



the Cacharis were formerly more numerous, but that many villages were deserted in consequence of the raids of the Angami Nagas. The Mikirs are the remnants* of a tribe that has for the most part migrated northward to the plains of Nowgong and the isolated group of hills between the Jumoona and Berhampooter. The Aroong Nagas are an inoffensive tribe, probably an offshoot from the Kutcha Nagas who have settled down to peaceful habits.

They were great sufferers from the Angami raids. The Kookies are all immigrants from the south, and formerly inhabited the hills south of Cachar, from which they were driven by the advance northward of a more powerful people from the unexplored country between British territory and Burma. They are a hardworking, self-reliant race, and the only hillmen in this quarter who can hold their own against the Angamis. The 'old Kookies' came north according to their own account about 85 years ago. They were made use of by Rajah Govind Chunder of Cachar in his feud with Tularam Senaputty (1828-29). Band followed band from time to time belonging to different tribes and speaking different dialects. In 1846-47 especially a large immigration took place, the leaders of which informed our officers that they had left their own hills to avoid the oppressions of Manipur and the attacks of Lushais. In the year 1851-52, another great band, numbering about 8,000, moved north.

The old Kookies were reported in 1853 to be in four clans, viz., Khelema, Ranthai, Bete, and Lamkron. The new Kookies (of 1851-52) were of three tribes—Jangseen, Tadoi, and Shingshoon. Each clan or tribe was under a regular gradation of chiefs generally elected. It was this organization mainly that rendered them superior to the Nagas. They were ready at once to avenge an inroad, and, using bows and arrows instead of spears, were much respected even by the Angamis. Before the establishment of the Naga Hills District, proposals were frequently made to utilise these Kookies as a buffer or screen between our more timid subjects and the Angamis. In 1856-57 lands were assigned rent-free for 10 and afterwards for 25 years to any Kookies who would settle to the east of North Cachar beyond the Langting River. Fire-arms and ammunition were given them by Government. In 1859 about 600 Kookies had accepted free settlement on these terms; and in 1860 the colony contained 1,356 inhabitants in seven villages. These villages the Angamis avoided, and to some extent the country in the rear of the Kookie Settlements was free from incursions. But it would have taken scores of such settlements effectually to cover such a broken frontier. In 1867 the number of the Langting colonists had risen to 1,967, and 500 new immigrants had come from Manipur. To these last arms were not supplied. The establishment of the Naga Hills

* Probably Mills' numbers are more correct for the Mikir population than Allen's. There is no doubt that the bulk of the Mikirs are in "the Meikir Hills".



District has deprived this colonising scheme for the present of much of its political interest.⁽¹⁾

The tract now known as North Cachar is made up of (1) the hills which have always been under Cachar jurisdiction; (2) that part of the Assaloo Sub-division made over to Cachar in 1867 on the formation of the Naga Hills District; and (3) a tract of low undulating hills made over from the Naga Hills in 1876. The tribes pay a light house-tax and are content and peaceful. In 1875 the population was returned at 7,536 Nagas, 10,824 Cacharis, 15,080 Kookies, and 4,335 Mikirs. In 1880 a Kookie militia 100 strong was raised as a protection against Angami raids, and a European officer was again stationed in the hills to more effectively control the different tribes. In 1881-82 a rising took place, which in the words of the Annual Report, "seemed contemptible in its origin, but was lamentable in its conclusion."

The mainspring of the revolt was a Cachari named Sambhudan, who first set up as a worker of miraculous cures, and presently went on to claim divine inspiration, and took the title of a god, a "*deo*." Among the credulous population of the hills followers were soon attracted to him; the afflatus of his inspiration extended to them, and they too became "*deos*," though Sambhudan was still the principal god. He took up his abode at Maibong, the ancient capital of the Cacharis, and lived at free quarters on the forced contributions of his neighbours. At length a man brought a complaint against him in the Sub-Divisional Officer's court, having been beaten by him and his followers for resisting the expropriation of a buffalo. It was found that the dread of Sambhudan was so great that no one could be induced to serve a summons on him. The Sub-Divisional Officer then called in the Deputy Commissioner, Major Boyd, who went to his assistance with a force of some 30 police. On the way, some huts erected for a camping place were found burnt down by Sambhudan's party, but no other impediment awaited the District Officer on his road to Gunjong, the present head-quarters of North Cachar. Maibong is some six or eight hours' march from

(1) The principal authorities for North Cachar are,—Pemberton's, Mills' and Allen's Reports; and the following:—

Secret Proceedings, 14th August	1829, No. 5.
Political Proceedings, 14th May	1832, No. 90.
Political Proceedings, 29th October	1832, Nos. 132 and 133.
Political Proceedings, 3rd December	1832, Nos. 103 and 104.
Political Proceedings, 31st July	1834, No. 22.
Political Proceedings, 30th May	1833, No. 100.
Political Proceedings, 11th February	1835, Nos. 82 and 83.
Political Proceedings, 16th October	1834, Nos. 52 to 54.
G. O., No. 4411, dated 14th October	1853.
Political Proceedings, 19th October	1844, Nos. 132 to 134.
Revenue Proceedings, 5th April	1848, Nos. 19 and 20.
Revenue Proceedings, 17th November	1859, Nos. 3 and 4.
Revenue Proceedings, 3rd May	1860, Nos. 9 and 10.



Gunjong. On the 15th January, Major Boyd, accompanied by one European Officer and some 25 police, marched to Maibong and found it deserted, except for three or four men who ran away on his approach, and two women. Sambhudan and his party, supposed to be about 20 men, had countermarched him on the same day, and about noon fell upon Gunjong, where only a weak police guard had been left, which became panic-stricken, and fled without firing a shot. The "*deos*" burnt down all the houses at Gunjong, and killed two servants and a sick policeman, but left precipitately, neither plundering the small amount of treasure that was left there, nor carrying off the police rifles or ammunition. Though Maibong was so near to Gunjong, the police were too disorganised to send any news of the disaster to Major Boyd, who, with his party, passed the night in the houses of the "*deos*," unaware of what had occurred. Soon after dawn on the morning of the 16th they were awakened by the shouts and drums of Sambhudan and his followers, who had marched straight back from Gunjong and passed the night in the jungle. In the skirmish which followed, several of the insurgents were killed, and Major Boyd received a wound in the hand which ultimately brought on tetanus and caused his death.

Sambudhan, the leader of this insane and murderous revolt, had not been arrested at the close of the year. The language of the hill Cacharis is hardly known to any one, and they are a race famed for clannishness and for their readiness to support each other. Hence our police are practically helpless when following up offenders whom the people desire to screen.

In the Chief Commissioner's opinion no people came worse out of

The Kookie Militia.

this affair than the so-called Kookie Militia. They gave no information

beforehand of the probability of a Cachari rising, and they were found of no use after it in hunting down the fugitives or collecting evidence against them. They were the first to run away at Gunjong, and the only Kookie sentry there was at Maibong also ran away. They were accordingly disbanded by the orders of the Chief Commissioner. Badly, however, as the Kookies seem to have behaved in this instance, there can be no doubt that they have done admirable service as hill-porters on dangerous expeditions, and they are the only tribe able to defend themselves against the Angamis who have, as numerous reports show, a real respect for them. Under proper organization I can see no reason why they should not still be utilised for defensive purposes.



CHAPTER XVI.

MANIPUR.

Although, as stated above in Chapter II, it formed no part of my plan to describe the relations of the British Government with independent States lying outside its border, it has been suggested to me that I should include in this work some notice of Manipur, which, though independent, is at the same time a protected State, and which has played and continues to play a prominent part in the politics of the North-East Frontier. I have already in the Chapter on the Angami Nagas shown how constantly Manipur had to be taken into account by our Assam officials in dealing with those tribes. When we come to treat of the Lushai tribes, South of Cachar, we shall find that there also the action of Manipur is an important factor which has frequently to be recognised. On her eastern border Manipur, by rash dealing with the neighbouring tribes, may at any moment compromise the British Government with Independent Burma. In order, therefore, to make the history of the North-East Frontier complete, I have been furnished by the courtesy of the Foreign Office with various official documents and précis from which the following paragraphs have been reproduced :—*

Manipur is a little territory lying on our North-East Frontier between Cachar and Burma. The population is about 75,000, and the aggregate money revenue is about Rs. 21,000 per annum, in addition to a considerable amount of land revenue, which is paid in kind. The country consists of a central valley surrounded by hills, spreading over an area of about 7,000 square miles. The region is rich, but undeveloped. Iron and gold have been found, and tea grows in wild profusion. Above all, the Manipur Valley forms the great highway between the British Provinces of Assam and Cachar on the one side, and the Kobo Valley, which now belongs to Burma, on the other.

The early history of Manipur was barbarous in the extreme. It was not only marked by constant raids of the Manipuris into Burma, and of Burmese into Manipur, but by internal wars of the most savage and revolting type, in which sons murdered fathers and brothers murdered brothers, without a single trait of heroism to relieve the dark scene of blood and treachery. Meantime, not only is slavery an institution, but the so-called free

* A full account of Manipur by Colonel McCulloch, who was for many years Political Agent there, was printed in 1939 as a volume of Government of India Record Selections.

The account given of recent Manipuri politics in this Chapter is in length out of all proportion to its importance; but I have not been able to find time to condense the very voluminous précis of the Foreign Office.



inhabitants are compelled, under a system termed "Laloo," to render ten days' service to the Rajah out of every forty, without any remuneration. The hill tribes, consisting of numerous Naga and Kōōkie clans, also live in frequent feud.

In early times occasional communications passed between the
 Rise of our political relations with British Government and the Mani-
 Manipur: formation of the Manipur State, but our present relations
 Levy. may be said to have originated in the

first Burma war. Manipur had been devastated by the Burmese, and its ruling family had fled to Cachar. In 1823 the British Government opened communications with Gumbheer Sing, one of the members of the Manipur family; upon which 500 Manipuris under his command were taken into the pay of the British Government, and co-operated with the British troops in driving the Burmese out of Cachar. In 1825 this force was increased to 2,000 men, and placed under the command of Captain Grant; it was denominated the Manipur Levy, and was paid, accoutred, and supplied with ammunition by the British Government. Subsequently by the Ava Treaty of 1826, Gumbheer Sing was recognized as the Rajah of Manipur, though without any corresponding obligation so far as the British Government was concerned. The language of the Treaty was as follows:—"With regard to Manipur, it is stipulated that, should "Gumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof." Shortly afterwards the British Government discontinued the payment of the Manipur Levy, but still furnished ammunition for the reduction of refractory hill tribes; and further supplied 3,000 muskets and sets of accoutrements, on the condition that the Rajah should raise the Manipur Levy to the same number. The condition of affairs may be, perhaps, best understood from the following extract from a Minute by Lord William Bentinck dated the 25th March 1833:—

Previous to the late war with Ava we possessed no knowledge of the Passes connecting Manipur with our Territories; of its resources we were equally ignorant, and the panic occasioned by the simultaneous appearance of two divisions of the Burmese Army, one from Manipur and the other from Assam, led to a very general flight of the inhabitants of Cachar and those occupying the northern and eastern borders of our District of Sylhet. Under such an emergency it was natural that every resource, however trifling, should be sought after, and the re-establishment of the Manipur dynasty seems to have been a scheme peculiarly favoured by our late Agent, Mr. Scott, as affording, in his estimation, a well-founded prospect of defence of our frontier in that direction by the interposition of a race of people known to entertain a rooted antipathy to the only enemy against whose aggressions it was necessary to guard, and of the fertility of whose country highly-coloured descriptions had been given.

Whether the policy of identifying our interests with those of this petty State,—separated from our Territories by an extremely difficult tract of country, and from those of Ava by one of great comparative facility,—has ever been made a question I have not learned; the advantages, however, to us of a connection with Manipur appear to me very problematical, and this is the consideration to which I would now more particularly direct attention.

The result of our late enquiries have clearly shown that, after an uninterrupted tranquillity of seven years, this small State is still considered as totally incompetent to defend itself against a Burmese invasion. Its entire population is supposed not to amount to more than 30 or 40,000 souls and its available revenue to 4 or 5,000 rupees



a year. Its situation—surrounded by mountains—excluded it from any great participation in the advantages of traffic, and the whole tenor of the several communications made to Government by the Officers most intimately acquainted with the country proves that at this moment it is without the means of efficiently extending its agriculture.

The Levy, consisting, as we are told, of 3,000 men, is shown to be but very imperfectly disciplined and very little under the control of the Officers specially appointed for the purpose of ensuring its efficiency. And although we may fairly assume that, armed as they now are, they would be a match for an equal number of Burmese, we could hardly place any great reliance upon their undisciplined efforts when opposed to the vastly superior force, which, in the event of war, would inevitably be brought against them.

If, therefore, our connection with this dependent State is to be continued, I should prefer placing in it a small garrison of our own troops to retaining so large a portion of its scanty population for military duties; and we can hardly doubt that the feeling of security to the inhabitants of Manipur generally would be greatly increased by the permanent residence amongst them of such a body. Considering the system, then, which is now in operation as radically defective, I am unwilling to sanction any measures likely to lead to its permanency.

It was under the circumstances reviewed in the foregoing Minute that two Treaties were concluded with the Manipur State, namely, one of 1833 and one of 1834. By the Treaty of 1833 the British Government agreed to give to the Rajah of Manipur the line of the Jeeree River and the western bend of the Barah as a boundary; the Rajah, in return, agreeing to the following conditions, which are still in force, and are, therefore, extracted here from Aitchison's Treaties, Volume 1, page 123:—

1st.—The Rajah will, agreeably to instructions, without delay, remove his Thanna from Chundrapore, and establish it on the eastern bank of the Jeeree.

2nd.—The Rajah will in no way obstruct the trade carried on between the two countries by Bengali or Manipuri merchants; he will not exact heavy duties, and he will make a monopoly of no articles of merchandise whatsoever.

3rd.—The Rajah will in no way prevent the Nagas, inhabiting the Kalamaga and Noon-jai Ranges of Hills, from selling or bartering ginger, cotton, pepper, and every other article, the produce of their country, in the plains of Cachar, at the Banskandee and Oodharbun bazaars, as has been their custom.

4th.—With regard to the road commencing from the eastern bank of the Jeeree and continued *via* Kalamaga and Kowpoom, as far as the Valley of Manipur; after this road has been finished, the Rajah will keep it in repairs, so as to enable laden bullocks to pass during the cold and dry seasons. Further, at the making of the road, if British Officers be sent to examine or superintend the same, the Rajah will agree to every thing these Officers may suggest.

5th.—With reference to the intercourse already existing between the territories of the British Government and those of the Rajah, if the intercourse be further extended, it will be well in every respect, and it will be highly advantageous to both the Rajah and his country. In order, therefore, that this may speedily take place, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Government, will furnish a quota of Nagas to assist at the construction of the road.

6th.—In the event of war with the Burmese, if troops be sent to Manipur, either to protect that country or to advance beyond the Ningthee, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Government, will provide hill porters to assist in transporting the ammunition and baggage of such troops.

7th.—In the event of anything happening on the Eastern Frontier of the British Territories, the Rajah will, when required, assist the British Government with a portion of his troops.



84.—The Rajah will be answerable for all the ammunition he receives from the British Government, and will, for the information of the British Government, give in every month a Statement of expenditure to the British Officer attached to the Levy.*

By the Treaty of 1834 the Kobo Valley was transferred from Manipur to Burma, and a money compensation was awarded to the Rajah by the British Government in the shape of a stipend of Rs. 6,000 per annum.

Meantime Gumbheer Singh died in January 1834; but the policy of the time will be found sufficiently explained by the following extract from a further Minute by Lord William Bentinck, dated 7th February 1835:—

Minute of Lord William Bentinck, 1835: first appointment of a Political Agent. With regard to the petty State of Manipur, I cannot agree in the opinion expressed by the late Commissioner of its importance, for, so far from considering it an useful outwork in the event of a war with the Burmese, I am rather inclined to regard it as an useless and inconvenient post to defend, in doing which we might lose, but could gain no advantage. I have, however, entered more than once into this subject, and I would refer, for my opinion generally on it, to my Minute of the 25th March 1833.

Since that period the Rajah, Gumbheer Sing, has died, and his infant son has been placed on the gудdee without any disturbance of the public peace under the Regency of the Sunnaputtee, the Maharane retaining all the State honors and emoluments of Queen. It is not my intention to enter into the various subjects adverted to in Major Grant's Report, but merely to observe that the measures adopted on the occasion of it appear to have been judicious, and everything seems to promise a state of tranquillity for the future, and confine myself to a few observations on the substance of the 8th paragraph of Major Grant's letter and to the Manipur Levy, to which it refers.

Major Grant suggests that "it would be advisable to place 200 men of the Levy under the sole and immediate control of the British Officer in Manipur. The most implicit confidence could be placed in the fidelity to him of the men so attached, and they would form a nucleus, round which the people would assemble to carry into effect the views of Government."

Where the policy of identifying ourselves with the interests of this petty State is at least questionable, it does not appear to be a matter of importance to attain the object of Major Grant's proposition; and if it were, it is doubtful how far the means recommended are adequate to the end, for I concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Robertson on this point, that, unless cemented by the receipt at his hands of a regular pay, little reliance could be placed on the adherence to the British Officer at Manipur of any portion of the Levy that may be placed nominally under his control.

My objections, however, are not limited to this point alone, but extend to the Manipur Levy in general. On this body I have already expressed my opinion, and have now only to repeat that I cannot decide, on any one point of view, the expediency or advantage of maintaining it. It consists nominally of 3,000 men, but so imperfectly disciplined, that, as a military force either for offence or defence, it cannot in any respect be considered efficient or important; and it might certainly, so far as our interests are concerned, be much more advantageously replaced on occasion by a Detachment from Sylhet than retained on its present dubious and unsatisfactory footing.

