



and severe punishment inflicted on them; finally, they were pursued up a precipitous mountain side and two of their stockades stormed. One satisfactory result was that the English ammunition found on the slain proved that they had been the raiders last year at Monierkhal and Nundigram. On the 12th January a small portion of the column, carrying only just so much supply as was absolutely necessary, started from Sellam for Lalboorah's locality, distance or whereabouts of which no one knew. They met with no opposition, and on the 17th February entered Chumpai, Lalboorah's chief village, which they found deserted. In the centre of the village was the tomb of Vonolel, an elevated platform, on every point of which were hung skulls of different wild animals, while in the centre, on a pole, was a fresh slain head with the hand and foot of the victim. The village, consisting of 500 houses, was burnt. The tribes of Vompil, Poiboi, and Vonolel had now been subdued, and the capital of the latter destroyed. The General therefore set out for Chumsin, the village of Vonolel's widow, where he dictated the terms on which alone it and the other villages of Lalboorah would be spared. These terms were (1) that agents from the Government should have free access to Lalboorah's villages and transit through his country; (2) that three hostages should accompany the column to Tipai Mookh; (3) that the arms taken at Monierkhal and Nundigram, or an equal number of their own, should be surrendered; (4) that a fine of two elephants' tusks, 1 set of war gongs, 1 necklace, 10 goats, 10 pigs, 50 fowls, and 20 maunds of husked rice should be delivered within 24 hours. There was difficulty about the arms, but eventually everything was delivered before morning, except a small portion of rice. The possibility was then considered of forming a junction with General Brownlow, and signal rockets were fired, hoping that they might attract his attention, but without success. The column then set out on its march home, and the General Commanding reached Cachar on the 10th March, having advanced 193 miles from Cachar and 110 from his first base in the enemy's country at Tipai Mookh, until he reached the stronghold of Lalboorah, the most powerful of the Lushai Chiefs.

Nor were the operations of the right or Chittagong column less successful. This force, of about the same strength as that starting from Cachar, was chiefly composed of Goorkha regiments. Its advanced base was at Demagiri on the Kurnafooli, where the force assembled at the end of November. The tribes which General Brownlow had to reduce to submission were the Syloos and the Howlongs, the latter being the most distant, and Mary Winchester, who had been carried off from Alexandrapore in 1871, being a captive in their hands. At Burkhal the Chief Rutton Poa came in. It had been doubtful whether he would give in his adhesion to us or not, but the prospect of a large force assembling at Demagiri in the neighbourhood of his own village no doubt influenced him greatly and induced him to cast in his lot with us. From Burkhal he acted as guide to a force that marched from that



place to Demagiri by land, and subsequently throughout the whole expedition, he was of the greatest possible assistance in carrying on negotiations.

A move was first made on the 9th December against the Syloos; the troops marched in a north-easterly direction, occupied the hill mark Syloo Savoonga on the map, and thence penetrated to Laljeeka, the village of one of Savoonga's sons. In reaching this point, the force had to march through a most intricate country, being obliged in places literally to hew their way through the jungle. They succeeded, however, in striking severe and rapid blows as they passed; Vanbnoyah's, Vanshumah's, Vanunah's, and Vanhoolen's strongholds were all captured and the stores of grain in them burnt. From Laljeeka the General returned to Savoonga, intending thence to make an expedition into the Northern Howlong country. As, however, Rutton Poa and Mahomed Azeem, the police subadar, had been sent on a mission to the Howlongs, it was deemed expedient to await their return before any hostile occupation of the latter tribe's country was attempted. In the meantime Captain Lewin had despatched two messengers to Benkuia, the principal northern Howlong Chief, in whose hands Mary Winchester was, and he at once gave up the girl, reserving, however, all questions as to submission and his other captives. On their journey back these messengers met Rutton Poa and the subadar, and the latter having taken charge of Mary Winchester brought her to Rutton Poa's village near Demagiri, whence she was sent to Chittagong. Rutton Poa continued on his way to Vandoola, the Chief of the Southern Howlongs.

On the 12th February General Brownlow started with a portion of his force against the northern Howlongs, having first left a sufficient garrison at Syloo Savoonga. The force crossed the Dullessury, and on the next day some of the enemy were seen; they were communicated with, through some of Rutton Poa's men, and evinced a desire to submit. The march was, however, continued, until definite information was received that Benkuia and Savoonga were advancing to tender their submission. They arrived on the 16th February, and without hesitation accepted the terms which were imposed on them. These were the surrender of all captives, an engagement on their part to live amicably with all British subjects from Manipur to Arracan, with free right of access to our people through their whole country. A day or two afterwards Lalboorah, Jatoma, and Lienrikoree, the remaining Chiefs of the northern Howlongs, came in and agreed to similar terms. On the 23rd the force commenced its march back to Syloo Savoonga; and there Lal Gnoora and Laljeeka, sons of Savoonga, Vanbnoyah, Vanloola, and three other Chiefs, representing the whole of the Syloo tribe, made their submission on the same terms as the Howlongs. There only remained now the southern Howlongs, and, to commence proceedings against them, it was necessary to return to Demagiri; and starting from that place a show of force was made in the direction of Sypoea and Vandoola, whose villages were said



to be from three to five days' marches east of Rutton Poa. An advance was made to Sypoea's village, a distance of 40 miles, and he immediately submitted. On the 12th Vantonga came in with a number of captives, and next morning Sangliena, Vandoola's eldest son, followed, and his submission was accepted on behalf of his father; he agreeing that his captives should be given up. The submission of the tribes being now complete, the force marched back to Chittagong, the last of the troops reaching that place on the 24th February.

The operations of this column were decidedly successful. It advanced 231 miles from Chittagong and 83 miles from its first advanced base into the Howlong country; it disabused Benkuia of the idea that his village was inaccessible, and its progress was only arrested by the submission of that Chief and his tribe. The following is a complete list of the Chiefs who submitted to, and came to terms with, General Brownlow:—

Tribe.	Name.	REMARKS.
Syloo ...	Savoonga ...	Represented by his sons.
	Lal Ngora ...	} Sons of Savoonga.
	Laljeeka ...	
	Vanhnoya and two brothers ...	Step-brother to Rutton Poa.
	Vankunga ...	} Subject to Savoonga.
	Vanhnuia ...	
	Vanhoolen ...	
	Dowteyeva ...	
	Vanlula ...	
	Vanshuma ...	
Howlong (north) ...	Lalhileera ...	} These Chiefs are brothers. The former has married Rutton Poa's sister.
	Sangbunga ...	
	Benkuia ...	
	Vansanga ...	} Subject to Sangboonga.
	Chongnama ...	
	Lien-u-koom ...	
Howlong (south) ...	Lalbura ...	} Brothers: independent.
	Jo-ltoma ...	
	Vandoola ...	Represented by his son Sanghena.
	Vantonga and two brothers ...	Cousins of Vandoola.
	Sanghena ...	Eldest son of Vandoola.
	Saipoiya ...	Brothers of Vandoola and brother-in-law of Rutton Poa.

A survey party accompanied each column of the expeditionary force, and in the short season available for their operations they topographically delineated 6,500 square miles of new and difficult country, and contributed most materially to fill up the gap which had hitherto separated the survey of Chittagong from that of Cachar.

The southern party, under Major J. Macdonald, pushing north from Chittagong, succeeded in completing a triangulation of 2,300 and



topographical mapping of 1,700 square miles connected with the eastern frontier series of the great trigonometrical survey. The tract thus explored lies between $22^{\circ} 30'$ and $23^{\circ} 45'$ north latitude, and $92^{\circ} 30'$ and 93° east longitude, and its survey has determined a considerable extent of the water-shed between the Cachar and Chittagong and Akyab water systems. Forty well defined geographical points have been established, and the heights of 37 of these obtained with mathematical accuracy.

Captain Badgley, in charge of the northern party, started from Cachar and accomplished about 600 square miles of triangulation, with nearly 200 linear miles of route survey and 4,800 square miles of topography. The region thus surveyed extends to $93^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude, and nearly to 23° north latitude, and includes the whole course of the Tuiri and its tributaries, which pour their waters into the Barak at Tipai Mookh.

Major Macdonald was not able to push far enough north to determine the upper course of the Dullessury and the Sonai, more westerly affluents of the Barak, and owing to the two parties not having been able to effect a junction, there remains a blank in longitude between these two portions of the survey which overlap in latitude; and also another gap in latitude between the northern limits of the tract surveyed by the Chittagong party and the southern boundary of surveyed Cachar.

Leaving for further consideration the question of the policy to be followed in future with the Lushai Chiefs, the Bengal Government contented itself on the close of the expedition with placing a line of strongly-manned posts along the whole southern frontier of Cachar and Sylhet.

The question of policy was afterwards taken up by the Local and Supreme Governments; but as most of the debateable points arose in connection with the Chittagong side, it will be most convenient to notice the result in the following chapter. The more important papers will also be found in the Appendix.

Effect of the expedition.

The Lushais have given no serious trouble since this expedition.

Some of the Chiefs visited the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar during 1873-74, and some of them sent down their muntries, or agents, with small presents. Large numbers came down in December 1874 to purchase cattle in North Cachar with cash, which they had obtained from the sale of rubber. During the cold weather of 1874-75 large numbers of Lushais came down to cut rubber on both banks of the Barak. When they were forbidden to cut more, they disappeared



from the neighbourhood of the guards and gardens, though, possibly, they continued to cut rubber in places where they were not seen. In January 1875 Sookpial's agent reported a great scarcity of rice in that Chief's country. Supplies were sent up, and Native dealers were induced to send up more. Three bazaars had been established of recent years in the Lushai country, beyond our border, which were supplied with goods by Native traders from Cachar. They are located on the three principal streams flowing out of the Lushai country, at Changsil, formerly Bepari Bazaar, at Sonai Bazaar, and at Tipai Mookh. They increased for a time in size and importance; but their growth was checked by the exactions imposed on the traders by the Chiefs, and lately they have fallen off seriously owing to the failure in the supply of rubber brought in by the tribes.

A very important question in connection with these tribes brought to notice in 1875-76 is an apparently gradual advance of the Lushais northwards towards our southern boundary.⁽¹⁾ They are, it is supposed, closely pressed on the south and east by the Saktis and possibly by other tribes; and the southern tribes, in consequence, appear to be coming north and the eastern tribes coming west. This movement, if not watched with care, may contain the germ of future complications. The Chief Commissioner has forbidden altogether the settlement of parties of these border tribes within our boundaries, except after permission duly asked and obtained, and on sites specially assigned to them for the purpose. These sites are to be invariably at a considerable distance within our frontier, in order to prevent raids on the settlements, and to obviate the chances of disputes arising between communities settled at short distances from one another across the border, which might lead to our becoming involved in their feuds.

For the rest the policy of sending one of the Cachar officers to visit the principal Chiefs in a friendly way from time to time has been followed. Our frontier posts are carefully maintained, and very recently the military branch of the Police in this, as in other parts of the Province, has been placed on an improved footing. In the Appendix will be found papers showing the proposals devised to this end and the way in which the defence of Assam is now provided for.

In February 1875 Sir R. Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, put forward a proposal to appoint a Political Officer to have sole charge of the relations with the Howlongs, Syloos, and other hill tribes of Chittagong, and to make over to this officer also the control of Sookpial's country and the tribes of Hill

(1) Assam Proceedings, June 1876.



Tipperah.⁽¹⁾ The Chief Commissioner of Assam objected to the scheme on the following grounds :—

The changes proposed which affect this Province are—

- (1) The control of Sukpila's country from the Chittagong side, instead of from the Cachar side.
- (2) The abolition of the appointment of Political Agent to Hill Tipperah.

On the first point I am to observe as follows :—

Politically, Sukpila's country may be described as bounded on the north by the Districts of Cachar and Sylhet; on the west by Hill Tipperah; on the south by the country of the Howlongs, Syloos, and Shindoos; on the east by the State of Manipur and the country of the Soktees. Although this tract is not wholly under the authority of Sukpila, still his relations and friends bear rule over almost the whole of it, and it is probably what Sir R. Temple intends by the expression "Sukpila's country." This tract has no definite boundaries. On the north side Sukpila has agreed on a certain line, as dividing his country from that of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar; but the Deputy Commissioner and his people have much influence to the south of this line, while Sukpila and his people have much influence to the north of it. On the other sides, the boundary of the tract varies with the fortunes of its inhabitants: When their star is in the ascendant, they encroach upon Hill Tipperah, the Syloos, &c., and, indeed, upon Cachar and Sylhet; when they are weak, their neighbours encroach upon them.

Geographically, this tract may be described as consisting of a series of parallel rivers running from south to north, with the watersheds between them. The chief of these rivers are the Dallessur, the Sonai, and the Tipai, on which are situated the trading places of Bepari Bazaar, Lushai Haut, and Tipaimukh. To these trading places traders from Cachar and Sylhet habitually resort.

Neither politically, nor geographically, nor commercially, has the tract in question up to date had much connection with the Chittagong Hill Tracts; its connection has always been with Cachar and Sylhet. This connection is a natural one, and arises partly from the position of the tract to the north of the watershed dividing the waters which flow into the Surmah from those which flow into the Fenny, Kurnufule, &c.; partly from the fact that the people inhabiting it are continually pressed northwards and westwards by the hostile tribes to the south and east of them, and are thus brought into recurrent contact with the border populations of Cachar, Manipur, and Sylhet. The Chief Commissioner would not discover a connection so natural, and which has subsisted so long, without very strong reason being shown.

The practical difficulties which are likely to ensue if Sukpila's country is controlled from the Chittagong side are these: Tea-planters and others are constantly being brought into contact with Sukpila's people. Hardly a month passes but Colonel Keatinge has to settle some question of frontier policy in Cachar and Sylhet. The reference of all such questions to Calcutta will seriously detract from the advantages which the establishment of this Province was expected to confer. Communication between Sukpila's country and the Chittagong Hill Tracts is difficult, that is, the tribes of the Howlongs and Syloos intervene. On the other hand, communication between Sukpila's people and the people of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar is so constant that it is probable that, if Sir R. Temple's scheme is accepted, the Superintendent of the Frontier will communicate with Sukpila *via* Cachar. Finally, the object of Sukpila and his people being naturally to encroach on Cachar, Sylhet, and Hill Tipperah, it seems probable that they might find means to play off their new controller of the Chittagong side against the Deputy Commissioners of Cachar and Sylhet.

Lastly, I am to point out that, though Sukpila is still an important personage and has much influence with his relations and friends who bear rule in various parts of the tracts above described as "Sukpila's country," still it must not be supposed that that country could be controlled by communication with Sukpila alone. There are many other leaders and chiefs with whom the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar and the Manipuri authorities are in constant communication, who, though they may be influenced, are certainly in no way controlled by Sukpila.

(1) Assam Proceedings, April 1875.

On the second point, in which change is proposed, I am to point out that it is very necessary to Cachar and Sylhet that their right flank should be efficiently protected. The Chief Commissioner cannot recall to mind any raids of Kookies through Hill Tipperah into Chittagong, whereas they have been not unfrequent upon Sylhet. Strength in Hill Tipperah is consequently of more importance to the districts in the Surma Valley than to those on the Chittagong side. Tipperah will be stronger, the Chief Commissioner thinks, with a Political Agent than with an Assistant Political Agent.

Colonel Keatinge regrets that he is unable to support Sir R. Temple's scheme, in so far as it affects this Province. He has always held that the present division of control over the savage tribes lying between Cachar and Chittagong was the most convenient one. Indeed, when he took up the administration of this Province it was strongly urged upon him by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that he should undertake the control of the whole eastern frontier. His answer was, that the Syloos, Howlongs, &c., and other tribes in connection with Chittagong, could not conveniently be controlled from the Cachar side; that the controlling authority should have possession of the Chittagong District as a base. In the same way, he holds that Sukpila's people and other tribes in connection with Cachar could not conveniently be controlled from the Chittagong side; that the controlling authority should have possession of the Cachar District as a base.

The project was accordingly dropped.

In January 1877 Mr. H. Luttman-Johnson, then Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, accompanied by
Mr. Johnson's tour, 1877. Extra Assistant Commissioner Hari

Charan Sarmah, Rai Bahadar, and by Mr. Savi, Assistant Superintendent of Police, in command of 50 men of the Frontier Police force, entered Lushai territory at Changsil Bazar, on the Dullessury River.⁽¹⁾ From thence the party marched through the hills to Sonai Bazar, and then proceeded to Kulicherra Mukh, on the Barak River, at which point they took boat, returning to Silchar by way of the Monierkhall outpost. Mr. Johnson spent altogether about three weeks in the Lushai Hills, experiencing much hospitality from those of the inhabitants with whom he came in contact. He was unfortunately unable to arrange an interview with either Sookpila or Khalgom, now the most powerful of Sookpila's sons, these Chiefs excusing their non-attendance on different grounds. The Deputy Commissioner, however, paid a visit to, and received a visit from, Sailengpoi, who is said to be the favourite son of Sookpila. Sailengpoi evinced during the interviews a most friendly disposition. The tour was, on the whole, most successful, an issue due to a great extent to the caution and tact displayed by Mr. Johnson.

In March 1877 a very unsatisfactory report was received as to the state of the frontier posts supposed to be maintained by Hill Tipperah. The Rajah had three posts along his northern (Sylhet) border, at Kamalpur, Koilaspur, and Furnah Dharmnagar. Between this and Ekshurra on the Goomty (a day's journey from the Chittagong Hill Frontier), no posts were placed.⁽²⁾ Then full two days' journey from Ekshurra down the Goomty was a post at Udaipur. On the south, close to Noakhali, another at Rishyamukh and on the west posts at Khadlamadla and Agartalah. In most cases the Political Agent found the sepoys' pay in

⁽¹⁾ Assam Proceedings, May 1877.

