in the year 1874-75, when the eleven districts comprising it were separated from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, and established as an independent administration under a Chief Commissioner.

The districts of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys are known as the "Plains" portion of Assam, and the hill tracts intervening between the two valleys are the "Hill Districts." The different portions differ considerably in their conditions, and are differently administered. With the exception of the District of Goalpara, which for the most part is permanently settled, the remaining five districts of the Assam Valley are temporarily settled. These districts are under the direct control of a Commissioner, who is subordinate to the Chief Commissioner, and has his head-quarters at Gauhati, the chief town of the Kamrup District; while Sylhet and Cachar, the two districts of the Surma Valley, are under the direct administration of the Chief Commissioner, without the intervention of a Commissioner. The hill districts are all semi-political charges administered under special rules, and the regular laws are not in force in them. Assam being, as stated above, divided by nature into three distinct portions, each differing widely in its conditions, the leading idea in setting forth the results of the census is to keep the results obtained in the Plains distinct from the results of the hills.

In the third of the areas specified (the hill districts) it was nowhere possible to attempt any synchronous enumeration. In the hill tracts of the Garo Hills only the houses were counted, and a detailed enumeration of every house was made in certain selected specimen villages, and the data thus ascertained of average population to a house and distribution of sexes were applied to the villages counted. In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the census was taken in full detail, but it extended over several weeks. In the North Cachar Hills the schedules were filled in by the tahsildar, who went round from village to village in the course of the cold weather. In the Naga Hills, on account of the recent disturbances, only the civil and military population of the station of Kohima was censused.

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131. In Robinson's *Account of Assam* it is stated that the Mikirs have a tradition that their ancestors originally came from the Jaintia Hills. Colonel Dalton's version of the legend is that they only went to Jaintia on their expulsion from Tularam's country by the



Kacharis, and that, not being satisfied with their new quarters, they eventually placed themselves under the protection of the Rajahs of Assam. The story that I have been told of their first appearance in Assam is that being driven out of the Jaintia Hills into what is now the Nowgong District, they sent emissaries to claim protection from the Ahom Governor of the province of Sibsagar. These luckless persons being unable to make themselves understood were straightway buried alive in a tank which that officer was then engaged in excavating. The hostilities which ensued were concluded by an embassy to the king himself in Sibsagar, and the Mikirs have been living peacefully ever since in the territory assigned to them. Their present seat is chiefly in the Mikir Hills, a low mountain tract in Nowgong, cut off by the valleys of the Kopili and Dhansiri from the main range of the Naga Hills, but with a Naga population in its southern half, while large numbers of the Mikirs are to be found still in their original settlements along the foot of the Jaintia Hills in Nowgong and Kamrup. A few communities have emigrated into Upper Assam both in crossing the river into Darrang.

132. The Mikirs do not claim relationship with any other race, and the name by which they call themselves, *Arleng*, means simply 'a man.' They are divided into three tribal divisions, namely, Chintong, Ronghang, and Amri, whereof the first two rank rather higher than the third, because Amri excused itself from sending a man on the dangerous embassy to the Ahom king in Sibsagar, when a representative was required from each tribe. Hence Amri is excluded from sharing the liquor at a sacrifice, and is held in contempt by the western Mikirs especially. These latter are a fourth tribe called *Dumrah* by the Mikirs and *Tholua* by the Assamese, and from the fact of their acting as interpreters to the embassy, we may presume that they had then been settled in the Assam Valley for some time. All four tribes, as it seems, have the same divisions or phrises, within each of which marriage is interdicted. In this respect the Mikirs contrast strongly with their immediate neighbours, the Lālums, for they have only four phrises, viz.—

I. Ingti	II. Terang	III. Lekti	IV. Timung
and the sub-divisions of these are not very numerous, namely,			
I. Taro.	II. Beh.	III. Hanse.	IV. Tokbi.
Katar.	Kro.	Tutso.	
Hensek.	Ingtar.	Inghi.	
Ingleng.			

Though all the phrises are socially on an equality, have no scruples as to eating together or intermarriage, yet their traditional rank is in the order given above. Ingti and Terang appear to be priestly clans, though their office has fallen entirely into desuetude. Lekti is said to have been the military clan, while Timung embraced the rest of the people.