If it be true that the whole population of the Manipur State does not exceed 30,000 or 40,000 souls, the keeping up of this Levy draws one individual in twelve of the most able-bodied from the number to an unproductive military occupation from profitable mercantile or agricultural pursuits; the extension of the latter being, it is understood, of the utmost importance to the prosperity of the State circumstanced as it is: I should therefore prefer, if our connection with Manipur is to be continued, placing in it a small garrison of our own troops to retaining so large a portion of its scanty population for military duties.

* As the connection of the British Government with the Manipur Levy and the supply of ammunition to the Levy have ceased, this clause is inapplicable to present circumstances.



Desirous as I am of terminating a system which, I am satisfied, is radically defective, I propose, for the consideration of Council, the discontinuance of British superintendence over the body denominated the Manipur Levy, leaving it optional with the Government of the country to maintain that force or not as it pleases.

Should this measure be resolved upon, Major Grant's services can be no longer required in Manipur. He has, by the Regulations of the service, become ineligible for the employment he is in by his promotion to a regimental majority, and he may accordingly be placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief.

The preservation of a friendly intercourse, and as a medium of communication with the Manipur Government, and, as occasion may require, with the Burmese Authorities on that frontier, and more especially to prevent border feuds and disturbances which might lead to hostilities between the Manipurians and the Burmese, it may be necessary to retain an Officer in the character of Political Agent in that quarter. Lieutenant Gordon, whose ability, intelligence, and local knowledge have more than once been brought favourably to the notice of Government, seems to be well qualified for this situation, and I beg to propose that he may be appointed to it on a consolidated salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem.

Lieutenant Gordon will receive his instructions from, and correspond directly with, the Secretary to Government of Bengal in the Political Department.

On the death of Gumbheer Sing in 1834, his infant son, Chunder Kirtee Sing, the present Rajah, was placed upon the throne of Manipur by the Senaputty Nur Sing, whilst the Senaputty himself became Regent. Subsequently frequent attempts were made by different Chiefs to obtain possession of the throne, but all were frustrated, and three of the leaders lost their lives. At length in 1844 the mother of the young Rajah made an attempt to murder the Regent Nur Sing. The attempt failed. Nur Sing was severely wounded, but many of the participators were apprehended, and the Rancee, fearful of the consequences, fled from the country with the young Rajah. This flight was treated as an abdication of the throne by Chunder Kirtee Sing, and the Regent Nur Sing became the actual Rajah, and was formally recognised as such by the British Government on the 28th September 1844. From this time, however, the rumours of intended attacks are said to have been unceasing. In 1847 it was reported that one Chief was about to invade Manipur with a force from Ava, and the Manipuri Princes in Cachar were warned by Government that they were liable to be removed into Bengal if their proceedings were such as to create disturbances in Cachar or on the borders of Manipur. In 1850, however, three Princes concerted measures for another attack of Manipur, and all three were killed. Shortly afterwards Nur Sing died and was succeeded by his brother Debindro Sing.

The most important event of the period which followed was the dethronement of Debindro Sing, the accession of Chunder Kirtee Sing, the present Rajah, and the subsequent special recognition of the latter by the British Government. The facts were as follow :—Debindro Sing had succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Nur Sing. At the same time, Chunder Kirtee Sing, the ex-Rajah, who had been carried away by his mother in 1844

Special recognition and guarantee of Chunder Kirtee Sing to the Raj of Manipur by the British Government, 1851.



after the attempted murder of the Regent, advanced his claim, and appeared prepared to support it by force of arms. Under these circumstances, and at the earnest recommendation of Captain MacCulloch, who had for some time succeeded to the post of Political Agent, the British Government recognised the succession of Debindro Sing, and sanctioned the apprehension of Chunder Kirttee Sing and the removal of both the Ex-Rajah and his mother to Dacca, in order to prevent a contest which might be attended with serious results. Accordingly, Chunder Kirttee Sing was arrested, but managed to effect his escape from his guards, and again advanced to assert his claim to the Guddee. Meantime Captain MacCulloch withheld the recognition of Debindro Sing; and it was fortunate that he did so, for the cause of Chunder Kirttee Sing rapidly gained strength, whilst that of Debindro Sing declined, until at length the former succeeded in gaining possession of the throne and became *de facto* Rajah.

But, notwithstanding Chunder Kirttee Sing's success, attempts were frequently made by Debindro Sing, or one or other of his brothers, to invade Manipur; and in 1851, in order to check these attacks and put a stop to the anarchy which resulted from them, Captain MacCulloch made certain propositions which are here given *in extenso* :—

Apprehending troubles I recommended the removal of Kirttee Chunder to Dacca. My recommendation was, per letter No. 1271, dated 17th May 1850, acceded to; but, before having been carried into effect, he escaped from Cachar, and having gained possession of the throne, the circumstances of the country, judging from the late contests and now existing rumours of others, appear to be about to return to the state they are described by Captain Pemberton to have been in before connection with the British Government commenced.

I beg to state most respectfully that in my opinion the establishment of good order and the maintenance of authority in this country can be effected only by the British Government. In a country which, like this, owes its existence, and owes that it does so, to the British Government, the influence of that Government ought, I humbly conceive, to be paramount and capable of effecting this; but oft-repeated contests for the throne have lessened that influence, and will, I fear, if not prevented, destroy it eventually altogether: a successful attempt from Burma would do so at once.

Towards the effecting of good order and maintenance of authority the stationing of British troops in Manipur would be the most effectual means. These troops, however, could not be paid either in whole or part, and I have not contemplated this measure; but a more formal acknowledgment of the Rajah, with a declaration that he will not recognize as Rajah any Prince who by force may dispossess him, would, I think, prove a strong check upon these frequent attacks, would induce a feeling of security in the Authorities, and with that an inclination to improve rather than grind the people, and in this manner put a stop to these contests for the throne, so injurious to the country and British interests.

I beg to state that the Manipurians are, in civilization only, a slight degree superior to the wild tribes by whom they are surrounded, and it may occur, in spite of the declaration I have above suggested should be made, that a successful attempt may be made against the Rajah. In such case the interference of our troops might be required; but I trust the dread of the British Government may be sufficient to deter the boldest from attempting to achieve the possession of what he would know he could not hold.

In reply to these recommendations, Captain MacCulloch was told on the 3rd October 1851 that the British Government had heretofore abstained from interference in settling the succession to the guddee of



Manipur; but that, under the circumstances, he was authorised "to make a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Rajah, and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him." This declaration appears to have done but little towards suppressing either the rumours of attacks or the attacks themselves. Meantime the Court of Directors remarked in a despatch dated 5th May 1852 :—

The position which you have assumed, of pledged protectors of the Rajah, imposes on you, as a necessary consequence, the obligation of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny.

From this time to the temporary retirement of Major MacCulloch from the Political Agency in 1861 there occurs very little worthy of notice respecting Manipur in the Foreign Department Records. The conduct of the Rajah during the mutiny was reported to have been praiseworthy, and the satisfaction of Government was accordingly expressed on this subject. In 1859, in consequence of some aggressions of the southern tribes upon the Manipuris, a quantity of powder and lead to the value of Rs. 2,500 were given by Government to the Rajah.

In February 1861 the Civil Finance Commission proposed the abolition of the Manipur Agency.

Proposed abolition of the Political Agency in Manipur, 1861.

Immediately afterwards Major MacCulloch intimated his intention of submitting an application for leave to England, and requested to be informed whether Government intended appointing a successor to his office. In reply he was informed that Government had no such intention.

Major MacCulloch next submitted, on the 18th July 1861, the following Memorandum on the duties of a Political Agent of Manipur :—

Memorandum by Major MacCulloch, 8th July 1861.

A Political Agent was first appointed for the preservation of a friendly intercourse and as a medium of communication with the Manipur Government, and as occasion may require with the Burmese Authorities on the Frontier, and more especially to prevent border feuds and disturbances which might lead to hostilities between the Manipurians and the Burmese.

My Report on Manipur, printed by Government, will inform you of the many attempts, since the Rajah Gumbheer Singh's death (when the Political Agent was first appointed), made to upset the ruling Princes. To prevent these often-recurring attacks, Government, in 1851, avowed publicly their determination to uphold the present Rajah, and to resist and to punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him: this avowal added to the duties of the Political Agent. The Court of Directors said—"The position, however, which you have assumed, of pledged protectors of the Rajah, imposes on you, as a necessary consequence, the obligation, not only of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny. The obligation thus incurred may be found embarrassing, but it must, nevertheless, be fulfilled, and, while needless interference is of course to be avoided, we shall expect, as the price of the protection afforded him, the Rajah will submit to our



maintaining a sufficient check over the general conduct of his Administration, so as to prevent it from being oppressive to the people and discreditable to the Government which gives it support." This is very strong—too strong, indeed, for the circumstances of the country. You will observe in my printed account that the whole system of Government since first its establishment in Manipur is oppressive in the extreme, yet, unless much abused, it is not complained of. Needless interference is to be avoided—and it would, of course, be considered needless were one to interfere with a whole system. This I have not done, for that would have been to subvert everything; but particular cases, bearing on their faces oppression not required to carry out the particular system under which the country is governed, I have considered to be of the nature of those that should be interfered with; and I have, consequently, prevented such. Manipuris are now loud in complaining; this formerly they were afraid of doing: but every complaint requires consideration, not only on its own merits, but with reference to the system of government which has been handed down to them by their ancestors. I consider that by degrees this system must be modified, and in fact, in my own time, it has much changed. But much is required to be done, and to keep up a salutary check, complaint must be encouraged, not discouraged. Many complaints will be worthless, but still the hearing of them will give you an insight into the peculiar system which cannot be got by merely reading my account or papers in the Office.

The hill people require much attention, and those on the Burmese Frontier more especially. It was the dread of their lawless habits that led to the appointment of an Agent here. These people are now pretty well in hand. It is principally towards Sumjok that apprehensions of the hillmen committing breaches of the peace of the Frontier by carrying off cattle, &c., are to be entertained. Between these men and the southern tribes the people are quiet; and all that is wanted there is to see that traders are not impeded in passing through them by petty plundering. In the south occasional raids of the tribes take place, and I have had several complaints from the Burmese Authorities in consequence. These raids they usually attribute to people in the Manipur territory, whilst they are mostly committed by men to the south of our boundary, the Numsailing River. South of the Numsailing are some powerful tribes, amongst whom Manipur is nothing; in fact to that part no Manipuri has ever penetrated, and even as far as the Numsailing no one but myself has ever attempted to proceed. The people as far as the Numsailing have all submitted to me and will obey my orders, and my name is amongst those to the south of it. This quarter will claim much attention, but I hope nothing will occur requiring much investigation, for there is no one who could assist you much in the matter. You might, however, find Gnargomba Jemadar, a person who could assist you a little in reference to the Kookies; and he is well acquainted with the other tribes, the Phukloes, who are Anais, and under my superintendence.

Langatel, Pulel, Aimole, Kongrang, and Soobong must not be allowed unnecessarily to be interfered with. These are villages on the principal line of route to Burma, who carry rice to the Thanah and give coolies on public service.

On the western side, the Koupooc tribe requires much attention. Through them the Manipur road runs, and on their presence depends its efficiency; they have much heavy work to perform for the Government, which must not be unnecessarily increased. Several villages of this tribe, which had deserted their positions, I have re-established, and since their re-establishment insisted that oppression shall not be the cause of their again leaving them. These villages do work for the Rajah, but under my control. The whole ranges between the Barak and Jeeree were by Treaty given to the Rajah; one of the conditions was that he would not oppress their inhabitants or prevent them freely taking their products to the markets at Luckipore, Oodarbund, or elsewhere. This was special: the order of the Court of Directors applies to all.

Besides these there is the Angames tribes which will require attention; the Manipur Government ought not there unnecessarily to interfere. Our Government has ceased to have anything to say to that tribe; but to allow the Manipuris to do as they wished in that direction would not be expedient or politic. There is cause for Manipur interference with as high a hand as they could assume, but still the idea that their acts amongst the Angames are being observed keeps them from doing much that they would otherwise do. In the month of Mera it was agreed that an expedition should proceed to the Angamee Hills: I would urge it.

In the hills all round the valley, and to the west beyond the Barak and Mookroo, are Kookies over whom I exercise a general superintendence to prevent oppression of the people, driven from their homes by their enemies in the south. The late Rajah of



Manipur. Nur Singh, made over the superintendence of all these tribes to me. This arose from the first proceedings in connection with them for the establishment of a line of villages to the south of the Koupooes, a matter which came before the Governor General in Council. The Subadar, who was general manager under me, is dead; but the interpreters or Lumpooes remain, and will be of use in matters connected with this people. I prevent as much as possible the selling of slaves by Kookies, and decline altogether to revive old causes of complaint arising from a time when they were quite out of any control but their own passions.

Beyond the Manipur boundary are the Soote and Loosai tribes. These are both powerful and dangerous, but at present they profess friendship, and I encourage them to come and go, though, if it were possible, the Soote tribe should be attacked. In connection with these people, and as a protection to the south of the valley, the Rajah and I have established in the south villages of Kookies, to whom are given arms, and whom we call sepy villages. They are to be unrestricted in their cultivation, and have to send scouts to watch the tribes at the season when they are most able to move about and do mischief. These sepy villages are not quite settled, but by care they might be brought to a proper state of usefulness.

It is necessary to protect traders of all descriptions who visit the valley itself to trade in it, or who pass through it to Burma for that purpose. All who pass through for that purpose get passes from me, and when they return I see the cattle they bring, and after having inspected them, my servant, Nansekpa Hazoree, collects the tax, pays it to the Rajah, gets the proper Mohurs, and sends them on. This is done to prevent delay and oppression, which would take place were the business left to the Rajah's people alone. Under Treaty heavy duties are not to be exacted on commodities. It has been my endeavour to encourage trade by every means in my power; and the present traffic, now pretty considerable, would entirely stop were I to refrain to take the trouble I do about it. I do not think you will have many complaints, at least for several years I have not, but I obtained immunity only from prompt measures, and sometimes severe ones. I do not think there is anything else much requiring notice here except the subject of slavery. Formerly slaves were taken into Burma, and there exchanged for ponies, &c. This I have entirely stopped; but, though stopped, the trade is not detested, and were it thought that attention was not directed to this point, it might revive. I would therefore occasionally ask concerning it, and express strong determination to punish any one breaking the prohibition. Manipuris from Cachar sometimes come here and claim people as their slaves: when I hear of such, I entirely disallow any proceedings.

An allowance is paid to Manipur for the giving up of the Kubboc Valley to the Burmese. This allowance Sonut Rupees 500 per month is paid to the reigning Rajah, &c., &c., &c.

Subsequently on the 18th August 1861, Major MacCulloch transmitted the following communication from the Rajah of Manipur to the Governor General:—

(After usual compliments.)

I beg to state that the Political Agent at Manipur has prepared himself to obtain leave and go to his Native country, but I learn that no person will be appointed as his successor. This circumstance will place the territory in danger. Manipur was ruined by the Burmese, but the British Government, having re-established it, appointed a Political Agent there. From the fact of a European Officer having been stationed at Manipur to settle all the affairs of the Burmese Frontier, the people of my territory dwell in peace and without any fear. There is an order of Government to the effect that no Prince would create rebellion and commit slaughter. From this order, as well as from the presence of a Political Officer, the people of this country feel more confident than before that no misfortune will befall this place. Should an evil occur in this territory, there is no one but the Government to which an application can be made for its removal. The inhabitants of Bengal, Naga, Burma, and Manipur are now trading to different places in safety; but if there be no Political Agent at Manipur, the people thereof will not, from fear, be able to enjoy peace and tranquillity. I therefore beg that Your Excellency will take the foregoing circumstances into your consideration and adopt such measures as may be deemed proper.



The Memorandum of Major MacCulloch and the letter from the Rajah of Manipur were referred to the Bengal Government for an expression of opinion as to whether the Lieutenant-Governor saw any serious difficulty in transferring the duties of the Agent in Manipur to the Superintendent of Cachar. In reply the Lieutenant-Governor submitted the opinion of Captain Stewart, the Superintendent of Cachar, together with his own views.

The Superintendent of Cachar considered that the peace of Manipur and of the Eastern Frontier required that a European Officer should reside at Manipur. The capital is 132 miles from Cachar, from which it is separated by seven ranges of hills varying from 2,000 to 7,000 feet high and four large rivers unbridged. Should the Political Agent be withdrawn, the wild and savage tribes of Nagas and Kookies, surrounding the valley of Manipur, would be up in arms; whilst the Manipuris themselves, who are already divided into a dozen factions, would split against the present Rajah, and each endeavour to place his own man upon the throne. Under these circumstances Captain Stewart expressed the opinion that, separated as Manipur is from Cachar, the Officer resident at Manipur should be authorised to act independently, being responsible to Government alone; but if it were resolved to abolish the Agency, then he would recommend the appointment of a young Military Officer as an Extra Assistant to be Resident at Manipur under the authority of the Superintendent of Cachar. The Lieutenant-Governor endorsed the views of Captain Stewart, and also expressed the opinion that, owing to the inadequacy of military force in that quarter, the Bengal Provinces were deeply concerned in the continuance of tranquillity beyond the Cachar Frontier.

The Government of India accordingly determined to maintain the Agency. But in October 1863 the question of its abolition or retention was again raised. Pending the consideration of the question the Agency records were removed to Sylhet. Mr. H. Beveridge, the Officer deputed to remove the records to Sylhet, gave his opinion on the subject. He was "decidedly of opinion that the Agency ought not to be abolished." His chief reason for this opinion was that he believed the Rajah, the Ministers, and the people all wished that the Agency should be continued. The reasons also for which the Agency was established still existed. An Agent was required to arbitrate disputes on the Burmese frontier, and Manipur being surrounded by hill tribes, he said there was no doubt that a Political Agent could be of great service to both the tribes and to Manipur by using his influence to check lawlessness on the one hand and oppression on the other, and that the removal of the Political Agent would be the signal for disorder. There were several Princes in Cachar and Sylhet, he remarked, ready to re-enter Manipur and renew their conflicts on the first opportunity. He also considered that the increased intercourse between Manipur and Cachar and the tea-planters made the presence of a Political Agent in Manipur even more desirable than



formerly. In a letter dated 10th February 1864, the Rajah himself again asked the Government of India to place an officer in Manipur.⁽¹⁾ He said he believed the country would sustain injury if no officer were stationed there, and asked that Colonel McCulloch might be re-appointed. The Bengal Government considered that, if it were determined to abolish the Agency, the relations of Government with Manipur might be conveniently managed by the Superintendent of Cachar, acting under the orders of the Local Government. It was finally decided by the Government of India to maintain an Agent at Manipur. The following is an extract of the orders passed :—

The past history of the country shows that no Chief has been able to manage the people: they have one and all proved cruel, oppressive, and weak. The country has been the scene of civil wars, murders, devastation, and misery under the nominal control of the Chiefs; while, as a rule, peace, order, and comparative prosperity reigned while a British Agent was present. In addition to these arguments in favour of the appointment of an Agent is the circumstance that indigenous tea has been found in large quantities all through the country; the knowledge of this will ere long make it the resort of Englishmen in great numbers. It will be difficult, therefore, if not impossible, to prevent constant collision between them and the natives, unless a British Officer is on the spot.