⁽²⁾ Assam Proceedings, August 1877.



arrears and no ammunition provided for their muskets. The Government of India gave orders insisting on the Rajah's carrying out his engagements in this matter of frontier defence.

It was reported in 1876-77 that an expedition had been undertaken by Sookpilal's son, Lempong, and Laljeeka in October 1876 against Pugrying, a Syloo village, in which the village was plundered and several of the inhabitants carried away into slavery. Afterwards news was received that fighting has broken out between Khalgom, and the eastern Lushais under Poiboi. The quarrel is said to have originated through Khalgom having *joomed* land to which Poiboi laid claim. Poiboi and Lalhai would appear to be often guilty of acts of oppression towards the weaker Chiefs. In 1875-76 Tantow, a petty eastern Chief, having been attacked and robbed by Poiboi, came and settled near Tipai Mookh. The Chief Commissioner, considering his location in this place objectionable, ordered him to return to Lushai territory, or to move to a safer spot,—he adopted the former course. Subsequently, twenty-two families of Tantow's village came into British territory, and asked for protection, saying that they could no longer tolerate the constant oppression they suffered at the hands of Poiboi and Lalhai. They stated that Tantow himself had lately been seized by Poiboi, and placed in confinement, but had been released at the instance of Lengkam. These refugees were located for the present in the Kookie village of Akhai Punji, on the west bank of the Barak River, opposite the mouth of the Jhiri River.*

In July 1877 hostilities broke out between the eastern Chiefs, Lengkam, Lalbura, Chunglen, and Bunge, and the western Chiefs, Sookpilal, Khalgom, his son, and Lenpunga. These hostilities originated in a dispute about some *joom* land.

Sookpilal and the other western Chiefs, shortly after this outbreak of hostilities, sent a deputation to the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, asking for assistance against the eastern Chiefs. Their request was of course refused. In August following the eastern Chiefs sent a similar deputation, chiefly with a view to find out what answer had been given to Sookpilal. It was explained to them that the British Government would not assist either side, and they were advised to make peace with the other party. They then asked that the traders who had deserted the Tipai Mookh Bazaar on account of the oppression exercised by some servants of Lengkam's might be induced to return. They were told that the matter would be taken into consideration if proper explanations were tendered.

Towards the end of September, Lengkam attacked Khalgom, and carried off fifteen heads, in revenge for the theft from some of his people of some salt which they were carrying through Khalgom's country from Sonai Bazaar. In October thirty-five of Lalhai's people fled from the Lushai country through fear of Poiboi.

* I give the names of the Lushai Chiefs as they appear in the papers; but new names are constantly cropping up without explanation of their connection or location. Some Cachar officer should prepare a 'Key' to the Annual Reports.

In November Sookpial's muntries again sent a petition to the Deputy Commissioner, asking him to mediate between the eastern and western Chiefs. They were told in reply that, if both sides joined in the application, the request might be entertained, but not otherwise.

In January 1878 Lengkam's muntri with other agents of the eastern Chiefs made restitution to the traders who had left Tipai Bazaar, paying them Rs. 30. They also, on the part of the eastern Chiefs, again asked for the mediation of the British Government. The Chief Commissioner being informed that both parties were desirous of mediation on the part of the British Government, directed that they should be advised to make peace, and that a safe meeting-ground in Cachar should be offered to them.

Nothing of importance occurred to disturb our relations with any of the tribes in 1868-79 till October, when the bazar at Changsil, which is under Sookpial's protection, was plundered by a party of Lushais, who could not be identified. The merchants came down with the muntries of Sookpial, and some of his neighbours who tried to throw the blame on the eastern tribes. On investigation, however, this appeared highly improbable, and Sookpial was called upon to pay the losses of the traders and 25 per cent. damages, and with this view the muntries were sent back to him, with a message to the effect that no merchants would be allowed to go to Changsil until the money was paid.

About the same time six Lushais from Sennong, one of Poiboi's villages, came down to ask for assistance against Lalhai; they further reported that Poiboi was about to send down his principal muntries after the rice crop was cut. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to remind Poiboi and Khalgom of their obligations regarding the safety of their respective bazars.

On the 6th December a robbery of rubber from some Nepaulese woodcutters by a party of Lushais was reported. Investigation was made, but the thieves were not discovered.

On the 8th December some muntries and others from Khalgom came down to ask for assistance against the eastern tribes. They were told that Poiboi's and Lengkom's muntries were expected shortly, and that, if they waited till Sookpial's muntries came down also, there would be some chance of making a peaceable arrangement between the tribes here.

The Bengali messenger the Deputy Commissioner sent with the returning muntries to Sookpial came back on the 15th January, and reported that Sookpial had made a thorough investigation into the robbery at Changsil, but without success. He declined to pay any damages or compensation, but promised to send his muntries in a fortnight to treat for the re-opening of the Changsil Bazar. The promised muntries came down in February, and, after long consultation and debates, agreed that Sookpial should pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, and remit bazar dues to the same amount, on the condition that the Changsil



Bazar should be re-opened. Meanwhile, the muntries from the eastern side had arrived in the station. From what they all said, the state of enmity between the tribes was highly unpopular, and solely due to the jealousy of the Chiefs. Even they, it seemed, would be glad to make peace, were it not that each party was unwilling to incur the shame of making the first advance. The Deputy Commissioner recommended them to make simultaneous advances, and told them to say that the advances were made by his advice. The muntries all went away about the 8th of March.

Sookpial first endeavoured to raise the amount of his fine by the imposition of a house-tax; but this attempt was abandoned in consequence of the opposition it encountered at the hands of his people, who contended that, as the Chiefs themselves realized handsome profits from the bazar, they, and not the community at large, were the proper persons to make good the sum demanded by Government. Sookpial then obtained contributions of Rs. 100 from each of the tributary Chiefs Sailengpui, Lengpunga, Lengkunga, and Baniyatungi, and Rs. 60 from his son Khalgom; this money, together with Rs. 100 contributed by himself, he paid to a Native officer who had been deputed to Changsil to realize the fine. He promised to arrange within one month for the payment of the balance Rs. 440, but the Native officer, being seriously ill and having nearly exhausted his supplies, returned to Cachar. The Chief Commissioner remitted the balance of the fine, in consideration of the deference paid by Sookpial to the order of the Deputy Commissioner.

On the 30th April 1879 it was reported that a party of

Events of 1879-80.

Sookpial's tribe under the command of his sons, Labruma and Lengpung, had started to attack the villages of Poiboi and Lengkam, and of their subsidiary Chief Chungleng, the object of the expedition being to retaliate for the burning by Lengkam of some *jhums* huts. It was further stated that another party had gone south-east to raid on Lalbura's people. These reports were afterwards corroborated by information received from the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. No collision, however, occurred, the contending parties being induced to abandon for the present their warlike designs by the friendly offices of the grandmother of Poiboi, a Rani whose territory lies between the villages of the two belligerents. In June 1879 a report came down from the Sonai Bazar that Sailengpui and other Chiefs had started to renew the attack on Poiboi, Lengkam, and Chungleng; but a rumour having reached them that troops were being despatched from Cachar to Tipai Mookh, the project was abandoned.

In the following month the Lushais came down from Senong Punji (a village 14 miles south-east of Tipai Mookh Bazar), presented an elephant tusk to the Deputy Commissioner, and represented that their community was in great distress for want of food. With the approval of the Chief Commissioner, 35 maunds of paddy were purchased and sent to relieve the distress.



In addition to these internal disputes, the Eastern Lushais are threatened by some of the Kookie clans living still further to the eastward. It was reported that in April 1879 some Paites, nominally subject to the Maharajah of Manipur, attacked the village of Bontonga, brother of Lalbura. The result was the loss of one life. No retaliatory steps were taken by the Lushais, who had been recently further disturbed by a demand made on them for tribute by the Soktes (or Sooties), which demand they determined to resist at all costs.

During the year the muntries of Sookpial, Sailengpui, and Lengpung visited Cachar, and presented *nazars* to the Chief Commissioner. The muntries of Poiboi and Lengkam not having attended as usual to pay their respects, the Deputy Commissioner caused inquiries to be made of those Chiefs, and was informed that the cause of this neglect was the attitude of the Soktes, which rendered it inadvisable for the headmen to absent themselves from their villages.

In April 1880 a party of Lushais who had come down to collect rubber fell in with some woodcutters in the Inner Line forest reserve, and demanded rent from them. On the matter being reported to the Deputy Commissioner, he sent a remonstrance to Sookpial, whose subjects the offenders were said to be. Sookpial took the matter up promptly, and summoned the principal offender, one Lalapa, Muntri of Mintang Punji, whom he fined and personally chastised. He also expressed a hope that any Lushais who interfered with British subjects in our territory might, if arrested, be punished by the Deputy Commissioner. In the month of May a letter, received from the Changsil Bazar, stated that Sookpial was seriously ill, and wished, if possible, to have an interview with Rai Hari Charan Sarma Bahadur before his death. Major Boyd, therefore, with the sanction of the Chief Commissioner, despatched that officer, with an escort of 10 men of the Frontier Police, to the Changsil Bazar, whence he proceeded to Sookpial's village. He found Sookpial very ill and anxious that a medical man might be sent to him.

Owing to barbarities committed by Khalgom, Sookpial's son, upon his people, several families sought refuge in Cachar and were settled at a distance from the border.

On the 13th January 1881 Major Boyd started on tour in the Lushai country, and was absent a month from the district. He was able to meet seven Chiefs, exclusive of the infant son and heir of Sookpial. News of the death of the last-mentioned Chief reached him after his departure from Silehar.

From time to time during the year reports were received of petty raids committed by the several Chiefs in pursuance of the quarrel between the eastern and western Chiefs. Had Sookpial lived, it is possible arrangements might have been made to effect an amicable settlement during the Deputy Commissioner's tour in those hills;



but the death of the most powerful of their opponents has encouraged Poiboi and Lengkam to prosecute the quarrel.

The death of Sookpilal was to be regretted, as his great influence had of late been steadily exerted in favour of the maintenance of friendly and conciliatory relations with our Government. During his tour Major Boyd had frequent opportunities of noticing how thoroughly the conviction of the paramount importance of retaining the favour of Government was entertained by the chiefs and their headmen, and as the pressure of the less-civilized tribes on the flank and rear of the Lushais increases year by year, so will the urgent need for the continuance of amicable relations become, it is thought, to these latter more and more apparent.

In the early part of the year 1881-82 there were incessant hostilities among the chiefs inhabiting the eastern and central tracts. In

Events of 1881-82.

the beginning of April Lengkam, Chunglena, and Poiboi attacked and burnt the village of Thangula, which contained about 450 people, killing 150 of them and taking 39 prisoners. The Deputy Commissioner gives the following account of their subsequent proceedings :—

The raiders carried with them forty heads of the slain as a trophy, and it is curious to note what they did with these heads on their return to the *punjis*. They all assembled in the village of Chunglena, and there the heads were arranged in a row, and an earthen vessel filled with rice, curry, and boiled eggs, and a bamboo "*chungu*" containing liquor, were placed by each head, while the victors drank and danced round them. This food was given, not out of derision, but in order that the disembodied spirits might not haunt the victors, but travel in peace to the city of the dead that lies in the far south. Subsequently, a small tree was planted in front of the Raja's house, and the heads hung on its branches; the soldiery then proceeded to dance round the tree, firing blank ammunition at the heads. After this, the fighting-men who had actually brought away the heads were publicly decorated, each man's hair being bound with a thick white cord, at the ends of which knots of black and red thread were fastened. These threads are highly esteemed by the Lushais, and are carefully preserved and transmitted to their descendants as proofs of the prowess of their ancestors.

Directly after this Lengkam attacked a village of Darkang's, and killed many of inhabitants: 28 people from this village and 22 from Thangula's village took refuge in the Cachar district, and were assigned an asylum in two Kookie villages, which were willing to receive them. In October Khalgom made an abortive attack on Lalhai; but, these wars not being relished by his people, 400 of them immigrated into the Cachar district, and were settled there. Shortly after this the pressure of famine began to be felt, and the three principal chiefs, Poiboi, Khalgom, and Lalhai, met and agreed to a cessation of hostilities, and proceeded to send men into the Cachar district to obtain supplies of food.

The famine arose, according to the concurrent testimony of all persons concerned, from the depredations of rats. In the previous season

The Lushai famine.

the bamboos had seeded, and the supply of food thus provided caused an immense multiplication in the number of rats, who, when they had



exhausted the bamboo-seed, fell upon the rice crops and devoured them. The earliest indication of the distress was the immigration of some eighty families from the village of Khalgom, followed by other subjects of eastern chiefs first, and afterwards of the western chiefs. But, though they were later in immigrating, it was the western villages which suffered most, and by far the largest number of refugees came down the valley of the Dullessury past Jhalnacherra. At first, their advent created considerable alarm among the tea-coolies and some managers of the gardens near their route; but it was soon found out that they were peaceably inclined, and were only anxious to earn a livelihood, either by the sale of bamboos and forest produce, by labour, or by begging. In order to facilitate the former end, the duty charged at the forest toll-stations on foreign timber and produce was taken off; and employment was offered both by the Forest Officer on clearing forest boundaries and by several Tea Managers on cutting down the jungle on their grants. The Lushais, though not accustomed to hoeing or road-making, are skilful in jungle-clearing, and accepted work readily when offered them on high wages. But, besides this form of relief, it was necessary to make provision for supplying food in Lushai-land to those who were unable or unwilling to emigrate. Traders were encouraged to send up rice to the two chief marts of Tipaimukh in the east and Changsil in the west; the protection of a body of Frontier Police was promised them; and two Government store-houses were opened at Tipaimukh and Guturmukh, a place rather lower down the river Dullessury than Changsil, and to the north of it. These store-houses were not to compete with traders in selling, but to act as reserves in case the traders' stores fell short, and from them loans were to be made to the chiefs, or to men for whom the chiefs guaranteed that they were unable to buy from the traders.

One visit was paid by the Special Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Rai Hari Charan Bahadur, to Tipaimukh, and two (on the second of which he was accompanied by Mr. Place, Sub-Divisional Officer of Hailakandi) to Guturmukh. In the course of these visits it was ascertained that the eastern part of the country had suffered least from the famine: partly no doubt from natural causes, and partly because, being stronger and more warlike, the chiefs had stores of plunder to fall back upon. These chiefs resented the posting of a guard at Tipaimukh, and professed to be afraid that it would lead to the annexation of the country: so, after ascertaining that the traders were not alarmed for their own safety, the guard was withdrawn, only a head constable and a native clerk being left to keep the accounts of the store-house and to register traffic and report events. On the western side the chiefs and their people were poorer and the scarcity more severe; and here much gratitude was expressed for the assistance given by Government, and much friendliness shown towards Mr. Place, who was asked to enter and visit the villages, an

Visits to Lushai-land by Government officials.



invitation seldom given to an Englishman, whose visit is believed to be generally followed by cholera. It was ascertained that the Lushais of this tract prevented the Howlongs, who live to their south, from visiting Guturmukh or Changsil, and were making a profitable trade by carrying rice to them and retailing it at a higher price.

As the season advanced, there was no increase in the pressure felt, but the contrary, and many of the

Gradual cessation of famine.

Lushais who had entered Cachar and settled temporarily in Kookie villages there began to return in order to prepare their own lands for cultivation. Cholera broke out in the spring near Tipaimukh, and carried off one of the chiefs, Chunglena; and his village, thus weakened, was afterwards raided on by some Manipur Kookies. There has been a considerable emigration, too, from this part into Manipur territory. These events, however, did not affect Cachar, neither increasing the number of fugitives into it nor preventing the return of the famine-immigrants to their own country. It is estimated that not more than 1,000 of these now remain in Cachar.

The quantity of rice and paddy exported to Lushai-land in 1881-82

Exports to and imports from Lushai-land. was about 18,000 maunds and 2,000 maunds respectively, while nearly

1,000 maunds of rubber and 425,000

bamboos were brought down. The value of the imports is estimated at Rs. 61,800, and of the exports at Rs. 42,700, the difference between the two figures being covered by the cost of freight and the profits of trade. Besides this, Government purchased and sent up about 2,500 maunds of paddy, which was either sold to traders or advanced to the chiefs and persons vouched for by them.

The total expenditure incurred by Government on famine relief

Cost of Government relief. was Rs. 2,240; of this Rs. 1,100

was for purchase of paddy and rice, and Rs. 1,040 for boat-hire, i.e., freight of the paddy and visits of supervising officials. Rs. 1,040 were recovered from the sales to traders, leaving Rs. 1,200, the net expenditure of Government. Some of this but not much may be recovered from the recipients of loans. The policy of giving grain only in the form of a loan, and on the guarantee of a chief, was adhered to, not so much in the hope that much money would be received back, as with the view of preventing too indiscriminate application for help from being made.

In January 1883 a small party of Sokte Kookies under a chief,

Events of 1882-83.

Thangkoyam, succeeded in making their way to Tipaimukh Bazar and plundered the Bazar, carrying off also a boy captive. The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, Mr. Wight, was actually close to the Bazar at the time, but not with force sufficient to prevent the outrage. These Kookies came from a village 10 days south of Manipur and managed

to evade all the hostile Lushais on their route. The captive lad, all the plunder, and a fine of Rs. 450 were subsequently recovered through the agency of the Raja of Manipur.