133. But whatever sort of polity the Mikirs may have had in the old days, they have none now. Each little hamlet manages its own affairs. In their own hills the Mikirs cultivate cotton and summer rice in forest clearings made mostly on the slopes of the hills. Their implement is the hoe, cattle are not kept, and milk is regarded as impure. In the plains, however, they are giving up this prejudice and learning to cultivate winter rice with the plough. A Mikir village or *chang* (so called from the high platforms on which the houses are raised, ten or twelve feet above the ground) consists of single houses or disconnected groups scattered about the jungle and constantly liable to change as their inhabitants shift their dwellings in search of fresh lands. Usually all the members of a family, however numerous, occupy a single house, which may thus be of very respectable size. The houses are very strongly put together. Under the platforms live the pigs and fowls which contribute victims to the Mikir gods.

134. The principal deity is *Arnám Kethe*, i. e., the great god, whom the western Mikirs are said to call *Hujai*, but this word may simply be the name of a district (*Hosai*), or may be connected with the Bodo *hajo*, a hill. His victim is usually a pig. The sacrificial ground is a cleared space near every village, and the principal times for worship are the first days of *Mágh*, *Baisákh*, and *Katik*. The ground is swept clean and strewn with leaves of wild plantain and wild cardamum (*tora*), upon which are placed offerings of flowers and whole and ground rice. The pig is then introduced to *Arnám Kethe*, by the medicine-man (*so kara kti*), who addresses the god in words to this effect: "We have come here to offer to you all the things you see, and we hope in return that ye



will keep us safe." The blood and some of the cooked food are offered to the god before the company eat. Once a year at least all the people of a *ching* meet together for this solemnity, which they call *Rongker*, perhaps an Assamese word. But propitiatory offerings have constantly to be made by individuals to evil spirits whose names and numbers are indefinite. They are demons of the higher hills, of the streams, and even of large *bila*, or collections of water, and some are household devils, as *Mikrang* and *Peng*, who are worshipped indoors by the family once or twice a month by way of disarming their malice. The list may be increased at any time by the discovery of new devils. In the case of sickness, meeting a tiger, or any other mischance, the medicine-man is called upon to divine the particular devil in fault, who is thenceforth propitiated by his new worshipper with yearly offerings of a fowl or goat. The names of the dead are also reckoned among the powers of evil. Mikirs burn their dead.

Funeral rites.

The funeral service is held either at the time or afterwards over the burnt bones, and consists in the offering of a victim to the spirit of the departed, followed by drinking, singing, and dancing, often kept up for several nights in succession, and always running into excesses which a more civilized people would consider shameful. Those who can afford it set up an upright stone (*long-4*) as a memorial of the deceased, with a flat horizontal stone (*long-pdt*) before it, to serve as a table for the offerings of rice occasionally supplied as food to the dead man. Mikirs never marry before maturity. Polygamy is permitted if a man can afford it; on the other hand,

Marriage.

a man too poor to support a wife is not supposed to marry at all. Betrothals by the parents seem to be unknown. If a man takes a fancy to a girl he calls on her parents with a present of rice-beer, and if approved of by the young woman he wins her by serving in her father's house for a term agreed on—usually two years—after which he carries off his bride to his own home. Social intercourse between the sexes is entirely unrestrained, and the women take an equal part in all the occupations, ceremonies and diversions of the men.

135. The Mikirs have yielded but little to the influence of Hinduism. They do indeed call their principal deity (Anam

Influence of Hinduism over them.

Kecho, corrupted from the Hindu *Prithi Raja*, but they have not begun to place themselves under the protection of Goshams. In their native hills they are safe, but the colonies on the north bank of the Brahmaputra will probably soon yield to the fascination which the Hindu religious system has for all wild tribes.

Their numbers.

136. The number of Mikirs in the Assam Valley returned by the census of 1872 compares as follows with the figures of 1881:—

	1872.	1881.
Goolpara	383	...
Kamrup	11,447	15,548
Darrang	510	1,315
Nowgong	34,823	47,437
Sibsagar	219	1,403
Lakhimpur ... ..	...	2,753
Total	47,382	67,516

There are also 5,546 Mikirs in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, 3,045 in Northern and 659 in Southern Cachar, making altogether 77,765, the total number of the Mikir race. The enumeration of 1872 was less careful and extensive than that of 1881 in the Mikir country proper. What was then shown as the Naga Hills belongs now to Nowgong. The large increase of Mikirs in Darrang, Sibsaagar and Lakhimpur is due most probably to immigration. In Kamrup they are confined exclusively to the hilly part of the district extending eastwards from Ganhati.