On the other hand, Manipur is too distant and too difficult of access to be properly managed by the District Officer at Cachar. Captain Stewart, the Superintendent, states that Manipur is 132 miles from Cachar "over seven ranges of hills, each from 2,000 to 7,000 feet in height, and across four large rivers unfordable during the greater part of the year and not admitting of boats." The post takes seven days in the dry season and ten in the rains.

Lastly, but not least, both the Chief himself and his people desire to have a British Agent among them; they have told Captain Stewart that the presence of one is equal to a brigade as regards the security of the country. The Governor General in Council is, therefore, of opinion that it is expedient that there should be an Agent at Manipur, and will communicate hereafter the name of the officer whom he selects for the appointment.

On the Agency being re-established Colonel McCulloch was again appointed Political Agent.⁽²⁾

Various officers have since then held the appointment, and have endeavoured with more or less success to induce the Maharajah to behave with propriety to his own immediate subjects, and the hill tribes owing a nominal allegiance to his Government. But since Colonel McCulloch's time none has been more successful than Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone who took charge in September 1877 and has with occasional absences on leave remained there up to date.

The Agency was from 1836 under the direct control of the Government of India. In 1867 Sir J.

Position of the Agency.

Lawrence proposed its transfer to

that of Bengal, but the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir W. Grey) objected,

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), April 1864, No. 102.

Political Proceedings (India), April 1864, Nos. 104 to 106.

Political Proceedings (India), April 1864, No. 108.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), April 1864, No. 111.



on the ground that the Agent might, at any time, be mixed up in transactions with Burma with which a Local Government was not competent to deal. It would suffice if copies of reports relating to tribes bordering on Bengal were forwarded by the Agent to the Bengal Secretariat. When the Assam Chief Commissionership was formed, the Agent was ordered to forward his letters through the Chief Commissioner under flying seal, and he and the officers of Manipur have now been placed entirely under the control of the Chief Commissioner.

For many years after the accession of Chunder Kirtee Sing, Manipur was disturbed by raids organised by Debindro Sing, Kanai Sing, Gokul Sing, and other members of the Royal Family, with the object of driving Chunder Kirtee from the throne. The British Government took steps to prevent and punish such enterprises, and since 1866 they have entirely ceased, their possible leaders having either died in confinement or being still detained under surveillance at a distance from the frontier.

It has been suspected that not a few of the raids of Lushais and other hillmen on Manipur and even on British territory were instigated by members of the Manipur house. Of the Lushais we shall hear more in the next chapter, but it will be convenient to bring together here all that is on record of the connection of Manipur with that and other tribes, even though in so doing the narrative has to assume some knowledge of what follows.

It is unnecessary here to enter into details regarding the raiding propensities of the Lushais. In the year 1871 they had committed raids in Cachar, Sylhet, Manipur, and Hill Tipperah, and were at the same time at feud with the Kamhows or Sakties, a tribe living to the south of Manipur; and their aggressions had become so unexampled in violence as to lead to an expedition being sent against them at the end of that year by the British Government, in which the levies of Manipur were invited to join. The expedition was extremely successful. The tribes of Vompilal, Poiboi, and Vonolel, the most powerful Chiefs, were reduced to submission by the British troops, the fine imposed was paid, hostages accompanied the force on its return, and guarantees were given of free passage through the country in future for Government agents. Previous to the withdrawal of the Manipur troops from the Lushai country several of the Chiefs entered into an engagement with the Manipuri authorities also to keep the peace with Manipur for the future. Several of them afterwards visited Manipur and there renewed their engagement. After the expedition Lushai raids into British territory entirely ceased, but this can hardly be said with regard to such raids on Manipur territory. The Lushais have but little direct communication with Manipur, and the Political Agent has few dealings and little influence with them. The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar is regarded throughout the Lushai country as the *Burra Sahib*.



The policy to be followed by Manipur with regard to the Lushais was laid down by the Government of

India in a letter to the Political Agent, No. 1127P., dated 30th June 1870,⁽¹⁾ of which the following is an extract:—

Policy to be pursued by Manipur towards the Lushais.

It is essential that similar measures for the establishment of friendly relations with the Lushais should be adopted from the side of Manipur, and that the Raja and his subjects should be restrained from committing aggressions on these tribes. I am therefore to request that you will impress on the Raja, in the most emphatic manner possible, that while he should take all necessary measures for the protection of his frontier, no unprovoked aggression on his part can be permitted, and that he must take effective steps to make his subject Kookies understand this, and to punish rigorously any disobedience of these instructions.

This line of policy was again confirmed after the Lushai expedition. In October 1872, the Government of India referred the Political Agent to the above letter as showing the general policy to be pursued by Manipur towards the Kookies and Lushais.⁽²⁾

The following year the Political Agent reported that the Lushai Chief, Damboom, who, with his followers, had settled in the Manipur hills to the south of the valley, had paid a visit to Manipur. The Manipur Authorities tried to keep this visit a secret, and the Political Agent, having heard of the Chief's arrival, sent for him privately. He promised to come, but did not do so, as he was hurried out of the capital that afternoon. The Maharajah's explanation was not considered by the Political Agent to be satisfactory. He, however, said he would send for Damboom, if required, and did so. Damboom duly arrived, and was brought to the Agent, Dr. Brown. Dr. Brown took the opportunity of asking him to explain to the Lushais that it was the desire of the British and Manipur Governments to remain at peace with them, that every protection would be afforded them should they desire to trade with Manipur, and to assure them that trade and free communication were most desirable. Dr. Brown, in reporting this, said he considered that a personal visit to the Lushai country and an interview with the Chiefs and inhabitants would be productive of much good. He was not sure whether such a course would be practicable and safe, but asked the permission of Government to make the attempt. Damboom thought that such a visit might be made with safety, but would not state positively that the Chiefs would receive the Agent, though he promised to bring information on the subject. Damboom was, however, detained in the Lushai country when he returned thither, and was not allowed to return to Manipur. Dr. Brown's proceedings with regard to Damboom were approved, but he was told not to visit the Lushai country without the express sanction of the Government of India. The Bengal Government was of opinion that the Political Agent should only be allowed to enter that portion of the

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), July 1870, No. 275.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), November 1872, No. 104.



Lushai country which borders on Manipur, if expressly invited by the Chiefs to do so. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, thought that his going there could do but little good, and that it would be much better that he should encourage the Lushais to come into Manipur to see him.⁽¹⁾

In 1877, it was reported that for some years previously the Kapni Nagas living in Manipur territory, in the villages adjacent to the main road from Cachar to Manipur, had suffered severely from repeated raids by Lushais subject to Poiboi, Lalbura, and Lengkam. The Manipuri guards at Kala Naga and Kowpum had been attacked and defeated more than once and had proved unable to protect the Kapni Nagas. Such was the terror instilled by the Lushais that a large tract of country had been deserted, and there was scarcely a village to be found to the south of the line of road, the inhabitants having fled to Cachar, or removed further north. The Maharajah of Manipur having ascertained that the Lushai Chiefs Poiboi and Lengkam were willing to establish friendly relations with the Kapni Nagas, proposed, in March 1877, to send a deputation to Tipai Mukh to conciliate these Chiefs. Captain Durand, the Officiating Agent, informed the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar that the Maharajah was sending the deputation, but added that he thought it would be better if the Lushai Chiefs were invited into Cachar by the Deputy Commissioner. The deputation duly arrived in Cachar, but the Deputy Commissioner disapproved of their proceeding to Tipai Mukh, where they expected to meet the Lushais. It appeared that the Manipuris proposed only to enter into treaty with Poiboi and Lengkam, and had brought presents only for these Chiefs. The Deputy Commissioner feared that the Chief Lalbura would resent the fact of his being overlooked; but he nevertheless allowed the deputation to go to Tipai Mukh to renew overtures with the mantries of Poiboi and Lengkam, and, if the Chiefs were still disposed to enter into engagements, to ask for an interview with one Chief, and request him to convene a meeting of all the Chiefs to consider the question of future relations. Some of the heads of the deputation, however, went beyond Tipai Mukh and visited Poiboi, contrary to the instructions given them. They were well received by Poiboi, who agreed to their proposals, but dissuaded them from going to Lengkam's village, though that Chief sent men to escort them. This slight offended Lengkam; but his mantries said that if the presents were brought, he too would, no doubt, agree to live in amity with the Kapni Nagas.⁽²⁾

The Chief Commissioner of Assam objected to all this that he could not give the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar permission to act as a medium in such negotiations till the Maharajah stated plainly the

(1) Political Proceedings (India), January 1874, No. 271.

(2) Political Proceedings (India), August 1877, Nos. 178-195.



terms he desired to make with the Lushais, and formally engaged that, in the event of disputes arising as to his observance of the conditions, he would abide implicitly by the Chief Commissioner's decision. He also requested the Political Agent to inform the Maharajah that, though he was willing to assist him, he felt assured that no negotiations would have any lasting effect, while he failed to protect his country by force of arms. The Government of India approved the Chief Commissioner's orders, but requested that the Maharajah might be discouraged from sending such deputations, the effect of which might be to cause complications with the tribes on the British frontier.

The country inhabited by the Kamhow or Sootie (sometimes called Sooktie and Sektie) tribe lies to the south of Manipur and east of the Toorool or Manipur river, that is between the country inhabited by the Lushais proper and the territory of the Rajah of Kulé,* who is a tributary of Burma. Yatole, the present Chief of the Sooties, lives in the village of Molbhem, which lies far in the interior.⁽¹⁾ The Manipuris consider this tribe to be a much more formidable one than the Lushai. They are a constant source of trouble to them, and have at times rendered the southern portion of Manipur uninhabitable. They are constantly raiding, and Colonel Johnstone thinks the cause of all this is probably that the Sooties are being driven forward by the Shindus, a powerful confederacy living to the south-east of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Lushais hold the Sooties in great dread, and are falling back before them. They are well supplied with fire-arms, supposed to be procured from Burma, whence they also obtain their ammunition. They have never had any dealings whatever with the British Government. The Chief, Kamhow, after

* "The district of Kulé, which, as has been before observed, forms the southern portion of Kubbo, extends a short distance beyond the confluence of the Kathé Khyoung with the Ningthee to Mutoogaundee, on the right bank of the latter river. The present Tsaubwa, or chieftain tributary to Ava, is, according to Lieutenant McLeod, a Shan, and lineal descendant of the ancient chieftains of that district, which the Raja said extended formerly nearly down to the junction of the Ningthee and Irrawaddy rivers. At present it is sub-divided into 12 small districts, with four towns and three hundred and sixty villages, and is supposed altogether to contain about 20,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants of every description. The Raja admitted, however, that the population had very much decreased since the last census was taken in 1784 A.D. That portion of his subjects who reside in the plains is almost entirely composed of Shans, while those on the hills west of Kulé are all Kyens, or wild mountain tribes, who tender but a very imperfect submission to his authority. The force kept up by the Kulé Raja principally consists of these Kyens, who are only occasionally called upon; and it is probable that in a case of extreme urgency, he might be able to raise a force of 5,000 men from among the Shans and Kyens; but the latter could never be depended upon for service beyond his own district, and even then reverse would cause their immediate dispersion, and return to their fastnesses in the hills."—*Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier*, pp. 119-120.

(1) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 14.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 3.



whom the tribe is named, died in 1868, but Yatole, the present Chief, is often called Kamhow when referred to as the principal Chief or head of the tribe. From the isolated position of the Sooties there is not much trustworthy information regarding them. In 1875 the general opinion amongst the best informed authorities in Manipur was that at least 2,000 men, two-thirds of them armed with muskets, would be available in the event of an attack being made on the villages in the interior.

The Sooties are old and formidable foes of Manipur.⁽¹⁾ The Manipur authorities say that during Nur Sing's time (1834-50) they made several raids upon Manipuri villages and took possession of Mombee and Heeroway, within Manipur territory, which are still occupied by the Kokatung section of the Sooties. In 1856 they committed a serious outrage on a hill village in Manipur territory. The Maharajah resolved to punish them for this outrage, and in January 1857 sent an expedition 1,500 strong against them. He was so impressed with the importance of the operations of the expedition being brought to a successful issue that, with the object of encouraging his force, he accompanied it in person. It nevertheless ended in the disgraceful flight of the Manipur troops. They neglected to secure their line of communications, provisions consequently became short and, instead of falling back on their line of advance, they, after some skirmishing with the enemy, fled in confusion by another and unknown route, along which it must have been known that they could not possibly obtain provisions. Colonel McCulloch, who was then Political Agent, believed sheer cowardice to have been the cause of the failure of the expedition. The troops basely left their Rajah, who, with some twenty followers, arrived some days after they had reached the valley.

In April 1859, the Political Agent reported two serious aggressions by the Kamhows on Manipuri subjects.⁽²⁾ The first was an attack on a Hankeep village near Shooگونoo, not far from the southern frontier. The village was burnt and the headless trunks of fifteen men were found. Forty-five men, women, and children were also carried into captivity, with their flocks and herds. The second aggression was an attack on Saitol, in which the village was burnt and a part of its herds driven away, but none of the people killed or captured. After these attacks a line of posts was established for the protection of the south of the valley and for the resistance of any sudden attack the tribes might make.

(1) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 90.
Foreign Consultations, 13th February 1857, Nos. 181-83.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 90.

(2) Foreign Consultations, 27th May 1859, No. 332.



In the Administration Report for 1868-69 it was stated that a month after the Manipur force returned from the expedition of 1857, the Sooties sent messengers to Manipur and promised Colonel McCulloch not to molest the Maharajah's subjects further, that this promise had been adhered to, that they were then decidedly friendly, and traded freely with the valley, and that Kamhow reported regularly any suspicious doings amongst the Lushais, and would remain neutral, or even give assistance, in the event of their being attacked by Manipur. This assertion that the Kamhows submitted to Colonel McCulloch after the expedition of 1857, and that they had remained friendly from that time up to 1871, has been repeated by various officers, but no report of any such submission was then made by Colonel McCulloch to the Government of India. On the contrary, the aggressions referred to in the foregoing paragraph show that they were not friendly in 1859, and the Maharajah then applied for a quantity of ammunition on payment, so that he might be able to retaliate on this tribe, which was granted.⁽¹⁾ The Manipur authorities, in 1872, also asserted that Kamhow raids had occurred at intervals from 1857 to that year. They mentioned seven Kamhow raids on Manipur villages which had taken place from 1857 to 1871 and two during the Lushai expedition. The recent raids prior to 1872 were, however, repudiated by the principal Chief. When referred to about a raid committed on a Manipur village by the Kokatung section in 1871, he declared that it was done without his authority, and that he had very little control over the clan in question. The question whether, up to this time, the Sooties were really friendly or hostile to Manipur, was therefore a disputed one. In the beginning of 1871, while the fighting men of the Lushais were raiding on Manipur and Cachar, the Sooties entered the Lushai country and killed and carried off a large number of Lushais. The Sooties sent the heads of four of the men killed on this occasion to Manipur. It would thus appear that they were not then openly hostile to Manipur.

Towards the end of 1871, when preparations were being made for the expedition against the Lushais, the Maharajah of Manipur, with the concurrence of the Political Agent, sent for the Chief of the tribe to ascertain what assistance he could afford towards the expedition.⁽²⁾ The Chief replied that he was unable to leave his tribe as the Lushais were then collecting in great force, and he did not know whether their object was to attack his tribe or to set

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1871, No. 576.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 3.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 14.
Foreign Consultations, 6th May 1859, Nos. 332 and 333.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 70.
Political Proceedings (India), May 1871, Nos. 576, 588, and 809.

(2) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 2.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 38.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 46.



out in any other direction. He, however, sent a deputation to the Maharajah with friendly assurances. The members of this deputation expressed a strong desire to be allowed to go forward and attack Vonolel's tribe of the Lushais. They received strict injunctions not to do so, but they do not appear to have heeded these injunctions, for, a few weeks after, a report was received that they had actually engaged Vonolel's tribe, but without serious loss on either side, only three of the Lushais being killed and one Sootie wounded.