Late in December 1883 the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar reported that disturbing reports had reached him from Lushai land. Apprehension at present time, January 1884.

Khalgom and the western Lushais were said to be much excited about the alleged murder of four of their people by Kookies living in our territory near Arkai Punji. Khalgom had sent in a deputation to demand reparation, headed by Rutton Sing (a notorious character, formerly a coolie on a tea garden, who has been mixed up in every mischief that has taken place on this frontier of recent years). It was ascertained that a great Council of the western chiefs had been held, and as raids might very possibly follow, troops have been hurried up to strengthen the frontier posts and patrols. The Deputy Commissioner has told the Lushais that he will make enquiries into their allegations, and that any raid on British territory will lead to their utter destruction.



CHAPTER XXII.

CHITTAGONG FRONTIER TRIBES.

To the east and south-east of the district of Chittagong stretches a tract of hill and forest, which, though now a British district, was not very long ago an almost unknown territory even to those who were nominally in charge of it. Lying between latitude $21^{\circ} 25'$ and $23^{\circ} 45'$ north, and longitude $91^{\circ} 45'$ and $92^{\circ} 50'$ east, it was for long years entered in the collectorate records of Chittagong as the kapas or cotton mehal of that district, a land of impervious jungle

The Chittagong Hill Tracts.

and malarious climate, into which no Bengalee might venture and live. We now assume to govern and protect 6,796 square miles of upland. European officers dwell amid its forests, and a yearly increasing revenue is derived from its people and its products. It is bounded on the south and south-east by Arracan; on the north-west the Fenny divides it from Hill Tipperah; west of it lie the swamps and plains of Chittagong; while eastward its limits are undefined, and its ranges merge in the wild, unexplored high-lands that lie between British India and North Burmah. The tract is roughly divided into four great valleys by chains of hills running from the south to the north-west in nearly parallel lines, till they reach the water-shed between Chittagong and Cachar. Flowing south, the Sungoo and Matamori rivers water two of these main valleys. The other two are drained by north-flowing affluents of the Karnafuli, which itself cuts through the ranges from east to west. It is a country rough and primeval: the abode of nomad cultivators, who have a hard struggle to maintain life against the savagery of nature and their more barbarous neighbours. The habits of the people and the characteristics of their home have been pleasantly and rosily described by the Deputy Commissioner (Captain Lewin) lately in charge of them.* It is not my intention here to go over ground already so recently traversed; nor do manners and customs fall specially within the scope of my present task. On the history of the Hill Tracts and the policy of Government therein, Captain Lewin has hardly touched; and it is still open to me to examine this. I shall first, however, and with due acknowledgment, condense from Captain Lewin's work a very brief account of the various tribes inhabiting the Hill Tracts.

Captain Lewin divides these into two classes: (1) the Khyoungtha, or children of the river; and (2) the
Lewin's sketch of the Hill peoples. Toungtha, or children of the hills.

The former are of Arracanese origin, immigrants from the south, and by

* The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein—Calcutta, 1869.



religion Budhists. The latter are of mixed origin, dwell chiefly in the outer hills, and are, in fact, for the most part savages of various clans. The Khyongtha dwell together in village communities, each under a roaja or headman, through whom they pay revenue either to Government direct or to some chief. The whole country south of the Karnafuli is nominally subject to the head of the Phru family, called at various times the Poang and the Bohmong Rajah. Most of those living north of the Karnafuli acknowledge a chief called the Mong Rajah. Distinct as to language and race from the ordinary Khyongtha are the Chukma, or Tsakma tribe. Branches of this tribe are known as Doingnak and Tounjynyas, and much discussion has taken place as to their origin and history, for which I must refer to Captain Lewin's pamphlet and the Asiatic Society's journals. The chief of the Chuekmas was until within the last few years a woman known as Kalindi Rani, and the tribe jooms north of the Karnafuli towards the Fenny river. The Tounghas, or sons of the Hill, *i.e.*, the tribes who cultivate the higher hills in preference to the river bottoms and lower ranges, are divided by Captain Lewin into three sets:—

(a) Those who are tributary to us and subject to our control, to wit (1) the Tipperahs or Mrungs; (2) the Kumi or Kweymi; (3) the Mrús; and (4) the Khyengs:

(b) Those who pay us no revenue, but are subject to our influence, *i.e.*, (1) the Bunjogis; and (2) the Pankhos: and lastly

(c) The independent tribes of (1) Lushai or Kookies, and (2) Shindus or Lakheyr.

The Tipperahs are merely emigrants from Hill Tipperah, to whom our rule has seemed more settled and endurable than that of their own chief. At one time, as we have already seen, the Kingdom of Tipperah probably embraced a large part of Chittagong, and this fact may also help to account for the numbers of Tipperahs we find here. There are about 15,000 settled in our Hill Tracts divided into four classes: the Pooran, the Nowuttea, the Osmi, and the Reang. The first two live near the Fenny; the third is small and scattered. The Reangs live on the eastern verge of the district, near the Lushai Kookies, and were a great source of trouble to us when first we entered on the government of the hills.

The Kumis dwell on the Koladyne river in Arracan, and on the upper part of the Sungoo. Living as they do near the outer tribes, they are more warlike in their habits than the Tipperahs and Khyongtha, and stockade their villages for purposes of defence.

The Mrús are found to the west of the Sungoo and on the Matamori. They were originally driven out of Arracan by the Kumis. There are only 1,500 of them in all within the district, and they pay tribute to the Bohmong in common with the other tribes of the south.

Of the Khyengs, Captain Lewin only reports that they are few in number in the Hill Tracts, and inhabit the spurs of the great hill range separating the district from Arracan.



The Bunjogis and Pankhos are of common origin ; but the former, with the Shindus and Kumis, knot their hair over the forehead, and are with them classed as Poe ; the latter, with the Tipperahs and Lushais, wear it *en chignon* at the back. Together, these two tribes number about 3,000 souls, and live, a few on the Karnafuli, but most to the east of the Sungoo. They are in many points like the Lushais, and have the same love of plunder and slaughter.

Of the Lushai tribes bordering on Cachar, I have already treated in detail. Those found on the verge of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, though connected with the clans to the north, were long believed to be distinct, and politically at any rate, may be considered apart. The Burmese call them Lankhé, and they are divided into three great septs. The Howlong, estimated at 12,600 ; the Syloo, at 10,800 ; and Rutton Poiya's clan at 2,580 souls. They are all independent, warlike, and aggressive. They inhabit the hills to the north-east.

The Shindus are a formidable nation living to the north-east and east of the Blue Mountain. All the country south of the Karnafuli has for many years been exposed to their ravages. Of their position and internal relations we know much less than we do of the Lushais. The whole aim of our frontier policy has of late years been the protection of the other tribes already named from the raids of the Chittagong Lushais and Shindus. The whole history of this frontier is indeed the story of their outrages and of the efforts to prevent, repel, or avenge these.

These are the tribes with whom the Government has to deal in this out-lying part of its dominions. But it is only of late years that such a complete classification of them could have been given. When Chittagong first fell into British hands, no attempt was made to bring any part of the hills under direct administration. The authorities had cognizance of only two hill chiefs : the one called the Phru, living 52 miles east-south-east from the station of Islamabad ; the other, whose residence was 35 miles to the east-north-east, being the head of the Chukmas. The chiefs had paid a tribute in cotton to the Muhammadans, and continued to do so to the British. But the amount appears to have been uncertain, and the Kapas Mehal, as it was called, was farmed out yearly to some speculator, who contracted to realize the tribute, and enjoyed a monopoly of the staple in which it was paid. The system of cultivation common to all the hillmen is that known as 'joom'. A village settles down in a favourable site, and yearly, in the month of April, each family proceeds to fell the jungle and to clear enough ground for purposes of tillage. The timber and bamboos so cut down are fired in May, and thereafter, on the first token of the approaching rains, holes are dibbled in the ground, into which five or six kinds of seed are thrown together,—cotton, rice, maize, pumpkin, or what not, calculated to mature in regular sequence. While the crops are ripening, the whole village bivouacks on the jooms to protect them

from beast and bird. Two years of such cultivation exhausts the soil, and when all the good land round a village has been worked out, the people move *en masse* to another site. Among the wilder tribes the greater part of the jooming operation is performed by slaves—captives of many a raid and border foray, which are indeed mainly undertaken to procure such labour. It is obvious that under such a system of cultivation the jomeas can acquire no rights in the soil itself, and that no practical means of assessing his clearing could in such a country exist. Hence, even the chiefs claim no property in the land or in the forests. Each claims the men of his tribe wherever they wander, or in whatever part of the country they may settle for the time to joom. Generally speaking the jomeas of each clan confine themselves within certain rough limits, but there is no real local jurisdiction vesting in any of the chiefs. The forest outside the State Reserves is free to all.

The tribute paid by the chiefs to Government was originally realized in kind through the roajas or headmen from the several families of the village. In 1789 the Government converted the cotton tribute into a money payment, and the chiefs now in turn demand from their jomeas a cash contribution. This is usually fixed at Rs. 3 or 4 for each married man. Bachelors, priests, hunters, and some other classes are exempt. Money payments introduced direct settlements with Government—contractors being abolished—and brought the Hill Tracts into administrative relations with the paramount power. The Government revenue was fixed upon a rough idea of the number of jomeas subject to each chief, and it has always been held liable to enhancement on the ground of increase in their numbers. As first settled, the whole revenue of the Hill Tracts was Rs. 5,703-13, of which the Chukma chief, Jan Buksh Khan, paid Rs. 1,852 and Kumla Phru Rs. 703, the balance being paid by various headmen, who managed to obtain direct settlements either through intrigue or as being really the representatives of distinct communities. In 1846 the revenue had risen to Rs. 11,803.

The earliest notice of these tribes which Captain Lewin discovered dates from the year 1777, when Ramoo Khan, probably a Chukma chief, rebelled against the authority of our cotton farmer and called in to his assistance "large bodies of Kookie men, who live far in the interior part of the hills, who have not the use of fire-arms, and whose bodies go unclothed." The rising appears to have been starved out by closing the markets to the hill people for a time. Tribes called Kookies were then, we gather from other contemporaneous notices, wont to raid upon the plains. There can be little doubt, however, that the raiders of the eighteenth century were the tribes who now inhabit our Hill Tracts, and are themselves sufferers from the encroachments of the more distant clans.



From 1799 to 1840 the Phru family, which ruled from the Karnafuli to the Naaf, had been under one head, Satung Phru.⁽¹⁾ Some time before his death Satung made over the management to his brother, Om Phru; but this Chief was so unpopular that the family, which had hitherto lived together at Bindabun, broke up and moved to different parts of the hills. In 1846 Om died, and his son, Komalagnio, kept possession of the family seat, though at first he had no influence over the rest of his relatives. From 1840 a state of anarchy prevailed owing to the family quarrels of the Phrus which first drew the serious attention of Government to the internal condition of Hill Tracts. During the two years preceding Satung Phru's death we had heard from time to time of sanguinary attacks upon villages subordinate to the Phrus. In 1830, in 1834, and again in 1835, such raids had taken place; the attacking parties being Mrungs, Kumis, or Bunjogis. Before 1830 our records are almost blank, recording nothing but the payments of revenue at the appointed times. Now, however, the dissensions of the Phrus and the anarchy which followed brought about a series of outrages, of which few details reached the ears of local officers at the time, but of the reality of which there was an ample evidence discovered afterwards. The fact appears to have been that the various members of the Phru family took up different positions in the hills, and perpetrated constant forays upon each other's villages, calling in the outer tribes to assist in the bloody work. This threatened the security of our revenue and demanded peremptory interference. Besides this, however, it would seem that now for the first time was Government made aware of the nature of these hill raids. In 1846, at any rate, we get very full details in regard to them from Captain Phayre, the Principal Assistant Commissioner of Arracan. The Chittagong authorities knew little of the tribes. Most of the marauders were Kumis or Shindus from the Koladyne, and all efforts to recover captives or punish raids were for many years made from the side of Arracan. The first expedition to punish an offending tribe was planned by Captain Phayre, then in charge of Arracan, for the cold weather of 1846-47 against Kumis of the Koladyne, who had raided upon certain Mru immigrants from Arracan, now tributaries of the Phrus. Komalagnio Phru had obtained a sort of pre-eminence over the rest of his family, and to him Government applied for information as to the nature of the arrangements made by him for the defence of his joomcas.

- (1) Judicial Proceedings, 1846, 26th August, Nos. 190 & 191.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1846, 23rd September, Nos. 99 to 102.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1845, 14th October, No. 82.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1847, 24th February, Nos. 25 to 29.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1847, 28th April, Nos. 137 to 139.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1847, 22nd September, Nos. 109 to 118.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1848, 12th January, Nos. 150 & 151.
 Judicial Proceedings, 1848, 24th February, Nos. 163 to 175.



It was found that his predecessors had established certain stockades in the south on the principal lines of route from Arracan, and these the Bohmong Rajah (to give the Phru his later title) now expressed himself willing to repair and man. The Magistrate of Chittagong strongly impressed with the impossibility of effecting much by offensive measures in such a country, and believing that failure must attend any attempt on the part of Government to establish a cordon of out-posts adequate to the protection of the tracts, recommended that the Bohmong should receive a remission of Rs. 1,000 from his revenue on condition of his undertaking the defence of his own estate. This sum, however, the Bohmong pronounced utterly insufficient even for the maintenance of the four forts he had, viz., Toba Cherra, Pindal Cherra, Purdah Cherra, and Capahye Cherra. There was this further difficulty. Komalagnio Phru had not been formerly recognized as sole Chief and head of the family, and the dissensions ensuing on the death of Satung Phru had not yet altogether subsided. Any arrangement made with him might only cause difficulty from the jealousy of the other Phrus. Under these circumstances Mr. Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner of Chittagong, was deputed to inquire into and report upon the whole subject, and the scheme which he submitted was eventually approved. It has been printed at length in No. XI. of the Selections from the Bengal Records. The following is an abstract of its provisions.

Mr. Ricketts held that as we had, from the inaccessible nature of the country, no hold upon it save through the Phrus, it was politic to ignore the connection which any of them might have had with the recent raids. We must manage through them, or not at all. Of course, if everything failed, we might remove the whole family to the plains, and try to work through the roajas or village headmen; but for many reasons such a plan was to be deprecated. We had therefore first to adjust the family feuds. This could only be effected by insisting on treating the chieftainship as an impartible heritage, subject only to liabilities for the support of the rest of the family. A little pressure brought the Phrus to consent to this. It was agreed that Komalagnio should be manager and chief; the others taking office under him as *tehsildars* or revenue collectors for certain clans, but all were to live together at Bindaban. On these conditions the revenue payable to Government was reduced to Rs. 2,918—a remission of Rs. 1,645. Mr. Ricketts proposed that it should be formally notified to them that Government acknowledged no right on their part to the soil of the forests, the whole of which belonged to the State; that their revenue should not be enhanced for twenty years, and no separate engagements be taken during that period from new jomeas south of the Karnafuh; that they were to undertake the defence of the frontier against marauders; that, should forays take place, or family quarrels arise, the management of the tract and the frontier defence should be taken up by Government, and the Phrus be deported to the plains. One argument



brought forward to justify these concessions to the Phrus is worth nothing. It was the fact that for many years raids upon the actual plains had been unknown. Whatever, therefore, they had done or failed to do, they had been able to keep their own tribes under control, and had proved an effectual screen to the people of the lowlands. It was only through our more intimate connection with the hill jomeas, owing to the nature of the revenue settlement, that we had any cognizance of the existence of raids. But where we realised revenue, we were bound to give or procure safety. Mr. Ricketts first at this time pointed out the anomaly of considering the Kapas Mehal as part of the regulation district of Chittagong. For thirteen years, however, things were left in this respect in *statu quo*.

In the year 1847 we first hear of the Shindus raiding in Chittagong. They are described as a very powerful tribe of the far interior;

Shindu raids in 1847-48.

over whom the Arracan authorities exercised no control. Some proposals were indeed at this time made with a view to preventing forays from the side of Arracan, but they were not very promising, and nothing seems to have been done. The Akyab Police had, it was reported, full authority over all the tribes on the banks of the Koladyne to a point hundred miles from its mouth, where a thanna was situated. For about fifty miles further up, they exercised a less perfect but still appreciable control. But this was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the stream. At the furthest point to which our officers had penetrated (the junction of the Kolak with the Koladyne), debouched the most northerly of the four routes known to exist between Chittagong and the Koladyne Valley. Here it was proposed to establish a stockade. Between this and the thanna, fifty miles below, supporting posts would be required; one at the junction of the Kooshai and the Koladyne, where was the head of a path leading to the Phrus villages in seven days' march. But all these sites were so fearfully unhealthy that the idea was abandoned, and the policy of attacking offending villages, when this was possible, was advocated instead. As the Arracan authorities attributed the frequency of raids to the ease with which slaves were disposed of to "the Chittagong Rajahs," the Government made the abolition of slavery a condition in the arrangements concluded with the Phrus. The establishment of a school was also suggested by Government as a desirable step.

The cold season of 1847-48 was marked by two sanguinary raids, the one on the Kalindi Rani's subjects, the other on those of the Phru. The marauders, it was clearly shewn, came from the Koladyne. Mr. Ricketts was anxious to send a party of armed burkundazes on their trail to follow on till they reached the Koladyne, there to co-operate with the Arracan police and local levies. But this plan was deemed impracticable, as no available force could be safely despatched through a country so difficult, so hostile, so unknown.