140. The Khamtis in Assam come from the country known to the Assamese as Bor

Khamti, or great Khamti land. It lies high on the Irawaddy, in latitude 27° and 28° N. eastwards from the frontier of Lakhimpur. Captain Wilcox visited it in 1826, and found the Khamtis living in the midst of an alien population, the descendants of races whom their ancestors had subjugated. The original seat of the Khamtis, as of the Ahoms, was the ancient Shan kingdom of Pong, with the city now called Mongoung for its capital. The



date of their emigration northwards to Bor Khamti, where, they say, they have been settled for centuries, is unknown, but if it did not correspond with the Ahom emigration to Assam, it would seem, at any rate, that some Khamtis either accompanied Chakapha or came in under his successors, for the name Khamti occurs as the appellation of one of the rulers of the Ahom kingdom towards the end of the 14th century. Subsequent events assigned very different fortunes to these two branches of the Shan people. When the ancient kingdom of their common ancestors was broken up by the Burmese about the middle of the last century, stray parties of Khamti emigrants, pushed forward by pressure from the south, began to appear on the borders of Sadiya. They brought with them the religion of Buddha, and found the Ahoms thoroughly Hinduized. Civil war had weakened the hold of the Ahom king on the province of Sadiya, and the Khamtis were allowed to oust the governor and install their own leader in his place. This arrangement was left undisturbed by the British Government, until in 1839 the Khamtis attempted to imitate the Ahoms in their conquest of Assam, and had to be put down by force of arms. Their Sadiya-khwa, or jagirdar of the Sadiya District, and all his clan with him were relegated to Naryanpur on the Dikrang, where they continue to live, cultivating the soil on the same terms as their Assamese neighbours, but preserving their national dress, language, customs and religion; the rest of the Khamtis of Sadiya, after some years of a fugitive life, were permitted to return and settle again in their old haunts. Colonel Dalton mentions an accession to their numbers by fresh emigration from Bor Khamti in 1850.

Their history in Assam.

141. Closely connected with the Khamtis, but of somewhat inferior status, are the tribes known as Kamjang, Aitonis, Pani Nora and Phakial. The first of these takes its name from one of the stages on the route followed by the Ahoms in entering Assam, and all of them live on the extreme eastern or south-eastern edge of the valley. We read in Assamese histories that in the 15th century Kamjang, Aitonis, and Pani Nora, who were then counted three tribes of the Ahoms, sought to transfer their allegiance to the Nora or Shan ruler of the country lying to the east of the Patkoi mountains, and corresponding perhaps in part with the Bor Khamti of the present day. They seem, in fact, whether by reason of their Khamti origin, or simply because of their position beyond the frontier of the plains, to have been subject to influences from the eastern rather than the western side of the Patkoi, and consequently they appear at the present day as Buddhists, not Hindus. The Phakials are more recent Buddhist settlers. The census of 1881 has not distinguished any of these tribes from the general mass of Khamtis. The name Pani Nora signifies little or inferior Nora, and none of the four tribes are allowed to take wives from the Khamtis, though the Khamtis do not object to taking wives from them.

142. The colony at Naryanpur affords a good example of the mode of life characteristic of the Khamti in Assam. The houses are built on platform raised a few feet above the ground. The chief's house is a very large structure, 90 feet long by 30 broad, with the customary deep verandah or porch in front. Both men and women still retain their national costume, viz., a blue cotton jacket and kilt of chequered cloth for the former, and for the latter a blue cloth tied under the arms and reaching down nearly to the ankles, with a jacket above. Thus attired, the women may be seen on an evening bringing in large loads of firewood to the village. Both sexes have that robust and well-nourished appearance which distinguishes the non-Aryan races of Assam from the Hindu, whenever the former have not yet been persuaded to relinquish their freedom of eating and drinking. Though professedly followers of the Buddhist religion, the Khamtis eat all kinds of flesh (except beef) and drink strong liquors, but their priests are bound to abstinence. The Bapu-Chang, or monastery, is a large house outside their village, with only two residents, an old man who has lived there five-and-thirty years, and a young lad in training to be his successor. Their daily meal of rice and curried vegetables is supplied to them by the women of the village. The interior of the house is occupied by the carpets and beds of the priests, their domestic utensils, and a shrine with a red canopy, containing several images of Gautama, one of which is a clay model three feet high, and gilded, but of coarse workmanship, while another is a small image of white marble, and both are of the ordinary Buddhist type. The priests shave their heads, and wear a yellow dress.

The doctrines of their religion are contained in sacred books written in the Khamti character, but believed in some cases to be of the Pali language. They have not, however, any very definite notion of the religion they profess. They celebrate Thursday as the