The Maharajah of Manipur supplied a contingent of about 2,000 men to assist in the operations in the Lushai country, which acted under the orders of Major-General Nuthall, who was then Officiating Political Agent at Manipur.⁽¹⁾ The contingent occupied an extended line of posts along the southern boundary of Manipur for the purpose of watching the Lushais against whom Brigadier-General Bouchier was operating through Cachar. This position was also calculated to secure the fidelity of Kamhow, whilst it enabled the contingent to take full advantage of any assistance he might render. The hostile attitude of the Sooties towards the other tribes was well known, but, in the event of their throwing in their lot with them, the contingent would also have been in a position to attack them. When the Manipur troops were returning after the conclusion of the expedition they fell in with a party of Kamhows under the Chief named Kokatung, who were carrying away 957 captives from two Lushai villages. The Kamhows came into the camp of the Manipur Contingent apparently not expecting to be treated as enemies, but were all made prisoners by the Contingent and taken to Manipur and placed in irons in the jail. The 957 captives were also taken to Manipur, but not as prisoners; they were settled in the valley. General Bouchier stigmatized this as an act of "treachery" on the part of the Contingent, though it had been admitted that Kokatung had committed a raid on a Manipur village in 1871. General Nuthall, the Officiating Agent, however, maintained that the Sooties were hostile to Manipur, and, with the view of refuting the representations made to the Government of India regarding the "friendly alliance" of the Sootie tribe, he submitted a list of raids alleged by Manipur to have been committed on that State from 1835 to that date. He described Kamhow's attitude since the affair of 1857 already described to be "one of alternate pretence of submission, raid upon Rajah's distant villages, and assurance of non-participation." It was, however, generally considered by other officials that the Kamhows were friendly. Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, said there could be no doubt that "Kamhow was quite in earnest in desiring to help Manipur and us against his old enemies, the people of Vonolel's villages, but of course," he added, "he can never forgive that wonderful piece of treachery" (referring to the capture of Kokatung and his followers). It should,

(1) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 70.



however, be mentioned that General Nuthall was not actually present when Kokatung and his followers were disarmed and made prisoners, but was a few miles in advance: he nevertheless approved what the Manipur Majors had done, and thus became responsible for their act. He also asked that the Governor General in Council might be moved to acknowledge "the judicious and resolute conduct of the two Majors" to whom the "success" was due.

The Kamhows were anxious to obtain Kokatung's release, and, in April 1872, sent an embassy to Manipur with that object.⁽¹⁾ Kikoul, who was chief of the embassy, was informed that no proposition of any kind could be entertained whilst a single subject of the Maharajah remained in their hands, and that, if the captives were not released, the Maharajah would take measures to punish the Kamhows. Kokatung died shortly after this in the Manipur jail.

In August 1872, the Political Agent reported that he had heard it was the intention of Manipur to attack the Kamhows during the ensuing cold season. They wished to release the Manipur captives with the Kamhows and bring the tribe into subjection. The Political Agent asked whether the expedition should be allowed.⁽²⁾ The Maharajah had for some time previously been pressing him to obtain the sanction of Government for the supply of four mountain guns with elephant gear complete, the same as used by the British troops during the Lushai expedition. The Kamhows, on the other hand, had given out that they would require 100 human heads to perform the funeral obsequies of their late Chief. The Government of Bengal and the Government of India were averse to any war taking place on our frontier, and the Political Agent was informed that, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, it would be exceedingly impolitic to authorize any such expedition by Manipur against the Kamhows. The Political Agent was also referred to this office letter already quoted on the general question of the policy to be pursued by Manipur towards the Kookies and Lushais. The policy to be followed by Manipur towards the Kamhows is therefore the same as that towards the Lushais proper, viz., that while the Maharajah should take all necessary measures for the protection of his frontier, no unprovoked aggression on his part can be admitted.

In October 1872, the Kamhows sent another embassy under Kikoul to Manipur. This embassy brought with them four of the captives who had been carried off in the raid of the previous year on a Manipur village, and also an elephant tusk for the Maharajah. Kikoul said that it was the intention of their Chief to return all the Manipur captives, but when asked by Colonel Mowbray

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 90.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), November 1872, Nos. 100-104.



Thomson, who was then Officiating Political Agent, in how many days he would guarantee their release, he made excuses and gave evasive replies. The four captives who were returned said that they were given to understand by some of their brethren who had settled with the Kamhows that Kikoul had only been sent to find out whether the Manipur Durbar would release the followers of their late Chief, Kokatung; if not, they were determined to destroy all the Manipur villages in the hills on their frontier. This statement Kikoul denied. While Kikoul was in Manipur Colonel Thomson endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Manipur and the Sooties, though he said it was a difficult task, as it was impossible they could easily forget the treachery practised towards them by Tangal Major in capturing Kokatung and his followers.⁽¹⁾ His efforts, however, met with some success, for, in December 1872, the deputation again returned to Manipur, accompanied by 26 captives of Manipur Naga tributaries taken two years previously. Colonel Thomson promised Kikoul that a similar number of Kamhow captives in Manipur should be released, and the following month Kikoul brought 14 captives more, when a further exchange was effected. On this occasion Colonel Thomson proposed that the tribe should swear allegiance and fealty to Manipur, to which Kikoul agreed, and said they wanted peace with Manipur, but stipulated that the son of their late Chief, Kokatung, should be released, and the skull and bones of his dead father made over to them. This request was complied with by the Manipur authorities, and in March 1873 peace was sworn between Kokatung's son and Manipur, and the whole of the Kamhows released then took their departure for their Native hills. The Manipur Durbar had been very anxious to get Yatole, the Rajah of the Sooties, to come in from across the boundary and make him also take the oath of allegiance to the Maharaja before releasing Kokatung's son. Colonel Thomson dissuaded them from this, as he thought such a proceeding might lead to a complication with Burma. He told them that he could in no way recognise their authority over the Kamhow Rajah. After these exchanges of captives there still remained eight Kamhows with the Maharajah of Manipur who were to be released on the restoration of ten more Manipur captives supposed to be with the Kamhows.

But the peace thus brought about did not last long. In October 1874 the Kamhows attacked two villages, Kumsol and Mukoong, in Manipur territory, to the south of the valley. Dr. Brown visited the villages attacked and found them partially destroyed by fire and totally abandoned. According to statements made by two villagers, 17 men were killed and 78 men, women, and children carried off by the Kamhows on this occasion, but from the subsequent papers the numbers appear to have been exaggerated. So far as the Political Agent could ascertain no provocation was given on the part of Manipur. There appeared little doubt from his investigations that the raid was committed by the

(1) Political Proceedings (India), January 1873, Nos. 441-447.
Political Proceedings (India), April 1873, No. 26.



Kokatung section, residing in the group of villages called Mombee. Mombee, he remarked, according to Captain Pemberton and Colonel Thomson, is within Manipur territory and has been encroached upon, and the former inhabitants driven out by the Kamhows. Mombee is in fact well on the Manipur side of the boundary line laid down by the agreement of 1834 with Burma. The Maharajah of Manipur proposed to send an expedition against the Kamhows to punish them for this raid, and the Political Agent recommended that permission should be granted. The Chief Commissioner of Assam also thought that the Rajah should be allowed to take such measures in retaliation as he might deem expedient.⁽¹⁾ He considered that, for a State situated as Manipur is, a policy of retaliation was the only safe one. In reply the Government of India said that, should there have been no provocation on the part of the subjects of Manipur, the Rajah would be justified in adopting such measures as might be necessary to protect his own territories from similar raids in future; and, if retaliation was considered to be absolutely necessary, he should be advised to move in such strength as would preclude the risk of defeat. The Political Agent recommended that the Government of India should not identify itself with the expedition further than by limiting the Manipur advance to Mombee, and this was approved.

The Maharajah accordingly organized an expedition 2,400 strong.

Manipur Expedition of 1875 against the Kamhows.

As it was expected that the Kamhows would fight, the Political Agent asked for sanction to accompany

the expedition. This proposal was not acceded to by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the ground that it would identify the Government of India more emphatically than was advisable with the Maharajah's proceedings. The Chief Commissioner's proceedings were approved, and it was remarked that the Governor General in Council considered it advisable to avoid, as far as possible, any direct interference in the matter. The expedition started on the 19th February and returned on the 14th April 1875. The Majors who were in command reported the result of the expedition to Dr. Brown after their return. They said that before sunset on the 20th March their advance guard, about 800 strong, was attacked by a party headed by Yatole's brother and son. The Manipuri party made a good stand, and firing continued for an hour and a half, when the Kamhows fled. The next morning the Majors and the main body of the force arrived on the ground. Preparations for an attack on the Sootie villages were in progress, when a Sootie deputation arrived in camp. They said that two of their men had been killed and five wounded on the previous evening. They placed Yatole's sword before the Majors, acknowledged themselves to be the Maharajah's ryots, promised to pay tribute, and to abide by the terms imposed. They begged the Majors not to send the force to their

(1) Political Proceedings (India), February 1875, Nos. 46-57.



villages, so 2 subadars and 22 sepoy only were sent, and returned with the wife and child of the Chief of Kumsol, who had been captured in the raid. A few days after a deputation consisting of Kikoul and a few others arrived with the Chief of Kumsol and six other captives. The remaining captives, it was said, had been sent into the interior, but the Sooties promised to do what they could to get them back.⁽¹⁾ From the evidence of captives subsequently released, it, however, appears that they were at Mombee all the time. The force then returned to Manipur, accompanied by the Sootie deputation. The Political Agent considered the result of the expedition to be fairly successful, though he was disappointed at no hostages having been brought in. The Majors had been instructed to insist on hostages being given to be held until the other captives, of whom there were said to be twelve, were restored. There were, however, five Sootie captives remaining in Manipur, and the Sootie deputation were told they could not be released unless an equivalent number of Manipur captives was surrendered. In May seven of these captives were returned to Manipur, and, in accordance with the promise given, the five Sootie captives in Manipur were set free. The Sootie messenger who brought the captives to Manipur said he was confident that the other captives they had would also be given up. Dr. Brown, in referring to this expedition in his Administration Report for 1874-75, stated that from past experience he was led to doubt the correctness of the Majors' account and made independent enquiry regarding the doings of the expedition. He found that, so far as his informants knew, some of whom were with the force, not a shot was fired on Mombee, each party seeming to be afraid of the other, and he remarked that the Sooties were not likely to be deterred from committing further raids on Manipur territory from any fear of the Manipur troops.

For a short time after the expedition of 1875 no raids were committed on Manipur by the Sooties, though attempts had been made, in one of which a Kamhow was killed.

The effect of the expedition, however, was not much felt by them. In 1876 the Political Agent said they seemed to be becoming more aggressive and arrogant than before; the establishment of four new thannahs on that frontier had, however, in a great measure, prevented the attempts at raiding. Two Sooties of Nongeah came to the Manipur village of Mungote and persuaded the Chief, named Bomyam, and two men to accompany them to Nongeah to receive certain Manipur captives collected there, whose release had been promised by Kikoul. When in the Sootie country the two men were deliberately shot by Kikoul and a brother of Yatole named Khooding. Bomyam escaped, the musket aimed at him having missed fire. During the years 1876, 1877, and 1878 Sootie raids were frequent and numbers were reported killed on both sides. The Political Agent reported that during the year 1876-77

(1) Political Proceedings (India) B., June 1875, Nos. 1-4 and 51-52.



the condition of affairs between Manipur and the Sooties had been in a "most unsatisfactory state." Matters had drifted, and no real attempt had been made to arrive at a satisfactory understanding. The Manipur diaries for 1877 and 1878 contain frequent allusions to Kamhow raids, but it was doubtful whether the Kamhows are altogether to blame. In May 1877, in referring to an attack on a Manipur village by Kamhows, of whom 22 were reported to have been killed, the Agent said he was afraid that the origin of the raid was an attack made by Manipuri Kookies on peaceable Kamhows the previous month. A few days later he reported that five Kamhow heads had been brought into Manipur and offered up, as is usual in such cases, in the hole* on the north side of the Nursing Durwaza, called "Suroong," to the presiding deity. In January 1878 it was reported that the Kamhows had attacked the Kulé Valley in force, and that a Burmese force of 2,000 men had been sent against them. Colonel Johnstone strongly urged on the Durbar the necessity of sending messengers to ask the Chiefs to come in and see him, but as two men who previously went had been murdered, nobody liked to undertake the dangerous office.

In the Administration Report for 1877-78, a remarkable circumstance in connection with the Sootie Migration of the Sooties into Manipur. tribe and Manipur is recorded.

Parties to the number of over 2,000 persons belonging to the Sooties migrated during the year into Manipur territory, where they settled down on lands assigned to them by the Maharajah in the neighbourhood of Moirang, to the south-west of the valley. The Political Agent was visited by the Chiefs of the immigrants, who expect the number to be increased this year. Colonel Johnstone considered this immigration important. The Sooties, weakened by the loss of 2,000 of their number, and with the early prospect of losing more, will be less formidable to Manipur. The new comers are mostly not actually of the Sootie tribe, but are reported to belong to a Helot race living in villages of their own among the Sooties. Their object in leaving their country was simply to find a place where they might live in peace and security.

In 1884 when the Kubo Valley was ceded to Burma, the eastern and a small portion of the southern boundary of Manipur was laid down. Position of the Sooties with regard to Burma.

It is in connection with this small portion of the southern boundary that the question is raised of the position of the Kamhows with regard to Burma. According to the Treaty of 1834 ceding the Kubo Valley to Burma the southern boundary of Manipur from the east begins at the point where the river called by the Burmans Nansawing, and by the Manipuris Numsaulung, enters the plain, *up to its sources and across the hills due west down to the Kothi Khyoung (Manipur River).* Captain Pemberton, in his report, dated 19th April

* This hole is most sacred, and it is said that few Manipuris even are allowed to see it.



1834, says that the Numsaulung River appeared to have been always considered by the Burmese as the northern limit of the Kulé Rajah's territory in that direction. This accounts for the Numsaulung forming the southern boundary of the northern divisions of the Kubo Valley. Captain Pemberton does not, however, explain why the line was extended from the sources of the Numsaulung westward to the Manipur River, for the Kulé Rajah's territory does not extend so far in that direction. A line drawn from the sources of the Numsaulung due west to the Manipur River passes through the northern portion of the country at present inhabited by the Sooties. Thus, according to the boundary laid down by Captain Pemberton, contained in the Treaty of 1834, part of the Sootie tribe at present live in Manipur and part in Burmese or independent territory.

In November 1872, Colonel Mowbray Thomson, the Officiating Political Agent, reported that, from an examination of Pemberton's map and the Treaty of 1834, he considered that the country inhabited by the Sooties clearly belonged to Burma, and that, in his opinion, the Manipuris had no right to make war in that direction, but that, if threatened or injured by the Sooties, they should refer their grievances to the Burmese Government through the Government of India. He considered the fact of the Sooties inhabiting Mombee and other villages nearer Manipur to be an encroachment, though he said the Manipuris treated the encroachment very lightly, and had no intention of immediately resorting to arms to expel them.⁽¹⁾ The truth was, Colonel Thomson said, the Maharajah's sepoys would not fight for him, for they knew they had nothing to gain in such a cause. At this time the Sooties were treating with Manipur for the restoration of captives, and as Colonel Thomson looked upon them as Burmese subjects, he said that it placed him in an awkward position. A party of 400 of the Kamhows had approached within two days of the Manipur stockade at Kumah and had told Tangal Major that they had come there to treat with him and him only. Tangal Major, however, feared treachery, and refused to go. He asked them to come into the stockade and there treat with the officer he appointed, but this they refused to do. Until instructions were received, Colonel Thomson said he would not allow Manipur to strike the first blow. In the event of the Burmese ignoring their control of the Kamhows, he submitted for consideration the question how Manipur should act. He said the Maharajah would well weigh the consequences of another attack on the tribe, after having been so thoroughly worsted by them in 1857. Mr. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, who was consulted, said there was not much to be made of Colonel Thompson's letter, except that the Manipur officials, and probably the Chief himself, were "determined to do what they could to avoid a peaceful settlement of their disputes with Kamhow." He thought that "if they were to try honestly to

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), January 1873, Nos. 442-47.



make terms with the Sooties, they might be successful, for the latter have shown a desire to avoid fighting, which could scarcely have been expected after the way in which they were treated by the Manipuris during the Lushai expedition." He finally recommended that the peace on the frontier should not be disturbed. The Government of Bengal also deprecated fighting between Manipur and its border tribes, as such collisions always created an uneasy feeling in the hills. Should fighting actually take place, the Lieutenant-Governor thought our only course could be "one of absolute non-interference." The following is a copy of the orders passed by the Government of India in Foreign Department letter No. 216P., dated 30th January 1873 :—

I am to state that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council approves of your endeavours to effect an amicable settlement of the quarrel between Manipur and the Sooktees, and desires that you will continue to advocate a surrender by both parties of their prisoners and captives, so as to bring about a good understanding.

His Excellency in Council sees no objections to the Maharaja of Manipur building stockades within his frontier and taking other reasonable precautions for frontier defence. But His Highness should be careful to require his frontier posts to act only on the defensive and not to vex the tribes beyond the border, or give provocation for their attacking Manipur territory.

His Highness the Maharaja should understand that any unprovoked hostilities with tribes beyond his boundary may involve him in difficulties with Burmah, and will not receive the approval of the British Government. In the event of such hostilities breaking out, you should report the fact at once, and, pending the arrival of instructions from the Government of India, abstain from all interference other than friendly advice. His Excellency in Council, however, is sanguine that by the exercise of the judicious influence you have already exerted with so good effect, you may be able not only to prevent any outbreak, but probably also to arrange an amicable settlement of the causes of misunderstanding.

So far as our records show, the Burmese Government do not appear ever to have exercised any control over the Sooties to the south of the Manipur boundary line. The whole tribe seems to be practically independent, and not to have been affected at all by the Treaty of 1834. Though a line was drawn westwards from the source of the Numsaulung to the Kathé Khyoung, there is no mention in the Treaty of the territory south of this line having been made over to Burma. It was only the Kubo Valley which the Burmese Government asked for, and that was all that was made over. In Captain Pemberton's report of his proceedings in handing over the Kubo Valley and laying down the boundary, the only mention he makes of this line is the following :—

He (the Khumbat Woon) questioned us very particularly as to our intentions regarding the southern line of boundary, which was formed by the Numsaulung River. The Burmese had evidently thought that we intended to run this line directly across from the hills on the west to the Ningthee River, and were much pleased to find that we had no such wish, and, on the contrary, that it was to run due west from the foot of the hills down to the Manipur River, where it would terminate. At their request we consented to omit the name of the Khyendwen or Ningthee River, which had been inserted with the view of rendering our intentions more clear.