The expedition which Captain Phayre had planned for the cold weather of 1846-47 was carried out by Lieutenant Hopkinson, then Principal Assistant Commissioner of Akyab, in December 1847.⁽¹⁾ It was designed as already stated to punish certain villages of independent Kumis living far above the Koladyne Thannah for outrages committed on the Mrus both in Chittagong and Arracan. I have reproduced in the Appendix copious extracts from Lieutenant Hopkinson's journal, because they contain the best description I have come across of the nature of the country and of the difficulties such an expedition has to encounter. The conclusion come to by the local authorities on a review of all the information obtained by that officer was that, however troublesome the Kumis or the Khons or other petty tribes might be, the state of disquiet in which the Upper Koladyne was constantly kept was due entirely to the Shindus. Until this tribe was punished and brought to terms, there could be no hope of permanent tranquillity; and yet no feasible plan suggested itself by which this object could be attained. Lieutenant Hopkinson's expedition only succeeded by a series of happy accidents. The men composing it were prostrated by the mere toil of the march. Had they been attacked either in the advance or the retreat, they would never have returned to tell the tale. The Commissioner of Arracan wrote that while seeing the evil he was utterly unable to suggest a remedy. Nature was stronger than man. "Every expedition (said he) that has penetrated into the mountain ranges seems to have met with more difficulty than the one that preceded it; and having overcome all the inferior tribes, and established a very improved state of things, as far as their conduct is concerned, we appear to have arrived near the frontier of a tribe, or rather perhaps tribes under the generic appellation of Shantoo (Shindu), who perhaps stretch as far north as Cachar and Manipur, and east to the Burmese territory." Scarcely had Lieutenant Hopkinson reached Akyab, when the Shindus harried the friendly villages at which he had stayed on his visit to their neighbourhood. Lord Dalhousie, on receipt of these reports, seems to have been more impressed by the hazards the force had run than by the gallantry with which it had met them, and in the most cogent terms impressed on the Arracan officers the folly of attempting to carry reprisals into the jungles and fastnesses of the hills, where there was little to gain and much might be lost.

In the cold season of 1849-50, the Shindus raided in the Phru country.⁽²⁾ At the first Lushais Raids of 1849-50, got the credit of the outrage, as they did of every similar attack along the Cachar, Sylhet, and Chittagong frontier at this time: and Colonel Lister, Superintendent on the Cachar side, was instructed to procure information as to the tribe

(1) Judicial Proceedings, 1848, 16th August, Nos. 182 to 186.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, 1850, 27th March, Nos. 94-95.



concerned, and endeavour to recover the captives. It is certain that the southern Lushais, who were never reached by Colonel Lister, did raid this year upon the Chukma villages north of the Karnafuli, nor was there wanting an alleged cause, the Magistrate of Chittagong having recorded his opinion that the whole of the outrages in the north of the Hill Tracts were due to the encroachment of the Mugh Joomeas upon the territory belonging to the hill tribes. No boundary had been settled to the east, and it was urged that this want of definite limits led the Joomeas to take up sites far within the hills, on the strength of a protection which it was impossible for us adequately to afford. The Magistrate proposed that the Chingree Nullah running north and south to Rungamuttea, and between Rungamuttea and Kassalong the Karnafuli, and southward thence a nullah without a name, should be our eastern line of frontier, along which we should place stockades, and beyond which we should not go. The idea was approved by Government but left for future consideration. The whole question of repressing the predatory habits of the tribes in this quarter was fraught with difficulty. Captain Phayre, now Commissioner of Arracan, protested that there was no way of checking the Shindus but by marching a force into their country.⁽¹⁾ This, however, he did not recommend, as the task presented difficulties of unparalleled magnitude. All that he could suggest for practical adoption was to endeavour to educate the tribes by missionary enterprise. A good beginning had been made among the Kumis, and the banks of the Koladyne, as far as Talakmé were fast being peopled by settlers from the neighbouring hills. Nothing, however, of the kind was possible in Chittagong, where the country was wilder and the savage tribes less accessible.

In January 1850 an attack was made by about 400 Kookies on a village of Joomeas, belonging to Kalindi Rani's tribe, on the Chingma, a river in the Chittagong Hills falling into the Karnafuli below Rungamuttea.⁽²⁾ It was conjectured at first that the assailants came from Mullah's village, from which, as noted in the preceding Chapter, Colonel Lister found all the fighting men absent when he captured it; but this idea was ultimately abandoned on consideration of distance and on other grounds. The commissariat officer, who was superintending kheddah operations in that very neighbourhood, reported that the Kookies of the Chittagong Hills never injured his people on hearing they were 'Company's servants,' and said that they were led to attack the Kalindi Rani's people by the impositions and frauds practised on them when trying to barter their hill produce for salt and other articles brought from the plains.

In the cold season of 1850-51, attacks upon wood-cutters felling
bamboos and timber in the jungles
Raids in 1850-51. were reported from time to time,
and there were not wanting circumstances making it matter of suspicion

(1) Judicial Proceedings, 1851, 30th April, Nos. 169-71.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, 1850, 26th June, No. 156.



that some connection existed between these outrages and certain quarrels then subsisting between the Phru and the Kalindi Rani.⁽¹⁾ In the police report for the year 1850, we find the first suggestion that the direct management of the hill tracts should be assumed by Government officers. Radical suggestions of this kind crop up at intervals in regard to most of our hill tracts only to be dropped after a desultory call for report. In 1853 Messrs. Currie and Colvin inspected the eastern districts; and the result was a revival of Mr. Ricketts' report of 1847, and of his suggestion to separate the hill tracts from the regulation district.

A very full report was submitted in 1854 by the Superintendent of Police,⁽²⁾ reviewing the whole history of the tract for the last twenty

Discussion of policy.

years, so far as this appeared from the local records. During the last seventeen years there had been nineteen raids in which 107 had been slain, fifteen wounded, and 186 carried captive. The whole of these forays were believed to be the work of Shindus or tribes from the south, and the Superintendent exonerated both the Phru Chief and the Chukma Rani from all complicity. The Bohmong or Poang had stockaded six posts, in which he kept squads of ill-armed retainers. But it did not appear that they had ever prevented a raid or punished raiders. Efforts had been made through the Arracan authorities to ransom the captives from the Shindus, but without success: and it had been proposed to establish a line of frontier posts garrisoned by one Mugh battalion; also to create a Joomea police under the hill Chiefs, well armed and located at central thannas, who should protect their neighbours from forays by the outer tribes. But to this there was the great objection of the expense, which the returns from the Kapas Mehal would be quite insufficient to cover.

A careful local enquiry by an officer of experience was what the Superintendent most recommended.

Views of Government in 1854.

He was opposed to a separate judicial administration for the tract on the ground of the difficulty of dealing with offenders in the absence of all the usual appliances of such administration; no jails; no lock-ups; no communications. The following extracts from a letter to the Commissioner show the views taken by Government at this time (1854):—

It appears that during the two years which immediately followed the agreement which was concluded by Mr. H. Ricketts with the Phru family no attacks were reported, but that after that period they re-commenced; and that during the last four years there have been no less than ten of these attacks. Notwithstanding that measures have been promptly taken on all these occasions to track or apprehend the marauders, these efforts have been entirely without success.

(1) Judicial Proceedings, 1850, 11th December, Nos. 76-78.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, 1854, 13th April Nos. 136-39.

Judicial Proceedings, 1851, 29th January, Nos. 163-65.

Judicial Proceedings, 1851, 26th March, Nos. 87-92.

Judicial Proceedings, 1852, 29th January, Nos. 387-94.

Judicial Proceedings, 1853, 19th May, No. 40.



From the facts stated it clearly appears that the Phrus have altogether failed to keep that part of the agreement made with them in 1847, whereby they undertook to protect the Mugh population of this tract of country from aggression and plunder; and that other measures must now be concerted for the attainment of this object.

On the question of marching troops into the hills for the purpose of retaliation, and of thereby punishing the tribes concerned in these outrages, there appears to be but one opinion; all the officers who have considered the subject having condemned any such project, as not only in all probability fatal to those engaged in the expedition, but utterly useless in its results, from the impossibility of reaching the authors of these crimes in their remote and inaccessible fastnesses. His Lordship fully concurs in this opinion, and is decidedly opposed to any military expedition being attempted.

With regard to the proposal that a boundary line should be drawn out and demarcated between the settled parts of the Chittagong District and the Joom tract, and that the Government should then declare itself responsible for the protection only of those living west of that boundary. This is not a project which His Lordship thinks can be entertained, inasmuch as the Joom tract is, and has always been, a part of the British dominion, and the responsibility of the Government cannot be shaken off, even if it were desirable to do so; while, on the other hand, it would be a work of extreme difficulty and expense to lay down such a boundary.

Another proposal which has been made in reference to this object is that an Act should be passed excluding this tract of country from the operation of the civil and criminal regulations. Besides the anomaly, however, of having two different laws prevailing in the same district, and the difficulty just stated of defining a boundary between the two jurisdictions, His Lordship concurs with you in considering that the practical inconvenience described in the closing paragraphs of your report would render any such special legislation unadvisable.

It must always be a matter of extreme difficulty to determine the best mode of dealing with savage hill tribes, who regard plunder and murder as lawful and commendable pursuits, and dwell in inaccessible fastnesses within a climate so deadly as to defy approach. The plan of subsidising the Chiefs, and enlisting the men as soldiers or policemen, formerly adopted in the case of the hillmen of Bhagulpore, and more recently in that of the Kookes, has always answered best; and there seems to be no reason why this plan should not succeed with the Sindoes and the other tribes on the Chittagong frontier. The Commissioner of Arracan will accordingly be desired to make an attempt to open a negotiation with the Chiefs of the Sindoo tribe, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, by means of this kind, an effectual stop cannot be put to these periodical forays.

This, however, is not a measure of which the success can be counted on with any degree of certainty. The suggestion which was made by your predecessor, Mr. Plowden, and in which you concur, that an armed police force consisting of Jooms, armed with muskets, should be organised for the purpose of watching the passes which lead to the Sindoes country, and of protecting life and property throughout the whole of the Joom tract, appears to His Lordship to be worthy of immediate adoption; and you are accordingly requested to submit a detailed plan for carrying on this object. The Chiefs must still be responsible, as heretofore, for giving the police every assistance in the prevention of crime and the apprehension of offenders; but as the Government will by this measure take upon themselves the duty, for the performance of which the Chiefs were allowed a remission in the amount of the jumma formerly paid by them, it will now be necessary that the full amount should be exacted for the purpose of meeting the expense of the new police.

Like all the half-considered plans which preceded it, this would seem to have fallen through: for more than a year later in August 1855, we find that fresh forays from the south had occurred, and that no frontier police had yet been established. The year after⁽¹⁾ we read of the Akyab authorities ransoming a captive for Rs. 190, and duly presenting the bill at the Chittagong Collectorate. It is little to be

(1) 1855, 23rd August, Nos. 434-5.
1856, 23rd October, Nos. 104-7.
1856, 13th November, Nos. 76-82.



wondered at that a feeling of shame at such a confession of weakness led both the Commissioner and the Government to consider afresh the propriety of offensive expeditions.

In the Appendix is reproduced a review of the whole question by Colonel Hopkinson, then Commissioner of Arracan, in which the various plans from time to time submitted are set forth and analysed.

After considering all the facts, the idea of any expedition was abandoned; but still the raids went on, and always were the raiders reported to have come from the Koladyne. More and more frequent they became as impunity was found to attend each fresh attack.⁽¹⁾ At last in despair the Commissioner made the following proposals:—

1. To send military expeditions into the hills every cold weather to punish the obnoxious tribes by fire and sword.
2. To establish combined military and police out-posts on both the Chittagong and Arracan frontiers, a local levy being raised to man them.
3. To supply the Poang (the Phru Chief) with arms and ammunition, and let him take retribution for every outrage on his ryots if he could.

Upon this Government, after consulting Mr. Ricketts, ordered as follows:—

The Lieutenant-Governor is entirely averse to the first of the three plans proposed by you, viz., that military expeditions should be sent into the hills; for, in addition to the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, there would be great difficulty in distinguishing between those tribes who are in the habit of committing these periodical depredations and those who are favourable and friendly to our rule. Indeed, with the almost total want of anything like perfect or reliable information as to the actual perpetrators of the atrocities which it is proposed to punish, the Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to think that the adoption of your scheme for sending "military expeditions into the hills" would be very likely to lead to an indiscriminate slaughter of friends and foes; one of the consequences of which would be that our valuable elephant-hunting grounds would be continually disturbed, and our hunting parties always attacked. The probability of such a result is increased by the fact that the raids appear to be for the most part committed by the distant tribes; while those nearest to our frontier, who would be the first met with and attacked, are generally believed to be friendly.

Equally weighty objections exist in regard to the "establishment of military and police posts." From the great extent of country to be protected, such posts would necessarily be at considerable distances from each other, and each would, therefore, have to be made of sufficient strength to defend itself unaided against any force that might be brought against it. When, therefore, it is considered that the country in question is a forest between two and three hundred miles in length, and nearly the same distance in breadth, and that the attacking parties sometimes number more than 300 men, it is clear that the establishment of posts would involve such an expenditure of men and money, and require such a length of time to mature, as to render the scheme most difficult of adoption, if not altogether impracticable.

Again, even supposing the posts to have been established, the greatest difficulty would be experienced in keeping them supplied, in consequence of their distance from the frontier; for to be of effectual service the nearest of them should be placed beyond

(1) 1856, 18th December, Nos. 216-9.

1857, 2nd January, Nos. 169-70.

1857, 2nd April, Nos. 90-1.

1858, 9th September, Nos. 277-85.



all the villages which acknowledge our supremacy. The objection on account of the climate also is even of greater weight against the establishment of posts than in the case of merely temporary military expedition.

The last plan suggested by you is to "distribute to the Poang Raja arms and ammunition, and to give him free permission to exact his own retribution for every wrong done to his ryots by the hill tribes." This appears to Lieutenant-Governor a more feasible plan than the other two, and to a certain extent His Honor is decidedly in favor of its adoption. The Lieutenant-Governor would furnish the Poang and any others of the Native Chiefs on whom reliance can be placed with arms, money, and men, and by advice or intimidation, if requisite, would always continue to act through them, so long as they shewed any willingness to afford their co-operation. The fact of the forays having ceased during the years 1843-49 and 1850 speaks much in favour of the policy of working through the Native Chiefs introduced in 1847 by Mr. Ricketts, the former Commissioner of the Chittagong Division; and His Honor is of opinion that it would be unwise to abandon this policy until a change of system shall have shown itself to be absolutely necessary. But at the same time it is necessary that the nature and extent of the services to be rendered should be distinctly understood by the Poang, rather than that he should be vested with such an indefinite amount of authority as he would possess under the present terms of your proposal.

The arrangements made with the Phrus for administrative purposes were not found to work satisfactorily; and in 1859, the interference of Government again became necessary, and with a view to protect our hill

Creation of the Hill Tracts District. subjects from the aggressions of the frontier tribes, the Lieutenant-Governor recommended that the whole country east of the cultivated plain country of Chittagong should be removed from the operation of the General Regulations, and that an officer, to be called the Superintendent of the Joom Tract, should be appointed.

The Lieutenant-Governor was of opinion that, at present, it was out of the question to attempt really to administer the government of these hills. The administration should be left wholly to the hill Chiefs, the only object of the measures now proposed being to prevent such raids as the Commissioner complains of, and to do so through the Chiefs. For this purpose the single officer proposed would, it was hoped, suffice.

Any such complete system of administration as has been established in the Sonthal country was not at present to be thought of for the tract in question. The excessive expense of that system, as compared with the wealth and population of the tracts administered, was in itself a bar to such a scheme in regard to the Chittagong Hills; for the expense of the Sonthal system, in proportion to the population and the fiscal value of the country, was enormous, though the Sonthals pay a revenue which is more than nominal. The Chittagong Joomeas paid only a nominal revenue, and nothing was known of the hills at any distance from the plain country.

The Lieutenant-Governor was further of opinion that any middle course between the thorough administration of the affairs of a country, in a way suitable to the circumstances of the people, and the leaving of the administration to its own Native Chiefs, was most objectionable. Such middle courses, as was the case with the Sonthals, were sure, sooner or later, to end in disaster.



It might be necessary, though no such necessity had been shown to exist, not to leave wholly in the hands of the Chiefs some portions of the hills bordering the plain country.

In that case such portion, if taken in hand, should be thoroughly administered, somewhat after the Sonthal system; but the heavy expense of that system was a reason for doing this to as small an extent as possible. The administration of the rest of the country might be left entirely in the hands of the hill Chiefs, under the general supervision of a Superintendent, who should interfere as little as possible, except to insist upon the people near the plains, who are practically our subjects, being defended from the inroads of more distant savages, and being prevented from making raids or committing other great atrocities themselves. Whatever was resolved upon, the first step was to be the taking of the Hill Tracts of the Chittagong District from the operation of the General Regulations, which are intended only for people in a high state of civilization. Such discordance between theory and practice as appears when a country inhabited by semi-barbarians, ignorant of all laws, and without a semblance of courts of justice among them, is represented as subject to and influenced by a refined system of judicial administration, was hardly creditable to the Government of the country.

Act XXII of 1860 was accordingly passed, which enabled the Government to give to the Hill Tracts the administration suited to its condition.

Before, however, the appointment of a Hill Superintendent was actually made, there took place that very extended series of raids, which is known as the 'Great Kookie Invasion' of 1860. In December 1859, Great Kookie Invasion of 1860. rumours had reached the local officers of the Tipperah District that the interior of Hill Tipperah was in a very disturbed state. The Rajah's affairs were generally known to be greatly involved. He had been compelled to dispense with the little armed force he formerly kept up, while his family and kingdom were distracted by the intrigues of the various candidates for the succession, or of discontented exiles beyond the border. The Rajah, besides, either could not or would not meet the expense consequent on the nomination of a jatraj, or heir apparent, while he left all his affairs in the hands of his Bengali spiritual guide. Early in January 1860, reports were received, at Chittagong, of the assembling of a body of 400 or 500 Kookies at the head of the River Fenny, and soon the tale of burning villages and slaughtered men gave token of the work they had on hand. On the 31st January, before any intimation of their purpose could reach us, the Kookies, after sweeping down the course of the Fenny, burst into the plains of Tipperah at Chaguneyah, burnt or plundered 15 villages, butchered 185 British subjects, and carried off about 100 captives. Troops and police were at once hurried to the spot, but the Kookies had only remained a day or two on the plains, retiring to the hills and jungles by the way they came. It was at first supposed that this extended movement on the part of these tribes



was directed by certain near relatives of the Tipperah Rajah, and was intended to involve that Chief in trouble with the English Government. But it was afterwards ascertained, with considerable certainty,* that the main instigators of the invasion were three or four Hill Tipperah refugees, Thakurs who had lived for some time among the Kookies, and who took advantage of the ill-feeling caused by an attack made by the Rajah's subjects upon some Dúptung Kookies to excite a rising that unfortunately became diverted to British territory. Driven by the Rajah from his dominions, these men had formed alliances among the various Kookie tribes of the interior, and, year by year villages, supposed to be friendly to the Rajah, had been attacked and plundered, vague rumours of which disturbances had reached our ears. Some of

* The following extracts from a Report, by Mr. J. D. Gordon, will show the state of affairs in Hill Tipperah, and the causes of the Judicial Proceedings, November 1890, Nos. 245-47. raid:—"I wrote at length concerning an

attack made by the Rajah's people upon the Dooptung Kookies. I am still of opinion that that occurrence led to the disturbances in the hills which terminated in the massacres at Ramghur and Khundul. The Thakoors no doubt used their endeavours to extend the disturbances, and many disaffected Reangs, subjects of the Rajah, joined the Kookies. A good number of these men, Reangs, left the Rajah's Territory two or three years ago with the Thakoors. They, it is believed, returned with them to plunder at Khundul. But, independent of these, there were numbers of the Tipperah Rajah's subjects, men I mean who are avowedly his people, paying him rent, who secretly joined the marauders. Mr. Steer has ably described the disorganized state of the hills. The fact is, that there are few of the hillmen who do not suffer much from the Rajah's misgovernment. Their rent, of late years, has been enormously raised, and they are, at all times, liable to oppression of some kind. They were in a state, then, ready to join in any expedition that had plunder in the foreground and possible release from the Rajah in the distance.

"I must mention that it seems to have been a very general belief that the Government would at once make 'Khas' the hill territories, if outrages were committed on its people. It has created much surprise that this has not been the result of the massacre at Khundul, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the hillmen felt a hope that it might turn out so. They are, many of them, in constant communication with our subjects, and the security and comfort which the latter enjoy can hardly have failed to appear in advantageous contrast with their own position.

"Many of the hillmen, too, owed money to our subjects, and so they too would have an incentive to join in robbing and destroying them. It is an exceedingly difficult matter to write positively of doings in the hills, which are indeed veiled to even our Native subjects. The best informed can give, or will give, but little valuable information, whilst the hillmen, to Bengallees, are cunningly close as to affairs relating to themselves. Under these circumstances I can hardly give a very decided or valuable opinion. But I think that to revenge the raid on the Dooptungs by the Rajah's people was the object of the rising of the Kookies; that the disaffected Reangs and Chukmas (the Kalandee Rancee's people), headed by the Thakoors, caught up the spirit, and caused plunder and murder on all sides.

"I would, in concluding this report, add a few remarks upon a subject bearing directly upon the future state of our Frontier.

"The state of Independent Tipperah calls for our interference. I do not mean with a view to annexation, for that would be opposed to our present policy. I allude to the disorganized state, in consequence of the *unfitness* of those in power in Tipperah.

"If internal disorganization exists to the detriment only of those residing within an Independent State, we are not bound to exercise interference, though this has repeatedly been the sole ground for such interference by civilized nations with barbarous; but if that disorganization *directly* affect the lives and property of our subjects, interference, on our part, rests no longer on a question of policy—it becomes a necessity.

"Such is the case with the internal state of Tipperah.



the Rajah's own subjects, moreover, exasperated† by his constant exactions, were believed to have invited the Kookies to ravage his territories.(1)

The hillmen who had perpetrated this attack in the Tipperah District were reported from the first to be the followers of Rutton Poa, whose clan was known to live far up between the upper sources of the Fenny and Karnafuli.

In July (1860) the newly appointed Superintendent of Hill Tracts Expedition against Rutton Poa. was told that his first duty would be to gain as much information as possible to facilitate the advance of a military expedition to punish the offending tribes. Government was determined to read them at once a severe and salutary lesson.(2) In January 1861, a large body of military police, under Captain Raban, marched against Rutton Poa's village. No sooner had they appeared in sight than the Kookies themselves set fire to the place and fled to the jungles. A good deal of damage was done to them in various ways, but beyond proving to the savages that their fastnesses were not inaccessible, it could not be said that much else was effected. At the very time that this expedition was on its march, a large body of Kookies made a fierce attack upon Hill Tipperah near a thannah of the Rajah's called Oodoy pore. The few miserable

"During the time of the late Rajah a semblance of order existed. The present Rajah does nothing himself, but has for the last seven or eight years given the whole and sole management of every matter in his territory to his Gooroo.* This man once had but one aim, the restoration of the Rajah's finances. The Rajah was much in debt to the Mohajuns, and the Gooroo was determined to wipe away these debts. This he has in a great measure done, but not in the legitimate way of curtailing extravagance, and putting a stop to unnecessary expenditure, but by sweeping away also establishments absolutely necessary. Now that the Rajah's debts are nearly cleared off, and he has gained entire influence over his master, and unlimited control in money matters, the Gooroo does not hesitate, I learn, to spend large sums on his own account.

"Independent Tipperah will not become settled so long as he remains in power. He is a Bengalee, and gives offence, at every turn, to the Princes and Chiefs of the hillmen. He respects no one, and seems to study to estrange the hill people from him. He is faithless, incompetent to rule, and utterly unscrupulous.

"I would urge the Lieutenant-Governor as strongly as I can, consistently with respect, to insist that that man shall no longer be Rajah of Tipperah, for such he is in all but name. His name or title is even upon the *seal*, and our officials here have constantly the mortification of knowing that they are in reality conducting business with this Bengalee (not with a worthy officer of the Rajah) of whose want of faith they have constant proof. Our Government should demand, not only that he be removed from office, but from the Rajah's dominions, for a time at any rate."

† Rs. 13,700 were paid as compensation to the inhabitants of Khundal who had suffered : of this half was exacted from
(a) Judicial Proceedings, 14th June 1860, No. 124. Tipperah.(a)
Judicial Proceedings, July 1860, Nos. 31—32.

(1) Judicial Proceedings, October 1860, Nos. 336—8.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, December 1860, No. 418.

Judicial Proceedings, March 1861, Nos. 15—22.



reach the tribes beyond him. Advantage was taken of his overtures to open friendly communications with the Syloo and Howlong tribes, of whom at this time we knew nothing.

Rutton Poa's clan, and the other two just named, are all described in the papers of the time as Lushais. The Howlongs were said to be under three Chiefs: "Lootpore" (father of Bandoolah) and Kosai and Vangsang. The Syloos were also under three Chiefs: Saboong (father of Lal Moorah) and Lal Poitang and Sungboonja. All these names are of very uncertain orthography.

At first it seemed as if the negotiations with these remote clans would be successful. Scarcity of provisions, pressing them close, and it was essential to them to get supplies from the British Territory of Chittagong. They had apparently no communication with Cachar. The outturn of a good crop, however, rendered them insolent and boastful. In September (1862) they sent to say that, though they had no intention of attacking Europeans, they considered they had a right to cut up other tribes, such as Bengalees, Chukmas, Tipperahs, and Mughs, and we had no right to interfere. Our troops, they said, were paid by money obtained from country traders (Mahajuns), and that sort of thing could not last. On the withdrawal of our troops they would lay waste the country. To a further message, they replied that we must be content with their promise not to attack us—but that they would not come in to see the Superintendent.

On the 20th January 1863, Sir Cecil Beadon took up the question of our frontier policy in this quarter, in the same spirit in which he had approached it elsewhere. It was said:—

This correspondence has convinced His Honor that our relations with the hill tribes on the Chittagong frontier are carried on upon a wrong principle, and that, so long as our policy rests upon the assumption that the Kookies of certain tribes cannot be trusted until they have been made to feel our power, we shall be in danger of embroiling ourselves with them in another unsatisfactory and profitless contest.

Every endeavour should be made to induce the Chiefs of the unfriendly tribes not to come in, as it is called, that is, to present themselves before the Superintendent, either at Chittagong or at any other place at a distance from the frontier, but to consent that he should meet them at some spot equally convenient to both parties, and then to enter into written engagements for the future maintenance of peace on the border.

If a meeting of this kind could be arranged in such a manner as not to wound the natural savage pride of these Chieftains and their followers, and if they could once be made to feel confidence in our pacific intentions, the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt that they would willingly enter into any reasonable engagements we might dictate, that all hostile incursions and the apprehension of these would cease, and that the tribes instead of being a source of terror to those who live under our immediate protection would become the reverse.

One of the best means of conciliating the good will of tribes, like the Kookies, is to arrange an annual gathering of Chiefs at some convenient place in the hills, on which occasion the Superintendent, representing the British Government, should receive trifling offerings from each Chief, and bestow on him a present in return, and take the opportunity of hearing and redressing all complaints and grievances, and of encouraging free and friendly communication between the different tribes, and between them and the people of



the plains. To attend at such meetings, and to receive a token of friendly disposition from the Superintendent, would soon come to be regarded as a privilege, and the general good feeling of the tribes would be enlisted against any one of them who held aloof.

A small police allowance, either in money or in kind, might be given to each Chief to enable him to keep the peace within his own limits, and to prevent his people from attacking their neighbours, and this would also serve as a security for his own fidelity and allegiance.

To enable you to see what may be effected by a policy of this kind, I am desired to forward to you the accompanying copy of a Report from Major Bivar, Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, in Assam, detailing his negotiations with the Abors, a wild tribe who had for a long time given us much trouble on that frontier, and of the engagement he has concluded with them. The Lieutenant-Governor desires that the policy which has apparently been so successful in Assam, may be followed out in respect to the tribes on the frontier of your Division. If this be done, it will most probably remove all ground of complaint as to the insufficiency of the means at your disposal for coercing these people; and the utmost cost of subsidizing them, and making them serve as their own police, will be far more than covered by the reduction which will thus become practicable in our own Military and Police Establishments.

In accordance with these instructions, Captain Graham, the Superintendent of Hill Tracts, proceeded to Rutton Poa's village, and that Chief, with nine other leading Chiefs of the Lenchew Range, entered into binding engagements to keep the peace. Messengers sent thence to the Howlongs, brought back a document signed by their principal Chief (now called "Vandoolah"), his brother 'Sayah,' and three other Chiefs, in which they agreed to keep quiet and to meet the Superintendent at Kassalong in January. Vandoolah sent in an elephant's tusk in token of amity. Vanoah, one of the Syloo Chiefs, also offered friendly presents. It was found that many British subjects were held captive by the Howlongs, and the Lieutenant-Governor directed that no payments of police subsidies were to be made to any tribe so long as it retained such captives. The agreement signed by Rutton Poa and others is reproduced in a foot note.*

* "The Kookies hereby acknowledge all persons of the following descriptions living in the hills and plains to be British subjects, namely, Mughls, Bengalees, Tipperahs, Chukmas, and such other classes as the Superintendent may from time to time point out. Judicial Proceedings, July 1863, Nos. 152-53.

"The Kookies engage to take measures for preventing any parties from amongst their clansmen from molesting residents in the British Territory, or trading, cultivating, or travelling in the hills.

"All traders shall have access to the Kookie villages, and shall be carefully protected from all injury.

"The Kookies shall have access to the markets of Kassalong and Rangamattoo at present, and to such other places as the Government may hereafter approve, and their trading parties shall only carry daos.

"Any Kookies settling in British Territory shall pay the same revenue to Government as the other hill tribes residing there.

"In event of the Kookies having any grievance, or in case of any dispute arising between them and the British subjects, the Kookies will refrain from taking the law into their own hands, but they will in all cases appeal to the Superintendent and abide by his decision.



The following payments, half in money half in kind, were sanctioned :—

	Rs.
Rutton Poea's tribe	400
Syloo Kookies (if they agreed to terms) ...	800
Howlongs (ditto ditto) ...	800

At the close of 1863, the Commissioner had a very satisfactory interview with most of these Chiefs at Kassalong, when presents were interchanged and feasts given.

In February 1864 an attack was made upon the Poang's country by armed Kookies. Rutton Poea had previously sent in to warn our post at Kassalong that a band of Bunjogi Kookies had passed southward. This seemed to be the same band. The attack was beyond our posts. The party passed away, and nothing more seems to have been heard of them.

In December 1864 the annual meeting was held, but none of the great Chiefs came down. Representatives from Rutton Poea and the Syloos attended. Under these circumstances presents were sent, but money payments not made. It appeared that December was too early in the cold season for them to leave their cultivation. Instructions were upon this given by Government to the effect, that as the payments were for police service and for keeping a quiet frontier, a fixed and convenient pay day should be agreed upon, and the money given to any deputation of relatives the Chiefs might send, if they could not come themselves.

In April 1865 another meeting was accordingly arranged, at which deputations from the three great clans attended; and as they had preserved peace for a year and given information of the marauding Bunjogis, the payments were made in due course.

In August 1865 the unhappy state of the tract of country, which the Poang was supposed to protect, was brought to the notice of Government. When introducing a few months previously the new

"That annually, about the time of the full moon of the month of January, a meeting of the Chiefs and the Superintendent shall be held at Kassalong, at which the Chiefs shall receive such presents in money or kind as may be determined on by Government in return for which the Kookies agree to prevent all marauding in the hills and plains, and to use every effort to capture offenders and maintain the peace.

"In event of the Kookies failing to act up to the provisions of this engagement it will be null and void.

"The original of this engagement, which is drawn up in English, will remain with the Superintendent, and a counterpart or copy will be furnished to the representatives of the Kookie communities aforesaid.

"That the Kookies of the tribe be allowed to purchase annually lbs. powder, flints lbs., lead and muskets in presence of the Superintendent, or such persons as he may appoint, and in return for this the Kookies will abstain from purchasing ammunition or arms from unauthorized persons, and will give any information which may come to their knowledge concerning such illicit trade.

"In ratification of the above engagement, contained in ten paragraphs, the Superintendent puts his hand and seal, and the representatives of the Kookie communities affix their marks or signature this day of 18 .



police into the hills, we had added four Government posts to the five kept up by the Poang, but it was now resolved to extend the system of connected posts which already encircled the northern part of the hills, and to take, if possible, effective steps to secure the whole of the frontier line. From November to May bands of Shindus, Kumis, Arrungs, and other tribes east of the Koladyne and Sungoo annually came down from the interior hills and ravaged the villages of our subjects. No attempt was ever made at self-defence. The appearance of these marauders was the signal for instant flight to the jungles.

In January 1866 the Shindoos attacked a Mrung village on this frontier half-a-day's journey from our furthest post (Chima). It was found that the Poang's guards had not gone out that season for want of arms! The Lieutenant-Governor ordered arms to be at once supplied, and sanctioned a force of 130 extra police with officers to take up the new Government posts to be established to the south.

Just at this time⁽¹⁾ the Lieutenant-Governor received an account of an adventurous journey undertaken in the south-east hills by Lieutenant Lewin, the District Superintendent of Chittagong. A clear idea of the extent and results of this tour will best be gained by a perusal of the Government orders thereupon which are here reproduced:—

From this report it appears that Lieutenant Lewin, after penetrating to the sources of the Sungoo and Matamoor, crossed the boundary between Chittagong and Akyab at Modho Tong on the crest or water-shed of the dividing range of hills, and thence descended into the valley of the Peekyond, a tributary of the Koladyne, and that all his subsequent adventures occurred in the Akyab District, where, latterly, he appears to have acted with the sanction of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma. The Lieutenant-Governor does not, therefore, feel called upon to notice this part of Lieutenant Lewin's proceedings; but His Honor remarks that in this direction and for some 60 or 70 miles north of the Modho Tong Pass the Chittagong Hill Tracts are bounded by the Akyab District, and that protection from Shindu raids must be sought for in this quarter rather than from the action of the authorities in British Burma than from any measures which can be taken by this Government.

It is stated by Lieutenant Lewin that Colonel Phayre contemplates the appointment of a Superintendent of the Hill Tracts in Akyab, and it seems probable that this measure, if adopted, would have a salutary effect.

A copy of Lieutenant Lewin's report and diary will be sent to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma for his information; and Colonel Phayre will be asked to favour the Lieutenant-Governor with an expression of his opinion as to the measures he would propose to adopt with a view to bringing into subjection the Sindhu tribes in the upper valleys of the Koladyne and its tributaries, and preventing them as well as the kindred tribes on the north and north-east of the Akyab District from penetrating into the Chittagong Hills and committing outrages on the villages among those hills.