No Burmese officers appear to have ever taken charge of this tract of territory under the fifth Article of the Treaty, and the Burmese and



Manipuris alike appear to have treated the Sooties as wild and hostile tribes not amenable to their authority. They committed a raid on villages in the Kubo Valley subject to the Burmese in 1856, at the same time that they committed the raid in Manipur territory for which the Manipur expedition of 1857 was sent against them (paragraph 78 of the *précis*)⁽¹⁾. The Gendat Woon complained to the Political Agent regarding the raid, as he believed the raiders came from villages in Manipur territory. In the Administration Report for 1872-73 Dr. Brown said that "the frontier Burmese authorities generally repudiate the idea of their being under Burmese control, although they lie unmistakeably to the eastward of the Manipur boundary" (they do not, however, lie to the eastward, but to the south of the Manipur boundary), and in the Report for 1873-74 he says that, in the event of any realized or threatened disturbances by the Kamhows, the Burmese invariably make the matter one of complaint against the Manipur State, assuming that State to be responsible for their good behaviour. He adds that for all practical purposes this tribe should be considered as independent, and liable to punishment from either power it raids upon. There is, however, no definite information among our records regarding the Burmese complaints referred to by Dr. Brown.⁽²⁾ In a letter dated 30th January 1872 from General Bouchier, to General Nuthall, it is said that the Burmese authorities complained against the ravages of the Sooties in 1871, and in a letter from General Nuthall to the Maharajah of Manipur, dated 16th April 1872, he says:—"Not long ago the Burma authorities complained of the ravages committed by his (Kamhow's) dependants upon the village of Beetoo, in the Kubo Valley." General Bouchier and General Nuthall doubtless referred to the same complaint. Paragraph 114 of this *précis* gives an account of the attack on the village of Beetoo, a reference to which will show that it is not so very clear that the Burmese authorities complained against the Kamhows. It was a complaint against Manipur Nagas, "assisted by ten Nagas of the mountain range." Assuming that the ten Nagas referred to were Kamhows, it is very probable that they belonged to the Kamhow villages within the Manipur boundary, and hence the Burmese complaint. There is nothing to show that the Burmese ever complained of raids committed by the Kamhow tribe living beyond the Manipur boundary. From Captain Pemberton's map published in 1835, and a demi-official letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 9th September 1828, he believed that the Kamhows were tributary to Kulé, and had continued so for many years. Captain Pemberton had not, however, visited this part of the country, for in the same letter he said he had

(1) Foreign Consultations, 15th February 1856, No. 112.

Foreign Consultations, 18th February 1857, No. 181.

(2) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 88.

Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 86.



not been able to go so far south.⁽¹⁾ In 1856, Colonel McCulloch said the south-eastern portion of Manipur territory had never been explored, and that the Manipur authorities had never tried to bring the tribes inhabiting it into subjection.

Colonel Johnstone reported in 1878 that the Maharajah was anxious to be allowed to subdue the Sooties, Proposal to make the Sooties tributary to Manipur. but acknowledged that he cannot do so without assistance in arms and ammunition. Were the Sooties made tributary to Manipur, "that State would touch on the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and would border the Kulé Valley (Burmese), but would not interfere with Burma. It is asserted in Manipur that the Burmese would be glad to see the Sooties subdued, as they are a terror to the Kulé people." It is, however, doubtful whether the Kamhow tribe extends so far south as the Chittagong Hill Tracts. According to Mr. Edgar only the north-east portion of what is generally termed the Lushai country is inhabited by the Kamhows.⁽²⁾ To the south-east of the Lushais proper there are villages of different tribes called Pois by the Lushais. "These northern Pois are said not to be Lakhayr Pois (Sindhus), but probably they are closely connected with them." Colonel Johnstone stated that the Lushais had offered assistance in case the Maharajah wished to attack the Sooties their deadly enemies. He considered that, if the Maharajah's surmise as to the feeling of the Burmese on the subject is correct, it would be greatly to our advantage to annex the Sootie country and thus secure peace. He said—

The cost to us would be small, and through him we should be able more effectually to coerce the Eastern Lushais, if at any time necessary, as they, with their western brethren, would then be completely hemmed in between us and our feudatories.

At present we are not directly concerned with the Sooties, but we may be twenty years hence, and timely, and to us inexpensive action now, may save trouble and money in the future.

The Government of India is not in favour of aggressive action of the kind suggested.

The Kubo Valley lies between the Heerok or Yoma range of mountains, which bounds the eastern side of the Manipur Valley, and Ningthee or Kyendwen River.⁽³⁾ It commences from the foot of the hills in latitude 24° 30' north and extends south to 22° 30', where it terminates on the left bank of the Kathé Khyoung, or Manipur river, which falls into the Ningthee, and marks the southern limit of the Kulé Raja's territory. The Valley

(1) Consultations, 3rd October 1828, No. 1. Extracts from correspondence regarding cession of Kubo Valley.

Foreign Consultations, 15th February 1856, No. 112.

Consultations, 8th January 1830, No. 36.

(2) Memorandum by Mr. Edgar, dated 9th March 1871, p. 23.

(3) Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier, pp. 116-117.



is divided into three principalities, viz., Sumjok, Kumbat, and Kulé. "The first and last are still governed by descendants of the original Shan chieftains, who were dependant upon Mongmaorong, but Kumbat appears never to have regained its former prosperity, after its destruction by the united forces of Pong and Manipur; and during the Burmese supremacy, their principal officer on this frontier derived his title from it, though Tummo was always his place of residence, and the head-quarters of the military force of the province." The Kubo Valley is semi-independent, the northern and middle portions being ruled by a Rajah titled the Rajah of Sumjok (the name of the village in which he resides), whose Raj is hereditary in his family. He is generally titled the Tsaubwa (Fendatory Chief) of Tounghwot (Sumjok) by the Burmese Government. Before the first Burmese war the northern and middle divisions contained a population of about 10,000 inhabitants. The southern portion is ruled by the Kulé Rajah, the boundary between the territories of the two Chiefs being the Numsaulung River. In olden times the Kubo Valley was sometimes under Manipur and sometimes under Burma. It was in the possession of Burma on the outbreak of the first Burmese war, and had been so for twelve years before. For about the same period preceding these twelve years it had been in the possession of Manipur. In the Treaty of Yandaboo the upper and middle portions of the Kubo Valley were not ceded by the Burmese. On the other hand, though they were taken by our ally, the Chief of Manipur, during the war, they were not retroceded by the Treaty. In fact no mention whatever is made of the Kubo Valley in the Treaty of Yandaboo. With regard to Manipur itself, it was simply stipulated that "should Gumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof." Nothing was mentioned about the boundary between Manipur and Burma. The Government of India considered it but just and proper that all the places and territory in the ancient country of Manipur, which were in possession of Gumbheer Sing at the date of the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo, should belong to that Chief. The Sumjok and Kumbat Divisions of the Kubo Valley, as far east as the Ningthee or Kyendwen River, were accordingly given to Manipur, and the Ningthee River formed the boundary between the two countries.

The right of Burma to the Kubo Valley became a subject of dispute from the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo in February 1826. The Commissioner in Sylhet, in a letter dated 19th April 1826, remarked that the Ningthee was no doubt the original and natural boundary between Manipur and Burma, and that, if the Burmese were permitted to cross it, it would be difficult to define a line of demarcation that would preclude the possibility of future dispute. In acknowledging this letter the Government of India said that it was—

unquestionably most desirable that the River Ningthee should form henceforward, as it did of old, the boundary between Ava and Manipur, and Gumbheer Sing having been in



possession of Pergunnah Kubo when the Treaty was signed, we are fairly entitled to require the relinquishment of that integral and material portion of his (the King's) Raj, still, however, if the point is contested by the

Instructions to Commissioner in Sylhet, dated 23rd June 1826.

Burmese on the ground of the pergunnah having been formally annexed to the territories of Ava for some years prior to the war, whilst no provision is made by the Treaty for any alteration in the existing boundaries of the Raj, the question must be settled by negotiation on the best terms that circumstances will permit.

And in the instructions to the Envoy at Ava, dated 30th June 1826, it was said that His Lordship in Council trusted that as the Burmese retreated from the Kubo District and retired beyond the Ningthee, he would succeed in establishing that river as the boundary. In the instructions to Major-General Sir A. Campbell, dated 15th June 1827, it was said that His Excellency in Council was decidedly of opinion that the right of Gumbheer Sing should be maintained to the northern and middle portions of the Kubo Valley, bounded on the east by the Ningthee. It was also said that he would not have failed to observe that the acquisition of Kulé, the southern portion of the valley, would secure the marked and desirable boundary of the Nuringeerah River. The cession by the Burmese of this portion of the Valley, however, it was said, could not be reasonably expected, and its annexation to Manipur would, therefore, have to become a subject of negotiation. In February 1827 the question of the boundary was discussed between the Burmese Ministers and Mr. Crawford, the British Envoy.⁽¹⁾ The Burmese claims were so extravagant that, if acceded to, Gumbheer Sing would have been deprived of what he considered the larger portion of the proper principality of Manipur; they had fabricated a map showing the Burmese frontier to extend nearly to the Manipur capital.

Captain Grant and Lieutenant Pemberton were appointed Commissioners to meet the Burmese authorities and settle the boundary in accordance with the principles enunciated by the Government of India, and they were told⁽²⁾ that, as a preliminary measure, it would be proper to suggest to Gumbheer Sing to fix his posts on such line to the southward as would include the northern and central districts of the Kubo Valley, regarding his right to which, by actual conquest, no discussion was to be allowed. In April 1828 the Commissioners met on the banks of the Ningthee or Kyendwen River, but little could be done in consequence of the very advanced state of the season, and the Burmese Commissioner proposed to postpone it until the ensuing year. A regular written engagement was made by the Commissioners on both sides to meet in 1829. The Burmese Commissioners then pretended that the Ningthee was not the Kyendwen, but a river to the westward of the Kubo Valley.⁽³⁾ This, Sir A.

(1) Despatch from Mr. Crawford, dated 21st February 1827.

(2) Instructions to Commissioner in Sylhet dated 23rd November 1827.

(3) Consultations, 8th August 1828, No. 4.
 Consultations, 8th August 1828, No. 10.
 Consultations, 8th September 1828, No. 2.
 Consultations, 3rd October 1828, No. 1.
 Consultations, 7th February 1829.
 Consultations, 7th February 1829, Nos. 3-7.
 Consultations, 19th June 1829, No. 10.
 Consultations, 10th July 1829, No. 28.



Campbell observed, might alter the decision of Government. Subsequently, a Burmese map was transmitted to Calcutta, in which the Ningthee and Kyendwen were laid down as separate rivers. This map was sent to the British Commissioners in Manipur, with instructions to enquire and report whether any such river as that laid down on it as the Ningthee existed. It was observed to them that the map had probably been made to suit the views of the Burmese, and they were instructed to propose to the Burmese Commissioners when they met them in the ensuing cold weather to visit the large river said to exist to the westward of the Kubo Valley. In the improbable event of the Ningthee flowing to the westward of the Kubo Valley, the British Commissioners were called on for their opinion whether the Burmese establishing themselves in the upper and middle divisions of Kubo would be particularly objectionable. In their reply these officers clearly proved the deception attempted to be practised by the Burmese. Lieutenant Pemberton scouted the idea that the Ningthee had been mistaken for another small river as stated by the Burmese. In a private letter to the Commissioner in Sylhet he remarked, "you may depend on it the Burmans knew as well as ourselves that the Kyendwen was the river to be made the boundary, and no other. Sir A. Campbell expressly told them so, and in consequence of a representation to that effect they prevented their men from crossing the river into the Kubo Valley." In reply to the enquiry whether the establishment of the Burmese in the upper and middle divisions of Kubo would be particularly objectionable, both officers expressed their unqualified opinion that the preservation of the tranquillity then existing could not be insured were the Burmese allowed to re-establish their authority there. They said—

A century of aggression on the one part, and of suffering on the other, has excited a feeling of mutual hatred, at all times prompt to evince itself in the extremity of vengeance. The chance of such a collision, which could not fail to be productive of the most lamentable consequences, is effectually obviated by making the Ningthee or Kyendwen, on which stands the Burmah post of Kintal, the boundary between the States of Ava and Manipur; no aggression can under such an arrangement be easily committed by either party, without crossing the river for the purpose—an act which would suffice to establish the culpability of the aggressor.

The report of the British Commissioners was sent to Major-General Sir A. Campbell in October 1828, who was directed to inform the Court of Ava that the British Commissioners were prepared to prove that the Ningthee and Kyendwen were the same river. He was also requested to repeat the intimation previously conveyed to the Court of Ava respecting the right of Gumbheer Sing to the northern and central districts of the Kubo Valley, which he had continued to hold since the war.

In January 1829 the British Commissioners reported the receipt of a letter from the Burmese Governors on the Ningthee, stating that the proposed meeting of the Commissioners for the settlement of the boundary could not take place that year. They stated at the same time their intention to proceed to the Ningthee to be in readiness to meet the Burman Commissioners. The Burmese Government also informed the Government of India that their Commissioners were busy collecting money to pay the third instalment of the war indemnity and celebrating



festivals and could not come. Captains Grant and Pemberton were, however, directed to proceed to the banks of the Ningthee, and in the event of the Burmese Commissioners failing to meet them, to select at once the boundary line to the northward of the Kulé or southern district of Kubo, which it might be desirable to fix as the southern boundary of Gumbheer Sing's dominions in that quarter, including only the country re-conquered by him, and from which the Burmese had been expelled during the war. Having made a sketch of the boundary, they were directed to transmit a copy of it to the Burmese authorities with a distinct declaration that, under the orders of the British Government, they had fixed the boundary of Gumbheer Sing's territory to the southward, the Ningthee being the boundary to the eastward. Sir A. Campbell was at the same time instructed to apprise the Court of Ava of the orders issued to the British Commissioners. The Burmese Commissioners having failed to keep their engagement, our Commissioners fixed the boundary in accordance with the instructions they received, and they were informed that the boundary selected by them appeared to be well chosen, and that much advantage would be derived hereafter from the assumption of it as the basis of their settlement in concert with the Burmese Commissioners, who were invited to meet them on the frontier in January 1830. In the event of the Burmese Commissioners not meeting them in January 1830, they were authorised to fix Manipur thannahs on certain places indicated on the sketch of the boundary without further reference to the Burmese authorities.

On 10th July 1829, the Chief Secretary to Government addressed a letter to the Burmese Ministers, in which he referred to the communications made to the local Burmese authorities by the British Commissioners, and observed that when the Burmese Commissioners should meet the English officers, they would be satisfied that the country to the northward of the boundary line had been clearly and uninterruptedly in the possession of Gumbheer Sing since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, and that nothing would remain but to visit the spot together and fix the posts on each side of the boundary, so that in future no doubt or dispute might arise. On the 17th November 1829 Captain Grant and Lieutenant Pemberton reported that the Burmese Commissioners had announced their intention to meet them in January following. They called the attention of Government to the fact of the Burmese Government having found it necessary to change the nature of its objections to Rajah Gumbheer Sing's claim; they no longer denied the fact of the re-conquest of Kubo, but said that the retention of those territories recovered by the British armies formed no part of the Treaty of Yandaboo. They added:—"Feeling the justice of our claims, we have not hesitated to follow the line of defence the Burmese have chosen, and the fact of three of the Thannahdars being at this moment here, who in the reign of Cheroojeet Sing held that situation in Kubo, must, we think, silence any further objection on the subject of possession anterior to the war." With the same despatch the British Commissioners forwarded a letter from the Ministers at Ava



to the British Government, in reply to the Chief Secretary's letter of 10th July 1829, maintaining the right of the Burmese Government to the Kuba Valley as a dependency of the Burman Crown.

In January 1830 Major Burney was appointed Resident at Ava in conformity with the 7th Article of the Treaty of Yandaboo, stipulating for the permanent residence of a British officer at the Court of Ava.⁽¹⁾ In paragraph 7 of his instructions he was informed of the determination of Government to fix the boundary line between Manipur and Ava as laid down by Captain Grant and Lieutenant Pemberton. He was told to repeat to the Burmese Ministers the motives which obliged Government to assume a boundary line, and to satisfy them that it was not our intention to go beyond such line, though the arguments contained in their last letter would justify our considering several places to the southward of it as belonging to the ancient territory of Manipur. He was also to encourage the Burmese to depute Commissioners to meet our officers on the frontier, and thus ascertain for themselves the incorrectness of their map which contained a river that had no existence in reality. He was also furnished with a letter to the Burmese Ministers from the Chief Secretary to Government, in which it was distinctly stated :—

What places and territory in the ancient country of Manipur were in possession of Gumbheer Sing at the date of the signing of the Treaty of Yandaboo, the Governor General of British India considers it but just and proper that all these should still belong to that Chief. When the British Officers in Manipur prove to the Burmese Officers on the frontier by living witnesses and by undoubted testimony that so late as the years 1809-10 or 11 the towns of Khambat, Woktong, Tummoo, Mungsa and Sumjok, comprising the whole extent of the Kuba Valley from Khambat, north, were held by Manipuri Thannahdars on the part of the Manipuri Raja Cheroojeet Sing, the Governor General of British India trusts that the King of Ava will perceive the propriety and advantage of putting an end to all further discussions on this subject.

The Commissioners of both Governments met on the frontier in January 1830 as arranged. The Burmese acknowledged the incorrectness of their map, and the boundary was fixed, though the Burmese Commissioners would not consent to the renunciation of the territory. The Resident at Ava then suggested that Captain Pemberton might be authorized to join him at Ava, so that he might hear what the Ministers had to say against Gumbheer Sing's claim, though he said he was convinced that no friendly means or argument would ever be successful in persuading the King to acknowledge Gumbheer Sing's right to the valley of Kuba. Captain Pemberton proceeded to Ava, but, as was anticipated, no arguments or explanations which Major Burney could urge, even with the aid of Captain Pemberton, effected any change in the sentiments of the Ministers, and the question still remained for the final decision of the Governor General. Captain Pemberton's presence,

(1) Consultations, 8th January 1830, Nos. 19-23.
Consultations, 8th January 1830, No. 32.
Consultations, 8th January 1830, No. 36.
Consultations, 20th January 1831, No. 6.
Consultations, 18th March 1831, No. 15.
Secret Consultations, 21st May 1832.



however, enabled Major Burney to convince the Burmese Ministers of the inaccuracy or untruth of several assertions which they had before advanced. They had denied that the Kubo Valley had ever been taken by the Manipur troops during the war, which they then admitted. They had declared positively that at no former period had the Manipur Princes ever exercised authority in it, but they then admitted that it had at various periods been in possession of Manipur. They acknowledged the incorrectness of their map showing the Kyendwen and the Ningthee as distinct rivers, and admitted them to be the same. They had asserted that Sir A. Campbell at the Treaty of Yandaboo had recognized and acknowledged their right to Kubo, but were unable to prove it, and met Captain Pemberton's proof that he did not do so by a silent acquiescence. They, however, produced extracts from their national records (which were believed to be genuine) showing that at different times they overran and conquered certain portions of territory on the eastern and western banks of the Ningthee.