The police arrangements in this part of the frontier must, therefore, be regarded only as temporary and provisional, until effectual measures are adopted by the Administration of British Burma to prevent the upper valleys of the Koladyne in the Akyab District

(1) Judicial Proceedings, April 1866, Nos. 24-26.



from becoming the resort of lawless Shindus, and a base from which they can carry on their predatory operations into the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Vigorous action should be taken for putting a stop to a state of things, under which an adjoining British district has come to be regarded and watched by this Government as a hostile territory. At present it is necessary to maintain establishments for the protection of the Chittagong hillmen against the attacks of other tribes, who ought rather to be, and could more effectually be, coerced and kept in order on the other side of the Arracan boundary. When proper measures have been taken to relieve the frontier police of this duty, Lieutenant Lewin's plan of substituting a local watch for the present organized police may, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, be fitly considered.

In regard to the hill tribes who inhabit the mountainous country to the north of the Akyab District and north-east of Chittagong, it should be the endeavour of the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to cultivate friendly relations with them, and to induce them to refrain from predatory habits. If with this object some understanding could be arrived at with recognized chieftains, who would undertake in return for a small annual pecuniary allowance to keep the peace in the border, to restrain their own people from making incursions into British territory, and to prevent the more distant tribes from traversing the intermediate country for such a purpose, the arrangement is one, which, if recommended by you, the Lieutenant-Governor would be disposed to adopt.

The Superintendent should be directed to make every endeavour to ascertain the tribe to which the people concerned in the raid* on Yong Thong Roajah's village belong, the place whence they came and the route they followed both in coming and going. It is quite clear to the Lieutenant-Governor that they must have crossed over the boundary ridge dividing the waters of the Kolsadyne from those of the Sungoo, and that it is only by the action of the Akyab authorities that they can be effectually reached.

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma will be asked to take such action as he may think practicable and proper, with a view to the punishment of the offenders and the rescue of the captives; and the Superintendent of the Hill Tracts should be desired to co-operate for this purpose with the officers of the Akyab District in any measures that may be taken under the direction of the Chief Commissioner.

It seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be established by the correspondence in this case that, under the peculiar circumstances of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the officer, who superintends the civil administration of the district, ought himself to have direct charge of the police, and that the present arrangement under which the police of the Chittagong District and of the Hill Tracts is under one District Superintendent of Police subordinate both to the Magistrate of Chittagong and to the Civil Superintendent of the Hill Tracts is essentially faulty. His Honor is therefore inclined to think that the best plan would be to put Lieutenant Lewin in charge of the Hill Tracts with full administrative and police powers, having his headquarters at Obundergona, and with an Assistant exercising similar powers, whose headquarters should be at some convenient and suitable spot on the Sungoo, more accessible to the hillmen than the sub-divisional headquarters at Cox's Bazar.

These proposals were approved by the Government of India.

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma, however, reported that nothing could be done during the present season to reach the Shindus, and indeed he deprecated any hostile movement against them in our present ignorance of their country, but stated that he had recommended

* That mentioned above.



the appointment of a Superintendent of Hill Tracts and the establishment of additional police posts *

On the 9th July 1866 a raid was committed close to Khokheong,

Raids in 1866.

where the Poang should have had a guard but had not, in which three

villages were cut up and eighty captives taken. This was an event unprecedented in the rains, and was supposed to be the work of Lushai Howlongs. Two minor raids by sections of apparently the same band were at the same time reported; one from Kwasa Khung, a village to the south-east; and the other from the Kaptai valley on the north-west. An attempt was made to intercept the raiders on their return home, but it was unsuccessful. It was at first believed that these attacks were perpetrated by, or at the instance of, Bunjogi refugees from the Poang's villages who had fled to the Lushai country of Rutton Poa to avoid the exactions of the Poang. A messenger was sent up to Rutton Poa's village and brought back information, which made it clear that the Howlongs had been the actual raiders; and that Rutton Poa was much disturbed between his wish to keep friends with us for the profit thereof, and his unwillingness to break with his brother-in-law Vandoolah. The Lieutenant-Governor called for all the information necessary to enable Government to send a punitive expedition into the hills in the cold weather, directed the police to be raised to full sanctioned strength, and sites for posts to the south to be at once selected and occupied.⁽¹⁾ The information obtained was, however, so scanty, and the position of the tribes and their strength so uncertain, while the force estimated by the local officers to be required for an expedition was so great, that the Lieutenant-Governor did not ultimately feel himself justified in proposing the enterprise to the Government of India. There was much to do in the way of strengthen-

* The following extracts from a letter from Colonel Phayre to the Government of India will show what the Authorities of British Burma knew at this time of the Shindus and other tribes—(See also Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XXI):—

"The subject of our relations with the various hill tribes inhabiting the country on the north and north-east of Arracan, being the District of Akyab, has for years been one of great difficulty. Those tribes are very numerous. Though all are found in the same general social condition, and all apparently of the Indo-Chinese race, their languages differ so much that they can only communicate with each other by means of a foreign tongue. The one used for that purpose is Burmese, which a few of the men in each tribe generally understand. They, for the most part, may be said to live in a state of constant warfare. A very considerable portion of the Akyab District is inhabited by these races. The principal are the Khyengs, Kunis, Kamis, Khons, and Shindus. There are others, as Mrsus, Mroongs, and Khyans, which have now lost their former position and power, so entirely that they may in this communication be disregarded.

"Of the Khyengs, Kunis, and Kamis, some clans or communities who live in the lower hills are in every respect subject to British rule. Others, though within the nominal boundary of the Akyab District, are practically independent. Among these latter are the Shindus, regarding whom I have now more particularly to speak.

"I have known all the tribes personally, except the Shindus, for many years. The Shindu tribe has always been spoken of as powerful, and as being much feared. They



ing our own position, and meantime the following instructions were given to the local authorities :—

If any further dacoities or raids should be committed in the Hill Tracts by any of the wild tribes inhabiting the frontier, the marauders should be followed at once, provided there be any chance of overtaking them, and provided the local officer of police have at his disposal a sufficient force for the purpose of attacking and arresting them, and of recovering any persons or property that may be carried away. In that case the pursuers should go no further than they can clearly go with safety, and must run no risk of surprise or discomfiture. Indeed, except under special circumstances, they should not advance further than to admit of their return to their post within two days. In every case careful enquiry should be immediately made, evidence should be recorded, and all the circumstances promptly reported.

seem to extend not only for some distance within the nominal British Territory, but far beyond it. Their attacks upon the lower tribes, that is upon those residing nearer the plains, have of late years been more frequent, more bold, and more destructive than formerly. They have also been directed more against the tribes within the Chittagong District, and not against those in Arracan. I am unable to account for this change. I am not aware of any Shindu clans who either pay tribute, or are, in the slightest degree, controlled by any British authority.

"The reason of this extraordinary state of affairs of the existence of tribes, virtually independent at our very doors, is partly the physical difficulty of travelling in the hilly country inhabited by these tribes, and partly the unhealthiness of the country, during all but about four months of the year, for all races except the hill people themselves.

"In former years I have myself been a good deal among all the hill tribes except the Shindus. With continued intercourse, personal influence among them is readily acquired. But this intercourse must be constant, and it must be personal. If from any cause it be interrupted, the wild and fickle people soon forget their promises, and a chief of whom one may have formed good hopes, will perhaps next be heard of as heading a raid on a neighbouring tribe and killing all who are not fit to be sold as captives.

"It must be acknowledged that it is, in some measure, a reproach to the local administration that so little has been accomplished in repressing disorder and inspiring these tribes with confidence, so that outside tribes might be awed into quietude, and inside tribes be forced to respect law and order. But the fact is, that a district officer generally has not time; even if he possessed the special aptitude necessary for gaining the confidence of wild savage tribes he has not the time necessary to be devoted to acquire the knowledge, which is absolutely necessary, before his personal influence can be brought to bear upon such people. The changes also which occur in the charge of a district necessarily increase the difficulty. In my late tour up the Koldayne River of the Akyab District in the conference, I had been with the hill chiefs as noticed by Lieutenant Lowin in his journal. I discovered from their statements many circumstances which shewed that a separate administration for these people was essentially needful. It is also necessary to shew the chiefs and tribes who profess to acknowledge British supremacy that they are closely watched, and that while their grievances will be redressed, their faults and crimes will not be overlooked. It is likewise necessary to over-awe those, principally Shindus, who are now practically beyond the arm of authority, and who require to be impressed with the danger of provoking vengeance by their predatory incursions.

"Before proceeding to state distinctly the measures which I propose in order to carry out the above-mentioned objects, it will be proper to mention my views in regard to the punishment of the offending tribe in the case now immediately referred by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The case is that of a Mra village, in the hilly portion of the Chittagong District, attacked by a party of Shindus, in which four persons were killed and thirty-four were carried away. It is with much regret that I report that, until some special agency has been provided, I see no possibility of effecting either the punishment of the offending tribe, or the rescue of the captives. The Shindu tribe appears to be more numerous as a people than any other Indo-Chinese hill race which I know. It extends over a large tract of country. The clans are independent of each other as long as they have power to maintain independence. Their



If the local police be unable to effect an immediate pursuit, but if there still be a probability of surprizing the marauders, or of being able to retaliate upon those who may have been concerned in, or may have instigated the crime, the Deputy Commissioner may, at his discretion, follow the marauders with a sufficient body of police, but should not, as a rule, go beyond two days' march from the most advanced outpost. The same circumspection must be used in this as in the former case, and the expedition should not be undertaken without good information as to the strength of the party to be attacked, the place where they are to be found, and their means of resistance. With these precautions the plan should be to arrange quietly for a surprise; but measures of retaliation should be confined to the arrest of persons implicated in the crime or the abetment of it, and to the seizure or destruction of property belonging to them. All proceedings taken in pursuance of these instructions should be reported immediately for the information of Government.

In August of this year the Poang was relieved entirely of the duty of keeping up frontier guards, his posts being taken over by the

predatory expeditions appear to be organized, as indeed they frequently are, among the Kumeis and Khyengs, by persons of influence, whether Chiefs or not, who collect individuals among several clans into a war party. We have not the means for gaining sufficient information to fix responsibility in the present case on any particular clan or village among the Shindus; and to gain that information, as well as to take really effectual measures to rescue the captives, requires the very agency that is now wanting, and which I am about to propose. To attempt to punish these people at the distance they are, and in the country where they live, I know from my own past experience to be futile. To rescue the captives is a work of time.

"Before stating what I propose, I will request the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council to the map of the District of Akyab. It shows that more than one-half of that district consists of hilly country, which, I may add, is covered with the densest jungle. To the west is the District Chittagong, which is now the point most threatened. To the north and north-east is country similarly wild inhabited by like tribes, nominally subject to the Burmese, but partially as independent and as little known as the tribes of Central Africa before the days of Burton, Speke, and Grant. The question is, how are we to control such tribes, how to make them sensible that those of them who are within, and adjoining British Territory, must abstain from attacks upon each other, and respect all that are British subjects?"

"This must be accomplished, in the first place, by the exhibition of the power to punish, but no plan can be successful with these people which does not exhibit, resting on the basis of force, the moral influence of personal intercourse by the European Officer direct with the influential men of each tribe.

"As regards intercourse with the Shindus and other tribes practically independent, I should recommend that the Superintendent (to be appointed to these hills) be directed to endeavour to enter into communication with them in order to discover the following points:—

"*First*.—Whether any captives now among them can be recovered by ransom or otherwise. The means of doing so peaceably might be left to the Superintendent's discretion. He might be authorized to pay reasonable sums to liberate captives.

"*Second*.—With a view to the future, what means should be taken to restrain the Shindu and other tribes from making attacks?

"It is known that all these tribes depend mainly upon communication with the sea-coast for their supply of salt, and it may be possible by arranging to supply them regularly with that article, and taking measures to prevent their being supplied with that necessary of life except through the Superintendent, that a very strong pressure might be brought to bear upon them. This measure would probably require the co-operation of the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division. Every facility should be given for their cotton and other produce being brought to a dépôt at Talakné, or elsewhere, for sale by fair barter or purchase. Powder and fire-arms should be strictly excluded. Here also the co-operation of the Chittagong authorities will be required. With these general instructions I consider that the Superintendent should be left to accomplish the great objects in view by such conciliatory means as his experience will suggest to him. If he ever considers coercive measures necessary, he should, as a general rule, apply for instructions, unless he considers an immediate example is required."



Police. The remission of revenue (Rupees 2,600) which he had received on account of this duty was, however, allowed to continue, contingent upon his giving ready aid and co-operation in checking the inroads of savages and meeting the views of Government.

In November, Rutton Poa warned us⁽¹⁾ that the Howlongs meditated another raid, and steps were immediately taken to defend the frontier; three new posts being established at Khokheong (relieving the Poang's guard), at Matamaree, and at Singopha. Reserves from other Districts were ordered up, and all our posts were put on the alert. The Howlongs did not, however, at this time come down.

In December (1866) it was reported that the Bunjogis of the Poang's country, who had suffered much from the Howlongs, had sent a war party of 300 men against them, which had been beaten back and was being followed up by the Lushais in force. The people north of the Sungoo were abandoning their villages in fear of what was to follow. The Poang or Bohmong was ordered to explain how such an expedition left his territory without sanction, and every available Policeman was thrown across the line the Lushais might be supposed to take. Rumours soon began to pour in that the Howlongs in three great bands were in full march for the British Districts, but no actual attack followed, and it is probable that panic had exaggerated the facts.

On the 7th December Captain Lewin held the annual meeting with the chiefs. The result was not satisfactory. Eleven chiefs had come in, six of whom left before the day of the meeting; conduct which indicated a lamentable want of confidence in our intentions.⁽²⁾

The Lieutenant-Governor was by these events rendered the more anxious to place the Police of the Hill Tracts on a serviceable footing and deputed a Special Officer to examine locally and report what arrangements would best serve to secure the safety of the district. At the same time the Commissioner was called upon carefully to review the policy hitherto adopted towards the Kookie tribes, and to ascertain, if possible, why it was the measures adopted to secure tranquillity had failed of success. The utmost endeavours, it was said, should be made to open negotiations with the Chiefs of the Howlong and Syloo tribes, with a view to ascertain the causes of the present movement, to settle any feud or difference there may be between them and the tribes inhabiting the Hill Tracts under our jurisdiction, and to induce them to enter into engagements such as that already made with Rutton Poa, for assisting our Police in keeping order and preventing the recurrence of these attacks. Every encouragement should at the same time be given to the Chiefs in the Hill Tracts to adhere to their engagements, and to co-operate with the Police in repelling their forays and pursuing and securing the offenders.

(1) Judicial Proceedings, December 1866, Nos. 153—62.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, January 1867, No. 98.



The early part of 1867 was much disturbed by raids and rumours of raids. Towards the close of January a marauding party appeared between the posts of Chima and Khakheong and cut up several villages, retiring as usual before they could be got at by the Police. The Sungoo Valley was the point on which the Howlongs generally at this time advanced—and in February Rutton Poa warned us again that a war party was out in that direction. Our posts were at once strengthened and patrols thrown out. No attack followed on our villages, but the Kookies passed on and attacked the Shindus of Arracan. A band of 500 Howlongs was about this time induced by Rutton Poa to turn back when *en route* for British territory, and to divert their attack to Hill Tipperah. For this service Rutton Poa received Rupees 500 reward. The raid on Hill Tipperah was also frustrated, it is not very clear how.⁽¹⁾

In March 1867, Captain Bowie, the Officer who had been specially deputed to report upon the Police of the Hill Tracts, submitted the

result of his investigations. He

proposed to throw back to the eastward the line of posts for the purpose of covering the Sumbhooting and Sungoo Valleys—to mass the force in three main posts of fifty men each with connecting posts of twenty men each; a reserve of 100 men being stationed at the Deputy Commissioner's Head Quarters—that a road traversable for elephants should be made from post to post along the whole line;—and that various subsidiary arrangements, calculated to improve the efficiency of the force, should be carried out. These suggestions were generally adopted. Myamee, Kassalong, and Kungo Tong were made the principal stations, while the intermediate out-posts were placed at Kurkuria, Saichul, Pharoo, Plumdoc, and Chima. Besides these, there were Executive Police posted at Rumghur Manikserrai, Golabaree, Rungamattee, and Pola Khacjee. The line of posts did not go further south because the Arracan Hill Tracts were now under a British Officer whose duty it is to prevent raids from that quarter.

In December 1867 the friendly chiefs of the Rutton Poa clan held

their annual meeting with the Deputy Commissioner at Kassalong.

This was a most successful gathering. Seventeen chiefs and deputies attended, and what was more encouraging, both the Howlong and Syloo clans sent in before the meeting to make offers of friendship and alliance with the British Authorities. After the meeting, Captain Lewin set out for Rutton Poa's village to meet the Howlongs. Arriving there, he succeeded, after some negotiation, in exacting a solemn oath of friendship, which was ratified by sacrifice and feasting, and in which fourteen chiefs or their representatives joined: lump sums of money were given as presents to each chief, and it was settled that

(1) Judicial Proceedings, January 1867, Nos. 150—6.
Judicial Proceedings, March 1867, Nos. 130—1.



these should be in lieu of all annual payments. Early in February eleven chiefs of the Syloo clan sent representatives to Kassalong with presents, and entered into similar arrangements. Immediately on the conclusion of these negotiations, the Kookies of the Syloo and Howlong tribes flocked in great numbers to our bazars from which, for many months, they had been conspicuously absent. At the end of March Captain Lewin went to meet the Syloo chiefs near their own hills to ratify the friendship by oaths and sacrifice as in the Howlong case. The Lieutenant-Governor approved of all that had been done, and directed the establishment of an annual fair, to which all the Hill Tribes should be freely invited to come.

In January 1869 an attack was made by a large body of strange

Raids in 1869-69.

hillmen on the police post of Chima, a portion of the guard stationed there having been previously drawn off to another quarter by a report of Kookies having appeared in that direction. Of the ten men left behind, seven were killed and two wounded, and the women and children of the whole guard were carried off into captivity, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. A similar outrage was committed in February in the Mrung village of Khijaparrah by a marauding party, which was afterwards shewn to have come from Arracan. An attack was also made on the village of Lahak, on the Koladyne, in which many persons were killed or carried away. Enquiries made it almost certain that the atrocities at Lahak were committed by the Howlongs. Twenty of the captives taken from this village were found in possession of a Howlong chief, who readily admitted his complicity in the outrage. There was some reason to believe that the Howlongs were also implicated in the Chima raid.

It was impossible to reach these tribes with any hope of inflicting on them any real punishment, except by a very expensively organized expedition, which the requirements of the case did not seem to justify. The Lieutenant-Governor Sir W. Grey, with all the local authorities, was in favour of establishing a strong advanced post in a position to enable the European Officer in charge of the Hills to exercise a controlling influence over the tribes around (Rutton Poeh and the Syloos especially) in the same way as the Naga and Garo Hills had been occupied in 1866. The Government of India would not, however, listen to any such proposal, on the ground that it would necessarily lead to minute interference and an extension of jurisdiction which was not desired.

In 1869-70 the raids were repeated on villages in the Koladyne valley and on a Mugh village close

Raids in 1869-70.

to Chima. These renewed attacks led the hillmen of the outlying villages to take measures for their own defence, and 5,000 rounds of ball cartridges were served out to them by Government. The head quarters of the district were moved from Chundagonah to Rungamattea, and the whole question of frontier defence was once more taken up.



In 1870-71 there was but one raid in this district which was committed on the 31st of December 1870,

Raids.

by a body of about 150 men described as Lushais, on a village at Gulungea, on the left bank of the Sungoo, about half-way between the Chima and Pyndoo police outposts. This was the earliest of the series of Lushai raids which marked the cold season of 1870-71—most of which were on the Cachar side and have been already described.

But although the Chittagong Hill Tracts enjoyed this year comparative immunity from the attacks of the border tribes, the disturbed

Frontier defence.

state of the frontier generally, and the unusually extensive and organized raids committed on adjacent districts, rendered it necessary to strengthen the frontier defence of this district. A small detachment of troops, as well as a detachment of police from Calcutta, were accordingly sent to occupy and guard the most important positions, and three hundred muskets were distributed to trustworthy and influential men among our border subjects for purposes of self-defence. It was also deemed necessary to increase the police force, and the sanction of the Government of India was accorded to the addition of 200 men to the permanent police of the district, and the whole force was reorganized as a frontier guard. The Local Government again raised the question of an advanced post, proposing now to station it at Rutton Poa's village and to patrol the ridge running north and south of that station and so protect the country inside. The Government of India would only allow a post to be established if it was finally decided that the permanent line of frontier defence and British jurisdiction was to be drawn through the site selected.

Previous to the raid above mentioned, viz., in the month of December,

Reconnoissance of the Lushai country.

ber, the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Major Graham, undertook an expedition into the Lushai country with a view to open, if possible, a communication through it with Bepari Bazar, which Mr. Edgar was expected on a certain date to reach from the Cachar side. The expedition failed in consequence of the opposition of Vandoola, a Sylloo chief, who refused to allow it passage through his country. The main object of the undertaking was thus frustrated, though some valuable information was obtained in regard to the strength and locality of the leading chiefs of the Lushai tribe, as also in regard to the configuration of the country, the position of important land-marks and the direction of the principal routes. Lemsilong, a minor Lushai chief, who had done all he could to assist Major Graham in his expedition, had his house plundered, and his village destroyed by order of the Howlong chiefs. He was compensated by some handsome presents, and assured that he would receive assistance from the British Government whenever practicable.



An outrage committed on a British village near Sooboolong, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, by Rutton Poa. Rutton Poa was reported in the beginning of the year. The village was plundered, and the three sons of one Loll Khan, who was formerly a subject of Rutton Poa, but left him in 1866, and ever since resided in British territory, were forcibly carried off. One of them contrived to escape from custody; the two others were subsequently released on two guns being pledged as security for the payment of the sum demanded as ransom. It appeared from inquiries that the cause of this outrage was that Loll Khan had complained of a cattle theft to the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts instead of to Rutton Poa: in fact, this was admitted by Rutton Poa himself, who contended that he was justified in punishing "his own dogs" for complaining to the "saheb" instead of to him, who would have done full justice in the case. A question was raised whether hill custom authorized a joomea to transfer himself from one chief to another, but Government did not think it necessary to consider it. It might be that in the hills members of a tribe were supposed to be under allegiance to the chief of the tribe, wherever they lived; but the position of Government was not that of an ordinary hill chief: it was bound to insist on the inviolability of our territory, and to protect from seizure, on any pretence whatever, any persons who chose to settle within our boundaries. Rutton Poa was accordingly informed that, for the outrage which had been committed, Rs. 100 would be deducted from his allowance for the year, and that, if all the property taken were not restored within a month, his allowance for the year would be altogether withheld. At the same time the Deputy Commissioner was instructed to take care that desertions from the villages of independent hill chiefs were not encouraged by him in any way.

Rutton Poa expressed his willingness to submit to the orders of Government, and to bring in what he admitted had been carried off from Loll Khan's village; but he made a different communication to Loll Khan himself, and the Deputy Commissioner doubted if he really intended to make restitution of the plundered property as he promised. The Commissioner instructed the Deputy Commissioner to confer on the matter with Rutton Poa, and to try and convince him of the folly of his quarrelling with us about property of such trifling value compared to the amount of the present he annually received from us for good behaviour; and these instructions were approved by the Government, in the hope that by a quiet and firm insistence on the necessity of conforming to the orders of Government, the Deputy Commissioner might induce Rutton Poa to submit himself to them.

In other respects relations with Rutton Poa continued to be friendly, and he often evinced his good disposition towards the Government by giving timely information of war-parties sent out to attack British subjects. As might be expected, however, his alliance with us



had created him enemies among the powerful savage tribes by whom he was surrounded, and he was so apprehensive of the effects of their hostility that towards the end of the year he applied for a guard to be placed in his village. A guard of forty men under a sub-inspector of police was accordingly sent thither for several weeks, the responsibility of housing and provisioning the men being assumed by the chief. To this, as a temporary arrangement, the Government of India raised no objection, but adhered to its view of the policy advisable as regards this frontier generally.⁽¹⁾

As regards this it will be remembered that in the preceding chapter it was stated that in 1870 the Government of India ordered the adoption of the same policy on the Chittagong side that it had approved for Cachar—the policy, that is, of laying down a fixed limit for our regular jurisdiction, confining ourselves to that, and only dealing with the tribes beyond by friendly visits of our officers, while maintaining strong posts to repel attack. The local officers and the Government of Bengal pointed out⁽²⁾ that the circumstances were different in Cachar and Chittagong. On the Chittagong side no boundary question arose: a wide gap lay between our frontier posts and the hostile tribes: and there was no indication as in Cachar of their tending to press up to the border. It was undesirable therefore to raise any question of boundary here. We never contemplated occupying the Howlong and Syloo villages, and therefore to give them sunnuds guaranteeing them their villages would also create misapprehension. For the rest the policy of friendly intercourse had been regularly tried and would be persevered with. But what the local officers all advocated, as I have noted above, was the taking up of a strong advance post from which touch of the outer tribes could be maintained. In forwarding the views of local officers the Lieutenant-Governor said—

In Chittagong, on the other hand, we are ourselves in possession of a large tract of hills, drawing revenue from the tribes there dwelling, and bound therefore to give them protection, while we prevent their engaging in conflicts with the other tribes outside. The country is of the most difficult and untraversable nature; and along its eastern face dwell numerous powerful and savage communities, whose very sites are only vaguely known to us, who have never been visited by us owing to the hopelessly inaccessible character of the mountains they inhabit, and who have for generations been habituated to war and plunder. We here come in fact on the flank of the races whose steady pressure from the south causes the frequent outcropping of new tribes on the Cachar frontier. For the last fifty years or more these outer tribes have been in the habit of committing raids on the villages of our hill subjects, who for many years were left by us to the protection of their own chiefs, and allowed to take such retaliatory measures as they were able to carry through. It was only in 1847 that the question of duly protecting our hill tracts began to be mooted. But no measures that could be devised proved effectual, until it was determined in 1860 to place a European officer in the heart of the hill district. This measure was carried out almost simultaneously with the occurrence of a most formidable incursion of the southern Looshais, who, marching right across our hill tracts, ravaged the plains of Tipperah itself. An expedition was thereupon sent out to punish the offending tribe, which was ascertained to be under the leadership of a chief called Rutton Poa. With infinite difficulty his deserted village was reached and burnt.

(1) Judicial Proceedings, September 1870, Nos. 190-191.

(2) Judicial Proceedings, December 1870, No. 172.



A series of posts was at the same time established for the protection of the hill tracts north of the Kurnafoolie, and it is a fact that no raiding party has since that time entered the country north of that river. Up to 1866, the defence of the hill tracts south of the Kurnafoolie was left to a native chief, a subject of our Government, and this tract was constantly ravaged both by the Looshai tribes and by the remoter Shindoos and other hill robbers. Since 1866 a few posts have been established there, but the Lieutenant-Governor would emphatically declare his belief that till a complete cordon of posts is established south and east of the Kurnafoolie, there can be no safety for this part of our territory. It is futile to talk of conciliating tribes whom we cannot even get at. The Shindoos and other cognate communities must be met by the policy of vigorous defence approved by the Government of India in your letter No. 6A. of the 29th October last.

With the Looshai tribes to the east and north of the hill tracts, we have had, as Lord Ulick Browne points out, much more communication. Rutton Poa came in and formally submitted soon after the expedition returned from his village, and up to the middle of 1866 we hear of no raids by the other two great sects of Howlongs and Syloos. Constant efforts have been made to bring them into amicable relations with us, and both Captain Lewin and Major Graham have spared no trouble to place matters on a satisfactory footing, and to secure the good-will of these clans. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot but feel that very scant success has attended these efforts. Since 1866 the Howlongs have raided repeatedly, passing at first down the east face of our hill tracts to attack villages in Arracan, and now at last, emboldened by impunity, even assailing our police posts south of the Kurnafoolie. The Lieutenant-Governor concurs with the unanimous opinion of the local officers, borne out as it is by our whole experience of the north-east frontier and of savage tribes all over India, that to overlook or condone outrages of this description is sure to be misconstrued by the offenders into weakness or indifference.

In the face, however, of the objection entertained by His Excellency in Council to punitive expeditions, the Lieutenant-Governor had to consider how best to carry out the policy of vigilant and vigorous defence which at that time met with the approval of the Government of India. His conclusions were embodied in my letter No. 6569, dated 17th December last, and nothing which has since occurred has in any way, he thinks, made the measures then proposed less necessary than before. The advanced post under a European officer at Rutton Poa's village would indeed be the best possible agency for effectively bringing home to the Looshai tribes in its neighbourhood the conciliatory policy upon which the Government has always acted in these hills. It would do this, moreover, in the way best calculated to prevent misconception, while the presence of such a post at the spot suggested would probably do more to prevent raiding in Arracan than any other measure which could be suggested.

In the near approach of the cold season—the season of raids—the Lieutenant-Governor would again press upon the Government of India the urgent need of strengthening the hill police, and establishing the posts proposed in my letter above quoted.

The orders of the Government of India were as follow :—

His Excellency in Council desires me to remark that these proposals appear to be based on what seems a partial misunderstanding of the policy of the Government of India in respect to the frontier tribes as described in previous correspondence. His Excellency in Council is not aware that he has ever committed himself to the statement that “Government will not punish for raids,” as the Commissioner of Chittagong appears to believe. Government is certainly “averse

* To Government of Bengal, No. 1333, dated 18th September 1869.

on principle to move bodies of troops and armed police in order to effect reprisals for outrages on any part of our extended frontier, or to admit that, when such aggressions or outrages take place within our own villages, it is imperative to chastise the offenders by following them up for days and even weeks, within their own fastnesses and hills.” But His Excellency in Council has nowhere stated, nor is he prepared to admit, that “circumstances may not occur under which military expeditions may be necessary or desirable as the best means of preventing inroads into our territories. Past experience, however, has shown that a system of reprisals which has been tried for years on various parts of our frontiers has failed, as it probably always will fail, if unaccompanied by other and more humane measures.

His Excellency in Council is quite prepared to admit that the circumstances of the frontier tribes of the Chittagong hills are to some extent different from those of Cachar, and he is glad to learn that the system, to which he attaches so much value, of free intercourse between the district officers and the tribes, has been so long tried with considerable



success on the Chittagong side. His Excellency in Council fully appreciates and commends the exertions made by Captain Lewin, who has laboured so successfully to win the confidence of the tribes. Captain Lewin's previous labours will make it all the more easy to give full effect to the policy which Government desires to carry out.

It is far from the wish of His Excellency in Council authoritatively to prescribe one unvarying and rigid policy in all its details over a frontier extending from Assam to Akyab. The policy to be observed must necessarily vary in its details with the varying circumstances of the country and the tribes bordering such an extended frontier line. If, therefore, it be impossible or inexpedient to establish trading marts in the Chittagong hills, or to issue sanads to the chiefs similar to those approved for Cachar, these measures need not be attempted. But while fully recognizing the necessity for such variations in details, His Excellency in Council can see nothing in the state of things described by the Commissioner of Chittagong to lead him to believe that the policy adopted in Cachar on the one side, and in Arracan on the other, is in its broad features inapplicable to the intermediate hills in Chittagong.

The Commissioner states that "there is not, and never has been, any boundary question on this side, and the causes which seem to have created such a question on the Cachar side have no existence on the east of the hill tracts." If the Commissioner's remarks apply to the general boundary of the Empire, they are true, but quite inapplicable to the question under discussion. Neither in Cachar nor Chittagong, nor yet in Arracan, is there any question of the actual boundary of our Empire. But between that actual boundary as shown in the maps and the narrower limit to which our real authority is felt and obeyed, there is in Chittagong, as in Cachar and Arracan, a great belt of unexplored and unsettled country, including Rutton Poa's country, and also a large tract occupied by the Syloos and Howlongs, over which it appears to His Excellency in Council impolitic to attempt to extend our direct jurisdiction.

To advance a post to Rutton Poa's village among people over whom it is impossible to exercise any real jurisdiction will sooner or later lead to attempts to extend our direct influence further east. Indeed, the Commissioner of Chittagong's first proposal was to place the post considerably to the eastward of Rutton Poa's village, and in your letter of 17th December 1869, No. 6569, the position at the village is spoken of as "our first advance." Instead of attempting to establish a direct authority so far to the east, His Excellency in Council is decidedly of opinion that it would be preferable to withdraw to a line commencing from the termination of the Arracan line north of Taluknee, as sketched in the papers forwarded with my docket No. 1564P., dated 2nd September 1870, and running by the most convenient line in front of our present police posts to the border of Hill Tipperah. To the country west of this line our civil jurisdiction should be limited. The police posts should be strengthened and held by an organized police guard. They should be connected, as far as practicable, by cleared jungle paths, which should be constantly patrolled. Beyond this line the tribes should be left to manage their own affairs, and while nothing should be done to give rise to the inference that the limits of the British Empire do not extend to the boundary shewn in the maps, no attempt should be made to establish our civil jurisdiction or direct authority beyond the line in front of the outposts. Great vigilance must be exercised to prevent the perpetration of outrages within this limited jurisdiction, and any raiders and offenders caught red-handed should be summarily punished. Should outrages occur, it will be for His Excellency in Council to decide, according to the circumstances of the case, whether military operations are to be undertaken or not. To the east of the line the district officers should confine their efforts to frequent and friendly intercourse with the chiefs and tribes, occasional friendly visits, the distribution of presents, friendly arbitration to settle differences, and other measures of the kind calculated to establish a permanent personal influence among them.

What the best line would be is one of the points to which Major Graham and Major Macdonald should give special attention during their present tour.

To enable His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor satisfactorily to carry out this policy, His Excellency in Council will give instructions in the Home Department for the increase and reorganization of the police as a frontier guard in the manner proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor at a total cost of Rs. 94,500, being an increase of Rs. 31,152 over the present cost, as shown in Schedule C. of the enclosures of your letter No. 4709, dated 21st October. It is desirable that, as far as may be practicable, the police should be recruited from the hill tribes, and influential men of the tribes enlisted as officers or in the ranks.



While the expedition of 1871-72 was in the field, the local officers and the Bengal Government once more pressed the proposal to take up an advanced post near Rutton Poa's village to protect that chief and Van Poa who had committed themselves thoroughly as our partisans, and also to serve as a permanent check upon the tribes reduced by the military operations. The Sirthay range offered, it was said, an admirable site, and that range with the Oheepoom range running south would, it was urged, afford an admirable line of defence and patrol. Captain Lewin pointed out the disadvantages under which the local officers had hitherto lain in being entirely dependent upon Rutton Poa for their communications with the tribes beyond. In an advanced position he would get better opportunities of making the acquaintance of the outer tribes. The Government of India would, however, only sanction the grant of temporary protection to our allies as heretofore, awaiting an expression of the whole views of the Lieutenant-Governor on the frontier question as affected by the expedition.⁽¹⁾

In 1871-72 there was only one attempt at a raid—the Shindoos attacking the frontier post of Pyndoo, but being beaten off. A stockaded post was established on the Oheepoom range overlooking the Lushai country.