In a letter dated 15th December 1830, the Resident at Ava reported that he had hinted that the British Government might be disposed to give up a portion of the

Cession of the Kubo Valley to
Burma.

remaining instalment of tribute for the sake of fixing the Ningthee as the boundary. The Ministers were inclined to listen to the proposal as advantageous to Ava, but they did not dare even to mention it to the King, who felt the loss of a single foot of land as a diminution of his own consequence and power. In May 1831 Major Burney expressed his opinion that no plan existed for appeasing, in an amicable manner, the King's mind on the subject of Kubo, and that there would be little advantage derived from the permanent residence of a British Officer at Ava till the question was properly settled. In April of the following year Major Burney informed Government that as they wished to establish the Ningthee as the eastern boundary of Manipur, to accomplish which object was one of the principal points of his instructions when deputed to Ava, he had used his best endeavours to discover how this could be accomplished, and to reconcile the Burmese Government to this boundary. He had, however, failed entirely. He said that his own opinion had always been in favour of the abstract right of the Burmese, and that views of expediency only, founded on an apprehension that Ava might advance other claims, as well as the circumstance that the British officers in Manipur considered the Ningthee as the most eligible boundary, made him question the policy of such right. He questioned whether "keeping Gumbheer Sing in possession of an unhealthy and depopulated strip of territory which is divided from Manipur by a range of hills, and with which our officers even cannot communicate without being always attended by large parties of coolies to convey every necessary of life for their subsistence, is worth the risk of thoroughly disgusting the Court of Ava and accelerating another war." In reply to this letter Major Burney was called upon



to state distinctly the grounds on which he thought that the Government of Ava possessed a right to those portions of the Kubo Valley from which the Burmese had been expelled during the war, and in which the British Government had declared that the authority of Rajah Gumbheer Sing must be upheld. To this Major Burney submitted a lengthy reply, in which he detailed the grounds on which he formed his opinion, showing the various times which, according to the Burmese history and other proofs, Kubo had belonged to Burma during the previous 800 years. The matter was then fully considered by the Government of India. The undeniable facts of the case were that Manipur conquered the disputed territory during the war; that for about 12 years previous the territory was in possession of Ava; that for about the same period preceding those 12 years it was in the possession of Manipur; and that at more remote periods, extending far back into past times, it was sometimes under the one and sometimes under the other of those powers. The question was whether, at the close of the Burmese war, that territory was to be considered as forming undoubtedly a part of Manipur, or as a part of the dominions of Ava in consequence of its having been so at the commencement of the war. The Governor General remarked on the case that though no satisfactory opinion could be formed upon the question, he thought, upon the whole, that Government was warranted in its first decision that the Ningthee should be the boundary between Ava and Manipur. He said,—

“ But although the consideration, already stated, namely, the misinterpretation that the conceit of the Burmese may put upon the concession to their own prejudice, and the more reasonable ground of dissatisfaction that will be given to Gumbheer Sing, might forbid any change, yet, with reference to the anxious desire for Kubo expressed by the Government of Ava, to the humiliation of their pride and to their reduced if not extinguished power, I think it will be both generous and expedient to grant them this gratification. It is true that we give up the best boundary line, and the admission of the Burmese into the valley may tend to much more collision with the Manipuris, but with our superior power a better or worse military boundary is of no consequence whatever, and these boundary disputes if arising can lead to no war.”

The following were the final orders of Government on the subject, contained in a letter to the Resident at Ava, dated 16th March 1833 :—

On your return to Ava you will announce to the King that the Supreme Government still adheres to the opinion that the Ningthee formed the proper boundary between Ava and Manipur, but that, in consideration for His Majesty's feelings and wishes, and in the spirit of amity and good-will subsisting between the two countries, the Supreme Government consents to the restoration of the Kubo Valley to Ava and to the establishment of the boundary line at the foot of the Yoma Doung Hills.

You will further apprise His Majesty that the exact line must be established by Commissioners on the part of the British Government, who will proceed to the frontier in November next, when the Kubo Valley will be given up to such Commissioner as His Majesty may appoint.

The Burmese Government were also informed by the Government of India, and they were requested to depute, in November 1833, two



officers of rank to meet two British officers, who would deliver over to the Burmese the towns of Khumbat, Tummoo, Thongthwot, &c., "and fix and point out the line of hills which may be selected as the future boundary between Ava and Manipur." It was said that the eastern foot of the hills known in Manipur as the Muring hills and supposed to be the same as that called by the Burmese Yoma Doung, would form a good line of demarcation between the possessions of the two States. Captain Pemberton was at the same time directed to proceed to the Kubo Valley in November, in company with Captain Grant, to make it over to the Burmese. Captain Pemberton's instructions are important as showing the right asserted at the time by the British Government to fix the boundary and not to allow the Burmese Government to interfere at all in the matter. The instructions were as follows:—

Early in the month of November you will proceed in company with Captain Grant in the direction of the Kubo Valley, taking with you any officer whom Gumbheer Sing may wish to depute. You will there be met by Commissioners on the part of the King of Ava to whom you will make over the Kubo Valley. These functionaries will probably be accompanied by Captain Macfarquhar, but they will be given distinctly to understand that they are not to interfere at all in the settlement of the boundary, which is to be fixed by yourself and Captain Grant, taking the eastern base of the Muring range of hills as the line of demarcation. You will further point out to the Burmese Commissioners the line of demarcation which you may fix as the boundaries to the north and south of the Kubo Valley.

When the Commissioners met, the Burmese claimed the Muring hills, as the Yoma Doung range was a little to the westward of them. The British Commissioners, in order to terminate the discussion, tendered a copy of that part of their instructions above quoted, debaring the Burmese Commissioners from interfering. The Woondouk was told that the cession of the Kubo Valley was a favour, for which the British Government had consented to make compensation to the Rajah of Manipur, and that if he did not agree to the line of boundary laid down by the British Commissioners, they could not, under the instructions they had received, consent to give up any of the territory, but would leave the Manipur Thannahs on the Ningthee just as they stood. This greatly embarrassed the Woondouk, and he begged hard for a delay of 13 days to enable him to represent the matter to Ava; he even solicited the aid of the Manipur officers in obtaining the required delay, but the British Commissioners firmly expressed their inability to consent to the postponement. The Woondouk objected to the Manipur Thannah of Moreh being so close upon Burmese territory, and expressed a desire that it should be removed to some more distant spot, as quarrels were likely to arise from the inconsiderate conduct of the people there. He was told that as Moreh was on the Manipur side of the line, the Rajah had as much right to establish a thannah there as the Burmese had to establish one at Tummoo. The Woondouk was also anxious that the tribes occupying the eastern face of the hills between Manipur and Kubo should be called and examined in his presence as to their desire of living under the Burma or Manipur rule, but this



was refused on the grounds that it would be a direct infringement of the orders of Government expressly prohibiting the Burmese from ever interfering with these Khyens, but it was added "that if hereafter any inhabitants of these hills chose to run away and seek Burmese protection, they would not be demanded, but that if any Burmese Agents were detected tampering with their fidelity, they would be liable to any punishment, however extreme, which the Manipuri officers might inflict upon them." To the justice of this he assented. After another request for delay by the Woondouk, which was not granted, Captain Pemberton drew up the agreement. A Burmese translation was made for the Woondouk's perusal, but he objected to it and prepared another in Burmese form containing many objectionable passages. To this agreement the British Commissioners objected. The Manipuri interpreter declared that the Woondouk would never sign the agreement drawn up by the Commissioners as it was not according to Burmese form. Captain Pemberton remarked that "the reply to this was evident, the paper was *ours*, and in accordance with *our forms*, and that if the Woondouk refused to receive and sign such a document as we should tender to him, we would not surrender possession of the country." The boundary was then laid down, and the agreement defining the boundaries signed as originally prepared, with some trifling alterations. The Burmese Commissioners added a note to the effect that the Burmese Ministers would address the British Government regarding the small strip of country between the eastern base of the Yoma Doung range and the Muring hills which they had expected to get. The Court of Ava, however, formally acquiesced in the boundary laid down, and so the matter then ended.

The following is the English version of the agreement, with translations of the Burmese version :—

(1)

ENGLISH VERSION.

[*Secret Cons., 24th April 1834, No. 11.*]

First.—The British Commissioners, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, agree to make over to the Woondouk Mahamengyan Raja and Tsaradawgyee Ni Myookyawthoo, Commissioners appointed by the King of Ava, the towns of Tummo, Khumbat, Sumjok and all other villages in the Kubau Valley, the Ungoching Hills and the strip of valley running between their eastern foot and the western bank of the Ningthoo or Khyendwen River.

Second.—The British Commissioners will withdraw the Maniporee Thannas now stationed within this tract of country and

(2)

TRANSLATION OF A TRANSCRIPT OF THE BURMESE VERSION, BY MAJOR-GENERAL NUTHALL, OFFG. POLICE AGENT, MANIPUR.

[*Political A., May 1871, No. 158.*]

First.—The British Commissioners, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, agree to make over to the Woondouk (Under Secretary), Maha Mongyau Raja, and to Tsaydaugyee (Chief Writer of Court), Nemyookanthoo, Commissioners appointed by the King of Ava, all the villages in the Kubau valley, together with Tumoo, Kumpat, and the towns of Tsang-wat (*alias* Sumjok), also the Ungau Hills and the lands between those and the Khyendwen River.

Second.—The British Commissioners will withdraw the Manipore Thannas now stationed within this tract of country, and make

(3)

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE BURMESE VERSION, RECEIVED FROM THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, BRITISH BURMA.

[*Political A., June 1872, No. 407.*]

The two Political Agents appointed by the British Government, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton, and the two Agents deputed by the King of Ava, the Royal Woondouk Maha Mongyau Yaza and Tsaraydawgyee (Royal Scribe) Nay Myo Kyawthoo, have mutually agreed that the towns and villages in the Kubau Valley, together with the towns of Tameo, Khambat, and Thoungh Thwat, including the Engaw range of hills, shall be given over, as also the land situate between the two branches of the Khyendwen river. The two British Political Agents shall withdraw the guards and thannas placed within these limits.



make over immediate possession of it to the Burmese Commissioners on certain conditions.

Third.—The conditions are that they will agree to the boundaries which may be pointed out to them by the British Commissioners, and will respect and refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, with the people residing on the Munipooree side of those boundaries.

Fourth.—The boundaries are as follows:—

1st. The eastern foot of the chain of mountains which rise immediately from the western side of the plain of the Kaba Valley. Within this line is included Morch and all the country to the westward of it.

2nd. On the south, a line, extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at the point where the river, called by the Burmahs, Nansaweng, and by the Munipoorees, Namsaung, enters the plain up to its sources, and across the hills due west down to the Kathé Khyoung (Munipooree River).

3rd. On the north, the line of boundary will begin at the foot of the same hills at the northern extremity of the Kaba Valley and pass due north up to the first range of hills, east of that upon which stand the villages of Choetiar, Noongbree, Noonghar, of the tribe called by the Munipoorees Lochooppa, and by the Burmahs Lagwensoung, now tributary to Munipoore.

4th. The Burmese Commissioners hereby promise that they will give orders to the Burmese officers, who will remain in charge of the territory now made over to them, not in any way to interfere with the Khyens or other inhabitants living on the Munipooree side of the lines of boundary above described, and the British Commissioners also promise that the Munipoorees shall be ordered not in any way to interfere with the Khyens or other inhabitants of any description living on the Burma side of the boundaries now fixed.

over immediate possession of it to the Burmese Commissioners on certain conditions.

Third.—The conditions are that they will agree to the boundaries which may be pointed out to them by the British Commissioners, and will respect and refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, with the people residing on the Munipooree side of those boundaries.

Fourth.—The boundaries are as follows:—

1. The eastern foot of the chain of mountains which rise immediately from the western side of the plain of the Kaba Valley. To the west of this line the village of Morch and all its lands are to belong to Munipoore.

2. On the south a line extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at the point where the river called by the Burmahs Nansaweng, and by the Munipoorees, Namsaung, enters the plain, up to its sources and across the hills due west to the Nankathes Kayoung (alias Munipooree river).

3. On the north, the line of boundary will begin at the foot of the same hills at the northern extremity of the Kaba Valley, and pass due north up to the first range of hills, east of that upon which stand the villages of Tawakara, Noangbye, and Noanhara, now tributary to Munipoore.

Fifth.—The Burmese Commissioners hereby promise that they will give orders to the Burmese officers, who will remain in charge of the territory now made over to them, not in any way to interfere with the Khyens or other inhabitants living on the Munipooree side of the lines of boundary above described, and the British Commissioners also promise that the Munipoorees shall be ordered not in any way to interfere with the Khyens or other inhabitants of any description living on the Burma side of the boundaries now fixed.

Seal. F. J. GRANT, Major.

Seal. H. B. FEMBERTON, Capt.

Seal. F. J. GRANT, Major.

Seal. H. B. FEMBERTON, Capt.,
Comms.

WOONDOUK MAHA MENGAI,
RAJAH.

Sunmyathil Ghand, Ningthee
River, 9th January 1834.

THATZDAUGYEN NEMTOOKAUNGHO.

Signed. West of Natkwen on
9th January 1834.

The conditions under which these tracts shall be made over to the two Burmese Agents are as follows:—

And the two Burmese Agents agreeing to the following terms:—

1st. That they take over the tract of country as pointed out by the two British Political Agents.

2nd. That the villagers living on the Cassay side shall not be interfered with, or in any way molested.

On these terms (the above towns and villages) shall be made over.

The boundaries to be as follows:—

The eastern foot of the range of hills immediately on the west border of the land situate on the western side of the Kaba Valley, shall be fixed as the boundary.

Beyond the above boundary on the west is the village of Molay, &c., &c., which is to belong to Munipoore.

The boundary on the south shall be fixed by a line extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at a point where the river, called by the Burmese, Nansaweng, and by the Cassays, Nan Tsai Lan, enters the plain and along its course down to the mouth of the said river, and from thence due west as far as the Nan Kathé Choung or Creek.

The boundary on the north shall begin from the eastern foot of the same range of hills and run along to the end of the Kaba Valley, and from thence due north as far as a hill which is situate on the eastern side of the range of Cassay hills, on which stand the villages of Tawakara, Hnanbye, and Moanhara belonging to Munipoore.

The two Burmese Agents do hereby promise to issue orders to the officers, who shall be left in charge of the territory now made over, not in any way to disturb or molest any people (Khyens or otherwise) who live on the Cassay side, and the two English Political Agents promise that orders will be issued to the effect that Khyens, who live beyond the eastern boundary above described, shall not be interfered with or molested by the Cassays.

Signed in a temporary shed erected for the purpose on a sand bank west of Nat Kyon Oung Myay on the 15th Waning Moon of Pyatho 1195.



By the following agreement, dated 25th January 1854, Manipur was granted 500 Sicca rupees Compensation to Manipur for the loss of the Kubo Valley. monthly as compensation for the loss of territory⁽¹⁾ thus involved :—

Major Grant and Captain Pemberton under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council having made over the Kubo Valley to the Burmese Commissioners deputed from Ava are authorized to state—

First.—That it is the intention of the Supreme Government to grant a monthly stipend of five hundred Sicca rupees to the Raja of Manipur, to commence from the ninth day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, the date at which the transfer of Kubo took place as shown in the agreement mutually signed by the British and Burmese Commissioners.

Second.—It is to be distinctly understood that should any circumstances hereafter arise by which the portion of territory lately made over to Ava again reverts to Manipur, the allowance now granted by the British Government will cease from the date of such reversion.

After the cession of the Kubo Valley to Burma disputes were constant, though, in a letter dated 17th November 1840, the Political Agent, Manipur, stated⁽²⁾ that up to that time the peace of the frontier had been preserved without a reference to the Court of Ava or to the Government of India. The Resident at Ava, in 1834, said that the death of Gumbheer Sing had removed all feelings of personal resentment from the minds of the King and Court of Ava. From this time correspondence was carried on between the Political Agent and the Burmese local authorities, cases then arising with Burmese traders in Manipur being decided by the Political Agent. Dr. Dillon visited Sumjok in 1863.⁽³⁾ He was received with much attention and kindness by the Rajah, who provided houses and food for his attendants, and spoke gratefully of the support he gave them. Dr. Dillon's camp was besieged by claimants for medical relief. In 1868 Dr. Brown said that disputes between the Manipuris and residents on the Burmese frontier were not then very frequent, and were mostly caused by mutual cattle and pony stealing. In April 1869, on the invitation of the Rajah of Sumjok, he paid a friendly visit to the Kubo Valley. The Rajah told Dr. Brown that he intended writing to the King of Burma to say how much he was pleased with the visit.

In 1848 the Burmese complained of aggressions by the hill village of Loochoopa, situated in Manipur territory.⁽⁴⁾ This village had never been reached by Manipuris, and before it could be reached several others would have to be subdued. The Burmese authorities, knowing this, affected a doubt whether the village was in Manipur or Burmese territory, and stated their desire,

(1) Secret Consultation, 24th April 1834, No. 12.

(2) Political Consultation, 28th December 1840, No. 73.

(3) Political Proceedings (India), November 1863, No. 8.

Political Proceedings (India), September 1868, No. 359.