With the close of the Lushai expedition, of which an account has been given in the preceding chapter, it became necessary to

consider the future policy of Government towards those tribes, and the measures necessary for the permanent defence of Cachar and Chittagong. The more important papers bearing on this subject will be found in the Appendix. Here it may be briefly stated that as regards policy the Government of India adhered to the system of exercising political influence only, without direct interference or control, coupled with the definition of a precise boundary line beyond which ordinary jurisdiction should on no account extend. This line was to be guarded by a chain of posts, and beyond it only political relations with the tribes were to be cultivated. In order to the ascertainment of the best line to adopt, it was decided, as already shown in the preceding chapter, to have a careful survey made of the country between Cachar and Chittagong along the eastern frontier of Hill Tipperah; the idea being that the chain of posts, after being carried from east to west along the southern frontier of Cachar, should turn south along the eastern border of Hill Tipperah, and thence be carried along some one of the hill ranges till it met the advanced posts of the Chittagong hills, and so down the eastern face of the Hill Tracts district till it reached Arracan. It was held to be very important to define this eastern boundary of Tipperah, and it was proposed to entrust its defence to the Rajah of that State. The eastern face of the Chittagong Hill Tracts was also to be carefully surveyed in order to the selection of a range suitable for the establishment of posts and opening of patrol paths.

(¹) Political Proceedings (India), April 1872, Nos. 169—197.



For the survey of the Tipperah frontier and the country between Cachar and Chittagong, Captain

Survey operations.

Badgley and Mr. Chennell of the

Topographical Survey were deputed. They were assisted by Mr. Power, the Political Agent of Hill Tipperah, who accompanied them throughout, and but for whose indefatigable exertions and tact the undertaking would probably have been a failure. The party entered the hills from Sylhet, and after an exploration of the Jampai and Hachik ranges, Mr. Chennell was left to survey the interior of Hill Tipperah, while Captain Badgley and Mr. Power pushed across the hills to Sirthay, where the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts had established a depôt of provisions in anticipation of their arrival. After a few days' rest they again started north, and made their way across the ranges to the point marked as Peak Z and Bepari Bazar on the Cachar side of the watershed, and thence to the Cachar district, passing by the villages of the Lushai chief, Sookpial, and being the first party that had crossed the country between Cachar and Chittagong. The Lushais offered no opposition to their progress, though they were not by any means cordial.

The survey on the Chittagong side was conducted by Mr. Cooke, in company with Captain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner. They explored thoroughly the Oheepoom and Saichul ranges, the two most promising lines of possible defence, and Captain Lewin was also met by the Deputy Commissioner of the Arracan Hill Tracts, who worked his way across from Talukmai to discuss the question of how best to link on our line of defence with that of British Burma.

The results of these surveys, and the proposals based upon them

Proposals of the Bengal Government in 1873.

by the Lieutenant-Governor, may be briefly stated as follows. It was ascertained that the eastern part of

Hill Tipperah is quite uninhabited, and that a chain of posts along either the Hachik or Jampai would be enormously expensive, and in such a country quite ineffective. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore abandoned the idea of carrying a chain of posts down those ranges. He proposed to maintain the present posts on the frontier of Cachar and Sylhet, and encourage as much as possible the development of trade with Bepari Bazar and other Lushai marts. The reports showed that Sookpial, the leading chief of the Western Lushais, had been moving his villages southward and nearer to our Chittagong Hill Tracts, from whence the Lushai country is much more accessible than on the Cachar side. It seemed therefore advisable to attempt to reach and influence him and the neighbouring tribes from the south rather than from the north. During the cold season, while the surveys were going on north and south, the police of the Chittagong Hills were establishing themselves at Sirthay in the immediate vicinity of Rutton Poca and the Syloo tribes of Lushais. The effect of this measure was most marked and gratifying. Captain Lewin was able to establish the most friendly relations with the Syloos, who were utterly cowed and broken by the expedition. They were said to



have become a perfectly friendly and subservient clan, grateful to us for our aid when they were starving from loss of crops, and anxious to settle under our protection. At the request of one branch of the clan under a chief Lalljeeka, a guard of 50 police was stationed in their midst to protect them from the Howlongs, the whole cost of feeding this guard being voluntarily borne by the tribe. There had also been a good deal of friendly intercourse with the Howlong clans, and they have referred some of their quarrels to the arbitration of our officers. The Lieutenant-Governor, in concurrence with the local officers, believed that it was only by maintaining posts in somewhat advanced positions that we could hope to bring political influence to bear upon the Syloos, Howlongs, and other Lushais. He would work upon Sookpilal and the Western Lushais by throwing out an advanced post from the Chittagong side somewhere among the Syloos, as was done last season. This post would dominate Sookpilal, protect any trade route opened between Bepari Bazar and the Hill Tracts, and form a centre of political influence in the manner desired by the Supreme Government. To protect our own Hill Tracts from raids by Southern Howlongs and Shindus, it was proposed to establish a system of posts and patrols along the northern part of the Oheepoom and southern part of the Saichul ranges. The local officers desired that British Burma should advance the Arracan Hill Tract posts and patrols to meet ours. It was understood that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma thought the Chittagong Hills should depend entirely on its own arrangements for defence. The fact, however, was that the southern portion of the Hill Tracts was chiefly exposed to raids from Shindus, a tribe only approachable from the side of Arracan, and of whom we know nothing. Looking to this and to the fact that the Sungoo valley was inhabited almost exclusively by tribes of Arracan origin and connections, the Lieutenant-Governor was disposed to think that this portion of the hills, and also the Cox's Bazar Sub-Division of Chittagong, mainly inhabited by Mughls, should be made over entirely to Arracan, which could then make its own arrangements for defence and patrol. The Government of India generally accepted the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals, it having been discovered by the survey that the ranges to which the local officers proposed to advance the posts offered the only suitable sites for a proper line of defence. The idea of dominating Sookpilal from the side of Chittagong was afterwards found to be impracticable; and the southern portion of the hills were not transferred to Arracan. The most important part of the correspondence will be found in the Appendix.

As regards the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to prescribe a river rather than a mountain boundary. In these countries the tops of ranges are generally occupied and cultivated, and unsuited for that reason to serve as boundaries. It was suggested that the Lungai river, running between the Jampai and Hachick ranges, should be taken as the boundary line up to its source at Betlingsib. The line would then run across the watershed to Dolujuri, and thence along the recognised Hill Tipperah border by



Surduing to the Fenny. These proposals were accepted and the boundary notified accordingly.

The year 1873-74 was uneventful. In 1874-75 there was only

Subsequent events.

one attempt at a raid by the Shindus which was prevented by a fortunate

accident. Since that year no attacks upon our territory have been reported; but the Howlongs chiefs have maintained a generally isolated and dubious attitude, though large numbers of the tribesmen come into the annual meeting with the Deputy Commissioner. In 1875-76 Rutton Poa died, and in 1879-80 Benknia, the head chief of the Howlongs and our bitterest enemy, also died. The frontier police have now established a line of patrols from the border of Hill Tipperah to Arracan. The Tipperah Rajah has at last organised guard posts to protect the frontier line of his territory and our settled districts beyond, and altogether the arrangements for defence appear to be on a complete and satisfactory footing. The year 1881-82 was marked by an extraordinary invasion of rats, vast troops of which came up from the east devouring the crops of Howlongs and other tribes, thence passing through a corner of our own Hill Tracts northward to the Lushai Country and Cachar. The sufferings caused by the devastations of these rodents here, as on the Cachar side, were very serious, and the Government was obliged to supply rice in large quantities both to our own hillmen and to the Howlongs, to be repaid in labour or cash. The assistance given at this time by the State has had, it is believed, a good effect upon the sentiments entertained towards the British Government among the frontier clans.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCLUSION.

In Chapter VIII. I very briefly reviewed the policy of Government towards the tribes of the Sub-Himalayan Border, the northern frontier of Assam. While that Chapter was in the Press steps were being taken to call the Akas to account for the petty foray committed by them to which reference is there made. Full information as to its nature and origin has since been received. The predisposing cause must be sought apparently in certain forest and boundary grievances; but the raid, as a matter of fact, arose directly out of the Calcutta Industrial Exhibition. The papers contain more precise accounts of recent intercourse with the Akas than were before available to me, and I take

The Aka Expedition of 1883-84.

advantage of this to set out the facts more fully. Taghi, the famous Chief of the Kapachors, was succeeded by his son Midhi, who like his father is a convert to Hinduism. When a grant of land was made to the Hazari Khawas in 1873, as related at page 25, a similar grant was made to the Kapachors to be devoted to the maintenance of Cachari priests. The Kapachors were not satisfied with their grant; in 1875 they demanded much more, and this was summarily refused. They have, therefore, never taken possession of their grant. It has already been stated that they objected to the boundary line laid down in 1875, though they afterwards professed to accept it. This boundary line cut them off from a tract of land claimed by them between the hills and the Bhoroli River. Present at the demarcation on behalf of Government was one Lakhidar, the Mouzadar or native Revenue Officer of Balepara. The tribe has also by the extension of forest reserves been deprived of what it doubtless considers its ancient right to tap rubber trees at pleasure. They had further been forbidden to catch elephants within the reserves, and threatened by the forest officers with the loss of one of their paths to the plains which runs through what is now a Government forest. Such being the state of things, the Deputy Commissioner of Durrung deputed Lakhidar to procure for the Calcutta Exhibition specimens of agricultural and other implements of the Akas, and to persuade some individuals of the tribe to come down to be modelled. Now, hitherto none but the regularly recognised *Kolokies* or clan-agents had ever sought to penetrate into the Aka Hills. Lakhidar, however, took with him 12 village elders and ryots of Balepara and a private servant, and went straight to Midhi's village. The Akas declare, and the evidence of one of the Mouzadar's companions supports the statement, that Lakhidar said he had been sent to take down to Calcutta a 'Rajah and a Rani with all their ornaments,' for which he was



ready to pay. The Akas professed to be furious at this demand, alleging that, when they had given ornaments on former occasions, they had only been partly paid; while the idea of sending a 'Rajah and Rani' to the show was intolerable to them. Any way after some days palaver, charging the Monzadar with being the man who had robbed them of their land, they sent him and his servant under guard to another village. The rest of the party they kept for a week, and then let them go. Meantime they had despatched to the plains Chandi, Midhi's brother, the lad who had been educated at Baleepara School, with a party of over 100 of the young men of the tribe. These came down to Baleepara on the 10th November last, and went frolicking about the bazar and tea gardens, getting liquor and chaffing the shop-keepers in a good-natured way. In the afternoon, however, they seized the Forest Clerk and the Forest Ranger, two guns and some money, and carried all off to the hills. They plundered none of the shop-keepers, save one opium-seller whose house they ransacked. 'Never', wrote the local officer, 'was a raid conducted so peaceably'. Unfortunately the Akas were not content with calling attention to their grievances in this emphatic manner. When the return of the captives was demanded, they sent down four very insolent letters in Bengali, dictated to the Forest Ranger, making preposterous demands for miles of land and forest on the plains, and a lakh of rupees compensation, announcing at the same time the death from fever of the Monzadar. Frontier police were hurried up to the spot, and a military expedition to recover the captives was speedily organized. On the 17th December 1883 an advanced party of the troops crossed the frontier. The Akas had on the 10th declared to a messenger that they would surrender the captives in twelve days; but instead of this, they attacked the advance camp on the night of the 23rd December in great force, killing one sepoy and wounding seven. When the troops advanced to the Tengapani they found it strongly held by the Akas, whose clouds of poisoned arrows the sepoys much dreaded. It was found necessary to wait for the arrival of the main body and mountain guns. On the 8th January Midhi's village, strongly stockaded, was attacked and taken. The Akas could not stand artillery fire and fled. A few days after this the captives were surrendered. The Akas have been told that, if they will come in and submit absolutely, agreeing to pay any fine imposed, their villages will not be destroyed. Their *posa* will probably be kept in suspense for a year or two. The Hazari Khawa Akas have remained perfectly friendly all through.

The experience of the expedition has shown that the difficulties of the Aka country are enormous. 'All is well that ends well'; and there is of course a strong presumption that an expedition recommended by the local authorities, and carried to a successful issue, was properly undertaken. I cannot, however, for my part lay aside the doubt whether under any circumstances, save to avenge serious and widespread massacre, an expedition into the unexplored and almost impracticable fastnesses of these Sub-Himalayan tribes is a wise or necessary measure. We might possibly effect all our objects by shutting the offending tribe and *its neighbours* for some distance on either side out from the



plains' markets until submission was made. In that case we should probably see the neighbours turning upon the offenders and compelling them to do exactly what we want them to do. On the Sebsaugor frontier we have seen this result follow the adoption of the plan suggested. In any case it appears probable that the Akas have substantial grievances which will doubtless be looked into, and the lesson has been learnt not to send native Assamese officials into the hills to exploit the tribes for Exhibition or any other purposes.

In Parts II and III of this volume I have given the history of our dealings with the tribes to the south of the Brahmaputra and to the east of Surmah Valleys and to the east of Chittagong. Of them in 1869 I wrote as follows in closing my "Memorandum on the North-East Frontier,"—

"The history of our intercourse with the Angamis and Garos is a tale of often repeated outrage on the one side, and long suffering forbearance on the other. Succeeding on the Naga Frontier to an effete Native Government, unable to protect its subjects, far less to coerce its enemies, it was the work of time to convince the mountaineers that the murder of a Bengali ploughman was more to the British Government than frontier dues,—the blood of a Cachari swineherd, a thing that cried for vengeance. But never, in the most troubled days of our relations with the Nagas, did the Government deliberately, or even indirectly, set before it a policy of reprisal. The ever reiterated command to frontier Officers and Commandants was this:—"Conciliate these savages if you can. Be persistent in demanding surrender of murderers, but endeavour so to approach the tribes, that a basis may be opened for friendly intercourse in the future." The majority of the so-called military expeditions into the Angami Hills were designed, not mainly or primarily to burn, destroy, and slay, but to bring our Officers with safety into and out of a position in which they could personally negotiate with the Angami chiefs. And when at length it was thought that all our efforts had been in vain, and outrage heaped on outrage had culminated in Bhogchand's murder, after the one short sharp lesson of punishment, the policy adopted, not wisely perhaps but in all sincerity, was a policy of absolute non-interference—a withdrawal from all intimate relations with incorrigible savages. They might attend our markets if they came in peace, but we would not enter their hills or intrude on their quarrels. Such moderation was of course misunderstood. It was too thoroughly English to be appreciated by ignorant Nagas. It would be viewed with astonishment by many more polished nations.

"It failed as a policy—signally failed. Fate seems determined to prove that there shall be no rest for the English in India till they stand forth as the governors or advisers of each tribe and people in the land. As regards the Nagas, this fact, doubtfully at times foreseen,—this policy, dimly now and again foreshadowed,—was grasped firmly and



carried forward persistently by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Direct control, personal influence, conciliatory intercourse,—supported at the same time by adequate strength,—these were the measures Sir Cecil Beadon never ceased to advocate as the only possibly successful policy in dealing with hill tribes. Among the Angamis this system has hitherto promised well; and though it is too much to hope that all our difficulties are over, there is still sufficient encouragement to Government to persevere. There is sufficient precedent to warrant such attempts elsewhere.

“It would be a mistake to suppose that to inflict condign punishment for exceptionally gross outrages is any departure from a general policy of conciliation. To submit to outrage is not to conciliate, but to provoke to further attack. But punishment has never, with the sanction of Government, taken the form of mere reprisal. Government has never sent out raiding parties to burn indiscriminately Naga villages. Its first aim has always been to discover the actual parties concerned in the raids on British Territory, and then it has endeavoured to confine the punishment to those so offending. The policy of a Government is not to be learned from any single incident in its history. It must be viewed as a whole in the light of its acknowledged aims and motives.

“Among the Garos the task of management was not less difficult than it had been among the Nagas. We found them exasperated by years of conflict with the great Choudries of the plains; eager to trade but resentful of injury; not very apt to discriminate between the gripping chicanery of the Bengali tradesman, and the dealings of that Government whose Police kept order in the marts. The low-land villages had for generations supplied them with slaves and heads—the spoil of their bow and spear; for without these the souls of their heroes passed unhonoured away on the long journey to Mount Chikmung, from which there is no return. To check the custom of raiding on the occasion of the death of a chief, was to change the cardinal doctrine of a religion, and tamper with the dearest feelings of a Garo's heart. The central fastnesses of these hills too were more impenetrable, and their bordering jungles supposed to be more deadly than those of any other such tract of country. No British troops had marched across, no road had ever been carried through them; and the people themselves were held to be more uncoth and fierce than any other of our border tribes. But here, too, the Lieutenant-Governor held that a British Officer living in their midst, able to repress outrage, and ready to redress complaints, would do more to secure the safety of the plains than any number of stockaded posts and armed patrols.

“It is noteworthy, moreover, that the one occasion of all others upon which the Bengal Government has set aside all considerations of seniority, all questions of service, has been when it has had to select officers for these Hill Tract Districts. The best man for the work has invariably been sent there.