(4) Foreign Consultation, 31st January 1851, No. 120.



should the village be declared not in Manipur territory, to punish it themselves. Colonel McCulloch said that owing to the difficulties which would attend the reduction of the village, the Burmese probably thought that it would be disowned by Manipur, and he immediately declared it to be in Manipur territory. In February 1849 a Manipur force went against the village and reduced it to subjection.

In 1869, a village called Mokoo, inhabited by Burmese, but on the Manipur side of the boundary, was raided on the Manipur village of Mokoo. It was forcibly entered by an armed party of Burmese and the wife and five children of a man named Wonkowmen carried off.⁽¹⁾ On the demand of the Political Agent, the Thoogyee of Tummoo ordered the family to be restored. The matter was also referred to the Burmese Government, and the Prime Minister readily acceded to the request of the Political Agent at Mandalay to obtain all possible information about the raid and take such action as justice demanded. After receiving reports from the frontier officials, the Minister replied that, on the issue of a Royal order to apprehend dacoits who had attacked a Chinese trader, Wonkowmen absconded and took up his residence in the Mogoung forests, and, on being sent for, again absconded. His wife and children were thereupon taken and brought before the local Court; while there, the Political Agent at Manipur demanded their restoration, and they were given up. In forwarding the Minister's letter the Chief Commissioner, British Burma, remarked that the proceedings of the Burmese officials in seizing the family and property of a man charged with a criminal offence was quite in accordance with Burmese usage. He, however, said there was reason to believe that the Burmese who committed the raid were ignorant of the fact that the persons arrested were not subjects of Burma, but of Manipur, as the village was situated very near the boundary line, and also very near a Burmese frontier garrison. Considering this, and the fact of the individuals having been given up when their surrender was demanded by the Political Agent at Manipur, the matter was allowed to drop.⁽²⁾

In a letter dated 21st January 1871 Dr. Brown informed the Woon of Gendat that the inhabitants of the village of Nat-tseng-nga, in Manipur territory, 50 in number, had been forcibly carried off by Burmese and the village destroyed. Before reporting the matter, he asked the Woon to hold an investigation. The Woon's reply, which was received by General Nuthall nearly three months after, raised the question whether the village was within Burma or Manipur territory. The Woon asserted that it belonged to Burma, that the inhabitants left it of their own accord, because the superior of the village had oppressed them, and that they had stated

(1) Political Proceedings (India), July 1870, Nos. 240-41.

(2) Political Proceedings (India), March 1871, Nos. 587-88.



that they did not wish to live at Nat-tseing-nga. He at the same time stated that two other villages, Mokoo and Namweeloung, were in Burmese territory.

General Nuthall proceeded to the frontier in April 1871 in order to ascertain on which side of the boundary line these villages really lay. He took the Ayapooel Major (Manipur Foreign Minister) with him in order to come to an understanding with the Woon of Gendat regarding some unsettled complaints of plunder and outrage which had been made by Manipur.⁽¹⁾ The Government of India approved his having proceeded to the frontier, but directed him to confine himself to the particular duties for which he went, and to refrain from raising any general question of boundary between Manipur and Burma without specific instructions from the Government of India. The result of General Nuthall's investigation proved that Nat-tseing-nga and Mokoo were both within Manipur territory. General Nuthall did not, however, meet with a proper reception when he went to the frontier. Although he informed the Gendat Woon by letter that he was going to proceed to the frontier, and invited that official to meet him, yet when he arrived at the encampment about a mile from Tummoo, none of the authorities came to welcome the party; on the contrary, aversion, if not actual hostility, was shown them. A musket was fired off near the encampment, which, General Nuthall said, might appear trivial, but its significance was well known to the Burmese as also to the Manipuris, who at once noticed it. A thannah had also been constructed on ground that had always been deemed Manipur territory, and the guard turned out armed and attempted to stop the party. The Tset Kai (Burmese Native Judge) had been deputed by the Gendat Woon to meet General Nuthall. When he arrived at Tummoo he requested General Nuthall to go to him. This being an undue assumption of rank on the part of the Tset Kai, General Nuthall declined to do so. The next day the Tset Kai asked him to avail himself of some huts built for the reception of the party and he would meet him there. General Nuthall replied that if they really wished his party to occupy the huts, they should have asked them to do so before they constructed huts for themselves, that he had no intention of moving for the Tset Kai's convenience, and that if he wished to see him he would have to come to where he was. General Nuthall did not really want to see him, as he considered that a reference to Government would be necessary. He accordingly returned to Manipur without seeing either the Tset Kai or the Woon. He, however, informed the Woon by letter that the villages were in Manipur territory. He also informed him about the Tset Kai's conduct, for which the Woon apologised.

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1871, Nos. 151-59.
Political Proceedings (India), June 1872, Nos. 384-413.



In the first edition of Aitchison's *Treaties* the boundary between Manipur and the Kubo Valley is described as follows:—"The eastern *part* of the chain of mountains which rise immediately from the western side of the Kubo Valley." General Nuthall pointed out that this was probably a misprint as it is defined in the original Burmese as "the eastern *foot*," &c. General Nuthall considered it not improbable that the Burmese Government had obtained possession of our translation of the Treaty, and had thus taken the opportunity of asserting its claim to Mokoo, Nat-tseng-nga, and Namweeloong. [The misprint has been corrected in the revised edition of the *Treaties*.]

There is a great public road, much frequented by both Manipuris and Burmese, which runs parallel to, and at the foot of, the Muring hills. It is called the "Lan-ma-dan" or Royal road, and was constructed so many years ago that the inhabitants of the valley can give no account of its origin. General Nuthall said this road seemed to have been recognized by both Governments as the established boundary, and he could find no trace of a defined boundary other than this road. He thought that Captain Pemberton must have cleared the jungle and opened out this line. The road is, however, shown on Captain Pemberton's map to be well in Burmese territory, and to have been in existence when the boundary was laid down.

The following remarks were made by the Government of India on General Nuthall's reports:—

As regards the boundary itself, His Excellency in Council considers that there can be no reasonable doubt on the subject. It is quite clear from the report of Captain Pemberton, the officer deputed in 1834 to demarcate the boundary, that Manipur territory extends to the foot of the eastern slope of the Muring hills and not to any highway such as that mentioned in your letter. The boundary is, indeed, clearly laid down in Captain Pemberton's map of Manipur, copy of which is doubtless in your possession. If not, a copy will be sent from this office. As regards, then, the action of the Burmese in the villages of Nga-tsenga and Mokoo, the issue turns on the easily ascertainable fact whether they are on the slope of the hill or in the plain, and this I am to request that you will at a convenient opportunity ascertain and report to this Office.

As General Nuthall did not possess a copy of Captain Pemberton's map he was furnished with one. A second copy was also sent for the use of the Maharajah. General Nuthall was at the same time told that any deviation from the boundary as laid down by Captain Pemberton could not be countenanced by the Government of India.

In accordance with the instructions quoted in the foregoing paragraph, Colonel Mowbray Thomson, who had been appointed Officiating Political Agent, proceeded to the frontier in November 1872 to settle the disputed portion of the boundary and other matters in dispute between Manipur and Burma. The Burmese Government had been communicated with and appointed an official to meet Colonel Thomson on the frontier. Colonel Thomson sent timely information of his coming in English and Burmese, and informed the authorities that he was

Colonel Mowbray Thomson's visit to the frontier in connection with the boundary question.



to commence his enquiries from the village of Weetooop.⁽¹⁾ When he arrived at the village of Satumkhoorum, one march from Weetooop, he sent information to the Burmese authorities at Weetooop that he had arrived, and was prepared to meet the officer deputed by the Burmese Government. His advance party preceded him to build huts, and they had just commenced building when a shot was fired at them by a villager of Weetooop. The huts were, however, constructed. Colonel Thomson remarked that the Burmese could have no excuse for this outrage as they knew full well that his visit was a friendly one. They afterwards told some of his party that it was done by a child. Notwithstanding his having sent early information of his coming no one was there to meet him. The Gendat Woon afterwards arrived. He begged that the matter might be deferred till they met the Tsauba of Sumjek at Mongsa, to which Colonel Thomson agreed. The Numthow Thannah was the only point of dispute raised by the Burmese officials. (No complaint regarding this thannah had been forwarded to the Government of India.) This thannah Colonel Thomson stated was considerably within the Manipur boundary. Colonel Thomson allowed the Manipur official to ask why the people of the village of Nat-tseng-nga had not been returned, but the Burmese official said he was only authorised to speak on the subject of the Numthow Thannah, and declined to confer on any other subject. They had no actual complaint regarding the boundary; what they required was that the Treaty of 1834 should be adhered to. They pointed out to Colonel Thomson two villages Thangboong and Monggong, to the south-west of Tummo, which they said had paid tribute to them for the previous three years. These villages do not now occupy the same sites shown in Pemberton's map. Colonel Thomson went to the villages and ascertained personally that they had never paid tribute to Burma. He also visited Mokoo and Nat-tseng-nga and satisfied himself that they belong to Manipur.

With his report Colonel Thomson forwarded a map showing Captain Pemberton's boundary as he proposed that it should be considered to exist.⁽²⁾ It was a line drawn generally from village to village, along the foot of the hills. Colonel Thomson was asked whether the line described by him did or did not correspond with Captain Pemberton's line, and he was requested to report whether Captain Pemberton's line could be identified. He was told that—

If Pemberton's line can be identified, it must be maintained as the boundary. If it cannot, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that next cold season you and the Political Agent at Mandalay, if the King of Burmah will place the matter in his hands, otherwise a Burmese official, should meet and, making use of Captain Pemberton's map on

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), January 1873, Nos. 424-430.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), January 1873, No. 428.
Political Proceedings (India), March 1873, Nos. 394-95.
Political Proceedings (India), May 1873, No. 151.
Political Proceedings (India), November 1873, Nos. 23-25.
Political Proceedings (India), October 1874, Nos. 18-20.
Political Proceedings (India), March 1876, Nos. 556-42.



the best data available, ascertain what is the real boundary, note the villages on either side of it, and take such compass bearings, &c., as will admit of recognition hereafter in the event of dispute.

Colonel Thomson replied that he could not strictly identify Pemberton's line, and that the line he suggested was the nearest approximation to it which he could define. He proposed that a professional surveyor might be made available to accompany him and the Manipur and Burmese officials during the season 1873-74, when the whole of the Manipur-Kubo boundary could be properly demarcated. In a letter dated 28th March 1873 the Political Agent was told that, in consideration of the occurrences on the Naga-Manipur boundary (paras. 30-35), the Government of India was not disposed to make a reference to Burma on the subject till the Manipur Durbar placed the settlement of the boundary in the Political Agent's hands without reservation. When the Durbar consented to this, the Government of India would take steps for the deputation of the Political Agent at Mandalay or of some one nominated by the King of Burma to settle the frontier in company with the Political Agent. The Chief Commissioner, British Burma, was however of opinion that under no circumstances should the Political Agent himself leave Mandalay for that duty. The Maharajah of Manipur did not reply to the Political Agent's letter till six months after, when Dr. Brown had relieved Colonel Thomson. He agreed to place the matter unreservedly in the Political Agent's hands for settlement. On the Burmese Government being then asked to depute an officer for the purpose of settling the boundary, they replied that the boundary was satisfactory and that the appointment of a deputation for the purpose of demarcating it was deprecated. On this the Chief Commissioner, British Burma, suggested that unless the matter was considered very important in Manipur, it should not be pressed. The Manipur Durbar was then consulted, and they agreed to accept what had long been recognized on either side as Pemberton's line. The Political Agent remarked that the boundary had only been called in question during the previous few years, and that the Burmese had withdrawn the thannah they had established on the Manipur side and abandoned their claim to the villages. He also remarked that the line proposed by Colonel Thomson, which seemed intended to run straight nearly from village to village, and cut out an old established Manipur thannah named Moreh, was strongly objected to by Manipur, as it would deprive these villagers of almost all the land they cultivated. Dr. Brown mentioned another objection, viz., that bringing the Burmese line close up to these villages would be a strong temptation to interference. He proposed that the old line, with the exception of a portion he had altered in a map sent, should be adhered to as marked. On the matter being referred to the Burmese Government, they said they wished to adhere, without any modification, to the Treaty of 1833 laying down the boundary. The boundary question was thereupon dropped.



The messengers who brought the letter to Manipur from the Woon of Gendat regarding the village of Nat-tseng-nga (page 187 above) brought a second letter to the Political Agent, in which the Woon complained that Manipur Nagas of the village of Hmautsem, "assisted by ten Nagas of the mountain range," had attacked and burned the Burmese village of Beetooop,⁽¹⁾ killing two men and 26 buffaloes, and carrying off twelve men, women and children. They destroyed all the property in the village by fire, including 400 baskets of rice, and took away 200 baskets of rice with them. The Woon said that on the matter being investigated the Hmautsem Nagas confessed that it was done by them, and he requested the Political Agent to try and make them deliver up the villagers and property. The Maharajah of Manipur assured General Nuthall that the village of Hmautsem was far to the south (it is not marked on Pemberton's map) and had not been brought under the control of Manipur. When General Nuthall proceeded to the frontier in April 1871 in connection with the boundary, he intended to make enquiries regarding the attack, but no further action in the matter was reported to the Government of India.

In July 1872 the Political Agent at Manipur reported that a deputation had arrived there from Mandalay with a letter from the Woonshindan Myngee, and had requested him to enquire into and settle certain matters of dispute between Manipur and Burma. They were not furnished with any authority for their visit by the Political Agent at Mandalay, but Colonel Thomson, the Political Agent at Manipur, fearing that Manipur interests might suffer by sending them away, took up the questions.

The first dispute was that about ten years previous⁽²⁾ a man and his wife, residents of Sumjok, when going from Manipur were murdered near the Lokstow River in Manipur territory, and no steps were taken by the authorities in the matter. In reply to this the Manipur authorities asserted that the murders alluded to, as also of two Manipuris, were committed by their baggage coolie, that enquiry was instituted at the time, and that the perpetrator was brought to justice. The second dispute was that the Manipur thannah, which had been at Ochanpok, was removed three years previously about four miles towards Burma, that it was requested at the time that it might be withdrawn to its original site, but as no steps had been taken for its removal, the request was again made. In reply to this Colonel Thomson said that he was

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), May 1871, Nos. 151 and 156.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, Nos. 313-15.



to visit the boundary during the ensuing cold weather, and he would then settle the dispute. The third dispute was that some Nagas from Manipur territory had attacked the village of Mowlong, near Sumjok, and killed and carried off ten persons, and a considerable amount of property, Rs. 800 being paid for the release of the captives. They said the Manipur authorities took no notice of the matter. The Manipur authorities asserted that they never heard of it before, and the deputation appeared satisfied with this reply. The fourth dispute was regarding twelve muskets which were stolen by Burmese from the Manipur thannah of Montom in 1869, but which could not be recovered.⁽¹⁾ This theft was admitted by the Rajah of Sumjok at the time it occurred; as he could not recover the muskets, he was prepared to give compensation for them. The deputation asked the Manipur Durbar whether they would accept twelve other muskets or double the value of those stolen. The proposals were not accepted. Colonel Thomson told them that the Maharajah could accept of no other guns or even double the value of those stolen. The fifth dispute was regarding a Manipur sepoy's wife said to have been seduced and carried off, together with her son. The deputation brought the woman, who was examined by Colonel Thomson. She stated that she went of her own accord and lived with a man in Sumjok and was not willing to join her husband again. Colonel Thomson suggested to the deputation that damages to the extent of Rs. 120 should be paid to her husband and his child left with him. To this they willingly agreed, and the money was paid at once.

The Political Agent at Mandalay was requested⁽²⁾ to inform the Burmese Government of what had taken place, and to add that it would be better, and lead to the speedier and more satisfactory settlement of such matters if they were referred through him instead of direct to the Manipur Durbar.

In February 1875 the Rajah of Sumjok complained to the Political Agent, Manipur, that a party of
Alleged raid by Manipur Kongjais on the
Burmese village of Nampee. Kongjai Kookies belonging to that
State had attacked the village of
Nampee, situated within Burmese territory, and killed 45 men, women, and children. The village of Nampee is not marked on Pember-ton's map, but is situated near the northern boundary of the Kuba Valley.

According to the Manipur authorities, the Ayapoorel (Manipur official detailed for matters connected with Burma) had been recently appointed, and went to the Burmese frontier for the purpose of making himself acquainted with his duties. While there some dispute occurred between his men and the inhabitants of some villages situated in the Tankhool Naga Hills in Manipur territory. While the dispute was

(1) Political Proceedings (India), August 1869, Nos. 46 to 48.

(2) Political Proceedings (India), August 1872, No. 314.



under settlement, the inhabitants of one village, in which the Manipuris had halted, set upon them during the night and killed eleven Manipuris and one Kookie. This led to an expedition of 150 Manipuri sepoy and 700 Hill Kookies being sent to punish the offending village. They assembled at the Kongal Thannah, from whence they proceeded and destroyed the offending village, killing nine men, and then returned to the thannah.

When the Burmese complaint was received the Political Agent was absent on duty in Cachar. The man who brought the letter, by name Tammoo Seajah, was said to be acquainted with the case, as he was at the Kongal Thannah when the attack on Nampee was said to have occurred. He waited in Manipur till Dr. Brown's return, who examined him. He said that the Manipur force returned to the Kongal Thannah on the 1st February, and that he received information on the 3rd that Nampee had been attacked on the night of the 2nd. He also said that the Ayapoorel denied the possibility of his Kookies having committed the raid, but refused to investigate the matter, saying that the raid, if committed, must have been done by Nagas or others in Burmese territory. None of the Kongjais were seen between the Kongal Thannah and Nampee, but they were accused because the Burmese considered that no other party could have committed the raid.

On first receipt of the Burmese complaint the matter looked so suspicious that Dr. Brown asked the Maharajah to suspend the Ayapoorel, pending the result of an enquiry on the spot. He at the same time asked that arrangements might be made for coolies, and a head official appointed to assist in the enquiry. The Maharajah replied that he considered the suspension of the Ayapoorel before an enquiry had been made to be unjustifiable; and he threw difficulties in the way of the enquiry by saying that the greater part of the Nagas had gone with the Kamhow force (paragraph 82), and that those who came with Dr. Brown from Cachar had gone to their hills and were not then fit to be called again. Dr. Brown by this time having made fuller enquiries, thought that the Manipur case looked favourable, and the only way he could account for their obstructiveness was that they dreaded an investigation into the original expedition. He thought that some oppressive measures on their part had led to the attack and murder of the Manipuris and Kookies. He however afterwards acquitted the Maharajah of any wish to interfere with the investigation, and said he thought he only wished for delay in order to obtain the services of Tungal Major, who was with the Kamhow expedition. The matter of the coolies having been arranged, Dr. Brown proceeded to the village of Nampee, accompanied by the Ayapoorel. He had previously written to the Rajah of Sumjok, asking him to depute an official of standing from the Burmese side to assist in the investigation; but he said he would prefer that the Rajah himself would find it convenient to meet him, instead of any other official.



Dr. Brown reached the frontier on the 1st April, but as nothing had been heard of the Rajah of Sumjok, he sent off a short note to him intimating his arrival.⁽¹⁾ The next morning a Burmese arrived in camp, who said he had heard that the Rajah intended meeting the Political Agent, but was delayed, as his mother was sick. Late the same night a short note was received from the Rajah, saying he could not come as his head priest had just died, but that he would send an official of standing as soon as possible. A meeting had been arranged to take place at Mongsa, a short distance from where Dr. Brown had encamped, and he went there on the 3rd. He found no preparations being made for the reception of any one in the village, and no official of any kind to afford information; he therefore returned to his standing camp the following evening, where he had left the Manipur party. None of the people of Mongsa had heard anything about the raid, except through the Burmese messenger who had passed through their village, and as the case at this stage appeared likely to break down and prove a false charge altogether, Dr. Brown reinstated the Ayapoorel. A Burmese official, said to be a nephew of the Rajah of Sumjok, arrived at Mongsa on the evening of the 4th, and met Dr. Brown at his camp the next morning. The matter was then gone into, with the result of further weakening the Burmese case. The raid having been committed on the evening of the 2nd, and the whole of the Manipur party having returned to the capital on the 5th, it was admitted that, if the dates given by the Burmese and Manipuris were correct, it would have been impossible for the Manipur Kongjais to have committed the raid, as the journey from Nampee to the Manipur capital could not possibly be done under four days. Dr. Brown, however, in his report to Government, said there was no doubt the Kongjais with the Manipur force could have committed the raid, if a raid had been committed, the distance between the Kongal Thannah and Nampee being much less than he was at first led to believe. The Burmese admitted that no one had seen Kongjais going to or coming from Nampee, and that Kongjais were in the habit of trading in numbers in the Kubo Valley. They therefore retracted what they had positively maintained, viz., that if Kongjais had committed the raid, it could only have been done by those with the Manipur force. They, however, insisted that a raid had been committed as alleged, and Dr. Brown proceeded to the village, the Burmese having pledged themselves to show the remains of the 45 persons killed. When Dr. Brown arrived at the village, there was no sign that it had been attacked at all. The houses were all intact, the headman of the village failed to produce the remains of the persons said to have been killed, and the marks on doors said to have been produced by bullets were found, with one exception, which was even doubtful, to have been cut with some instrument. Dr. Brown considered that the evidence led to one of two conclusions,—the first, and by far the strongest, was that the case was an entirely

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1875, Nos. 141 to 151.

false and malicious one without foundation; the second, that if it contained any element of truth, it had been much exaggerated, and the Manipur State accused without a shadow of proof to support the accusation. The only explanation he could offer was that the complaint had been intended as a set-off against former Manipur ones, it being common to both States to have pet grievances on either side to which they constantly refer, and the Manipuris had then by far the heaviest list against Burma.

Dr. Brown informed the Rajah of Sumjok and the Maharajah of Manipur of the result of the enquiry. He told the Maharajah of Manipur that, although he thought it highly improbable that the Manipur Kongjais had committed any raid, still there was an element of suspicion in the case, as they had opportunity, being encamped so far from the Kongal Thannah where the Manipur force was, that no personal control by the Manipur officers was possible. He therefore asked the Maharajah, in all cases of the employment of armed Kongjais with Manipur troops, to direct a sufficient watch to be kept over them, so as to render the occurrence of such complaints impossible. He also asked the Maharajah, whenever he had occasion to use troops near the Burmese frontier, to intimate the fact to the nearest Burmese official where the force was to assemble, and its objects.

On 14th May, the Chief Commissioner, British Burma, reported that the Burmese Government had complained to the Resident at Mandalay regarding the attack on Nampee and asked what settlement would be effected. At this time Sir Douglas Forsyth was about to proceed to Mandalay in connection with Western Karennee affairs, and the Chief Commissioner was requested to furnish him with a copy of Dr. Brown's report, with an intimation that he was to make no allusion to the subject at Mandalay, but that if the Burmese Government referred to it, he should inform them of the result of the investigation, and say that the Government of India were satisfied that there was no just cause of complaint against Manipur. The matter does not, however, appear to have been alluded to by the Burmese Government, for it is not mentioned in Sir Douglas Forsyth's report.

The Kongal Thannah is a Manipur outpost situated on the banks of the River Nummeah, which there forms the boundary between Manipur and Burma, and is due north of the Kubo Valley. It was garrisoned by one Jemadar and 20 sepoy. On the morning of the 14th December 1877 the thannah was attacked by about 100 Shans, Burmese subjects, of the Kubo Valley. Eight Manipuris were killed and the guard-house burnt (1). On the morning of the attack the Jemadar had heard that a large party of Burmese were assembled in a village not far off, and sent four men to see if the report were true; a party had also been sent on other duty to the Kampang

Attack by Burmese on the Manipur outpost of Kongal.

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, Nos. 107-28.



Thannah on the Manipur road; and the Jemadar and three men had gone to superintend the erection of some huts about 200 yards distant from the stockade. Six men were thus only left in the stockade. One was on sentry outside, another was cooking, and the remaining four were inside. There was also a Naga who had come to sell something. The sentry and three of the men inside were killed; the four men who had gone off to enquire regarding the reported assembly of Burmese were also found killed about 50 yards from the stockade. When attacked the four men inside the stockade kept up a fire on the Burmese till three of the four fell; the fourth man then climbed over the rear of the stockade and escaped into the jungle. The Burmese had also some loss on their side, for the man who escaped reported that he saw two bodies being carried away by the attacking party.

On the outrage being reported, Colonel Johnstone, the Political Agent, proceeded at once to the Kongal Thannah to investigate the matter.⁽¹⁾ The result of his investigation left no doubt about the correctness of the report. The opinion of the people there was that the attack had been committed by the Sumjok Rajah with the permission, if not at the instigation, of the King of Burma, with the object of seeing how far they could go with Manipur; and that, in the event of the outrage being passed over without notice, it was feared that it might only be the prelude to a more serious attack. In corroboration of this it was reported on good authority that the women and children of the Kubo Valley had all been put across the Ningthee River, and that the men were under arms. The news of the attack caused great excitement in Manipur. The Maharajah said that it was only owing to the presence of the Political Agent that the people remained quiet. Every one to the south of the capital had his bundle of clothes and parched rice ready to flee. Colonel Johnstone at first was inclined to think that the Manipuri interpretation of the cause of the attack was a pretty correct one. "For many years past," he said, "much ill-feeling has prevailed along the border, both parties, being dissatisfied with the boundary as at present defined, or rather I should say ill-defined, and it is quite possible that the Rajah of Sumjok, whose son has a very bad reputation, may have represented his supposed grievances at Mandalay, and been encouraged to insult the much-hated and despised Manipuris." Subsequently, however, he said he was inclined to lay the entire blame on the Rajah of Sumjok.

Since the attack was made the passes leading to Burma have been closed to all comers from thence except Burmese officials, but Burmese and others travelling from the west have been allowed to pass on, on the understanding that their safety could only be guaranteed as far as the Manipur frontier. Colonel Johnstone explained that this was done to prevent panics in Manipur, as the appearance of a few Burmese unescorted would have created great alarm.

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, No. 108.



Before any information regarding the attack had reached the Resident at Mandalay, a letter was received from him forwarding a communication from the Burmese Minister for Foreign Affairs.⁽¹⁾ The Burmese Minister represented that the Rajah of Sumjok had complained that a body of Manipuri Khyens had made three attacks on the Burmese Khyen village of Nampee—the first in 1874-75, when over 40 men were killed; the second in October-November 1877, when 20 were killed; and the third in December 1877, when 30 were killed. The first of these alleged attacks was reported at the time it was said to have occurred, and the details of which are given in paragraphs 116-21, but this was the first mention of any raids by Manipur in 1877.

A copy of Colonel Johnstone's report regarding the attack on the Kongal Thannah was sent to Colonel Duncan, Resident at Mandalay, and a copy of Colonel Duncan's letter and enclosure regarding the alleged attacks on the village of Nampee were sent to Colonel Johnstone. Colonel Duncan was instructed to request an explanation from the Burmese Government, and Colonel Johnstone was instructed to request a similar explanation from the Manipur Durbar, but in doing so they were merely to state the facts of the cases and to make comments or reflections thereon themselves.

The Maharajah of Manipur denied all knowledge of any attacks made on the village of Nampee.⁽²⁾ He remarked that the first charge had been investigated by Dr. Brown and proved to be false, that he had heard nothing of the other two outrages, that no complaint had been made by the Rajah of Sumjok, and that it was usual in such cases for him to complain to the Manipur officers and to the Political Agent. Colonel Johnstone said he did not attach the slightest credence to the report. He believed that the charge had been got up simply as a set-off against the charge preferred by Manipur against Burma. When the Kongal outrage was first reported, he took some pains to ascertain if the tribes on the Manipur side of the boundary had been engaged in any attack on Burmese territory, which might have led to the aggressive act, but could not find the least evidence to show that such had been the case. He pointed out how improbable the attacks were, and referred to Dr. Brown's investigation into the alleged raid in 1875. He remarked that, on Dr. Brown's investigation of the alleged attack in 1875, the headman put down the number of inhabitants of the village of Nampee as 21,* but assuming that he meant heads

* (*Extract from Dr. Brown's report of 1875.*)

"Asked (the headman of Nampee): How many inhabitants were in the village before the raid? He replied twenty-one. And after? Fifteen. He seemed utterly unconscious of there being any discrepancy regarding the number killed, forty-five, and the number of original inhabitants."

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, Nos. 110-12.
Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, Nos. 114-15.

(²) Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, Nos. 110-20.



of households, and allowing four or five to a house, the number of slain would be so out of proportion to the population as to render the case quite unique in Naga warfare, and cast a grave doubt on the statement, even were there no other negative evidence to be brought forward.

In reply to the letter of the Resident at Mandalay asking for an explanation, the Burmese Government said that they had received accounts from their officials on the Manipur frontier which confirmed the account given by the Political Agent, Manipur.⁽¹⁾ They disavowed the conduct of their local officials, who, they said, had acted without orders, and they promised to call to Mandalay all those engaged in the affair, and make an investigation and punish the offenders. The Burmese Minister, however, in his letter complained that "there being an insufficient disposition of ordnance and ammunition in Manipur for the purpose of effectually attacking Sumjok, 200 maunds of powder and 5,000 muskets had been sent for from Calcutta and preparations made." He further complained that the Manipur guard at Mo-le Thannah had been strengthened by 100 men, and that orders had been issued by the Maharajah and the Political Agent, prohibiting Burmese from entering or leaving Manipur. In a letter dated 4th May 1878, Colonel Duncan was told that the Governor General in Council was glad to recognise the friendly and well disposed character of the communication made by the Burmese Government, but he was at the same time told to watch the progress of the case carefully, and to satisfy himself that a thorough investigation was made into the conduct of the Sumjok Rajah as promised. About this time the Government of India had supplied the Maharajah of Manipur with 750 percussion muskets and a quantity of ammunition on payment. The arms were given to replace the smooth-bore muskets supplied on the formation of the Manipur Levy in 1825, which were returned to the arsenal at Fort William to be broken up; and the ammunition was supplied simply because the Maharajah's stock was nearly exhausted. This being probably the foundation of the Burmese rumour that the British Government had supplied arms and ammunition to Manipur for the purpose of attacking the Rajah of Sumjok, the facts of the case were explained to the Resident in order to prevent misunderstanding on the part of the Burmese.

On the 5th July 1878 the Burmese Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Resident that the Rajah of Sumjok had arrived at Mandalay and been examined regarding the attack on the Kongal outpost. The Rajah denied that his people attacked the thannah. He did not know for certain who did so, but he had heard that wild Khyens attacked the stockade and killed the eight Manipuris. He again repeated his charge against Manipur, saying that Manipuri Khyens came frequently into his villages and killed people, whereby he had lost over 100 men. In forwarding this deposition the Minister asked the Resident to give the

(1) Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, No. 121.
Political Proceedings (India), May 1878, No. 128.
Political Proceedings (India), June 1878, No. 63, and K. W.
Political Proceedings (India), August 1878, Nos. 256 to 261.



names and places of abode of those who headed the attack, and they would be examined and punished, if found guilty. In a separate letter of the same date he asked the Resident for information as to the steps which had been taken regarding the enquiry into the attacks on the village of Nampee, and the punishment of the offenders. In a conversation the Sub-Minister also informed Mr. Shaw that, as the Rajah of Sumjok denied that it was his people who committed the assault on the Kongal Thannah, the proper course was to substantiate the charge by specific evidence, and that, unless this were done, no further investigation could be made by the Burmese Government. Mr. Shaw remarked that it would be very difficult for us to ascertain the names and residence of the culprits, as we could not prosecute an enquiry in Burmese territory, and that our request for an investigation had reference to an attack the fact of which was admitted by the Burmese Government themselves; it was therefore hoped that the Burmese Government would, whether the Rajah were implicated or not, make a full enquiry. It was urged by the Minister that the attack having been denied by the Sumjok Tsauba there was no reason for further enquiry; they nevertheless issued orders to the frontier officials to make enquiry whether those who attacked the thannah were Burmese or not.

In a letter dated 5th September 1878,⁽¹⁾ Colonel Johnstone reported that he had again made very careful enquiries with the view of ascertaining whether there was any truth in the charges brought by Burma against Manipur, with the result that he was more than ever convinced that they were groundless. He was more confirmed in this opinion from a conversation he had in July 1878 with a Burmese official who brought a letter to him from the Poongree of Tummoo and the Woon of Gendat. This man requested that the witnesses in the Kongal case might be allowed to go to Tummoo with him to give evidence at the investigation, and Colonel Johnstone sent them together with two of the Maharajah's officers. They left Manipur on 14th July, and did not return till 4th September. They said they had been kept at Tummoo waiting till the Rajah of Sumjok should return from Mandalay, and were sent back without any investigation having taken place. They were told that a letter had been sent to the Resident at Mandalay, that the Sumjok Rajah denied having committed the offence, that there would be no investigation, and that Manipur had committed many outrages in Burma. The witnesses heard from the people of Tummoo that the Wandouk who had been charged with the investigation had taken the part of the Sumjok Rajah. The Burmese explanation was that they issued orders regarding the investigation to the Wandouk in charge of the frontier province; he passed on the orders to the Governor of Tummoo, and informed the Manipur authorities by letter; meanwhile the Manipur party had returned, and the letter was not delivered. It also appeared from letters from the Burmese Minister to the Resident at

(1) Political Proceedings (India), November 1878, No. 300.
Political Proceedings (India), November 1878, No. 306.



Mandalay that the Manipur party arrived at Tummoo on the 26th July, and that after their arrival the Burmese frontier official wrote to Mandalay for instructions, and that the reply arrived too late. The Burmese Government explained the matter to the Manipur Durbar, and asked that the men might be sent to Tummoo again, but that previous notice be given of their departure. Mr. Shaw also asked that he might be previously informed of the probable date of arrival in Burmese territory of the Manipur party. Colonel Johnstone was requested to bear this point in mind in sending the party again. He was, however, asked by the Government of India whether, in his opinion, the enquiries then made were sufficient to render the recurrence of similar outrages improbable. It was said that if, owing to the delay which had already passed, no practical advantage was to be hoped for by pressing the investigation further, it would be desirable to advise the Manipur Durbar to drop the matter. Colonel Johnstone, however, could not recommend the adoption of such a course. He felt sure it would lead to serious trouble in future. The Manipuris so distrust the Burmese that he did not think a peaceable state of affairs could be expected unless some reparation was made; he remarked that the Kongal outrage was the culminating act of a long series of minor offences, and that the Manipuris considered that unless some punishment was awarded to the offenders, there would be no security for the future. Every dacoity by the hill tribes was believed at Manipur to be instigated by the Burmese, and Colonel Johnstone had difficulty in persuading the Maharajah that this was not likely to be the case. Colonel Johnstone, however, suspected that there was a tendency on the part of the Sumjok people to encourage the Kookies on the Manipur border to give trouble, though the disposition was exaggerated.

The Manipuri witnesses were sent to Tummoo the second time on the 17th January 1879, a month's previous notice having been given by the Political Agent to the Resident at Mandalay. According to information received by Colonel Johnstone a Court was convened for the investigation of the outrage, consisting of eight persons, among whom were a son of the Wundouk, two sons of the Rajah of Sumjok, and an officer of the Rajah of Sumjok.⁽¹⁾ The Manipur witnesses stated that two men who were brought before them were not the men whose names they gave, and Colonel Johnstone had heard some time before that it was intended to substitute other people for the real offenders, in the hope that the witnesses might be led to assert that they were the men that they had seen, when decisive proof to the contrary would have been brought to discredit their statements. The Poongree of Tummoo also wrote to Colonel Johnstone regarding the investigation; he stated that besides the two men brought not being recognized by the Manipur witnesses, the two Sumjok officials denied the existence of the two other men named, and the witnesses were unable to point out their houses. The Poongree therefore suggested that it was desirable to settle the matter by a payment of Rs. 900. This Colonel Johnstone

(1) Political A, June 1879, Nos. 238-245.