



"In the Garo Hills\* there is now a fair resemblance of order. Raids have ceased. Feuds are vanishing. And the dead chieftain sets out on his last journey, with store of food and weapons by his side, but with his faithful dog as his sole companion. We have scotched a superstition, and shall in due time kill it.

"The Khasias, who might, from their warlike character and tribal organisation, have given us more trouble than any other hill people, have, as we have seen, been for years the most peaceable of our subjects.

"In the Jaintia Hills the Sintengs have received that attention which their peculiar system of village administration demands. These hills are now a tranquil and very ordinary sub-division.

"In North Cachar we see large communities of hillmen living as Government ryots, paying cheerfully the trivial dues demanded from them, and under the surveillance of only a small police post. There is every probability, indeed, that even this will be removed, and the people left to the control of their own headmen under the direct supervision of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar.

"When we turn to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, we find ourselves face to face with a state of things which has no parallel elsewhere in Bengal. It must not be forgotten that, as regards the hills within our own acknowledged boundary, our administration has been as successful here as it has been elsewhere. The development of prosperity among the subjects of the Kalindi Rani, the Mán Rajah, and the Bohmong, is as truly due to the British Government as is the flourishing condition of any district on the plains. It is on the outer verge of our own hill tracts that we come upon a disturbing element. Tribes, over whom we can exercise no control, come surging up against our outposts from the unknown mountains of Burma and from valleys yet unsurveyed. Of the causes that press them forward we know nothing. New names crop up. A raid by savages of a strange fashion of hair tells us a tribal change has taken place across our frontier, and we have nothing for it but to strengthen our outposts, increase our patrols, and watch to see what follows. On the north, within our nominal territory, we have still the anomalous tract of the Lushai Hills; and it is open to us either to repudiate it politically, or to enter in and dwell there. One way or other the decision must ere long be made."

There is nothing in all this which further experience would lead me to withdraw or qualify. The policy of the Government to the tribes on its North-East Frontier has, I again assert, been throughout in its main features a policy of conciliation, and not a policy of repression or devastation.† It was, indeed, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, for many years far too conciliatory to be either strong or altogether successful. Even after our officers were located in the Naga and Garo

\* The words should have been inserted—"So far as our influence extends."

† I speak of the policy of the Government as such.

The action of local authorities may not always perhaps have been in full accordance with this.





Hills, it was long ere they were formally allowed to assert themselves as representatives of a paramount power, to repress intertribal massacre and outrage, and enforce a regime of civilization and police. Their duty was declared to be the prevention, as far as possible, of raids upon the plains, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the independent savages around them. It must be confessed that the Bengal Government had not in 1869 fully realized the limitations placed upon the system of direct management which both Sir Cecil Beadon and Sir William Grey had strenuously advocated.—Sir W. Grey even more decidedly than Sir Cecil Beadon. It was only in 1870 and 1871 that the Supreme Government declared in unmistakeable terms its desire to assert no positive jurisdiction over communities not actually within the limits of our settled districts. In the Garo Hills, surrounded as these were on all sides by British territory, departure from this policy had almost immediately to be sanctioned. The Supreme Government had there allowed, to start with, acceptance of submission voluntarily offered, and in 1872 events compelled the frank adoption of measures of complete subjugation. But in the Naga Hills it was for years reluctant to undertake anything like coercion, or even to sanction a policy of gradual absorption. In 1874 Captain Johnstone's action in extending protection to communities which tendered revenue was very reluctantly approved; and then only with repeated warnings to avoid engagements to villages at any distance from his head-quarters. With the establishment of the Chief Commissionership of Assam and the immediate subordination of the Assam Administration to the Supreme Government, the views of the local officers began to carry greater weight, and the advocates of a forward policy obtained a more favourable hearing: until, in 1877, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State came finally and resolutely to the determination to advance the head-quarters of the Political Officer in the Naga Hills to a central and dominating position in the midst of the warring Angami clans—and to do away absolutely and for ever with the state of tribal anarchy that disgraced the so-called Hills District, and formed a standing menace to the peace of Cachar, Sebsaugor and Nowgong. Those of us who long ago contended that in no other way could permanent security be won, may rest content with the eventual triumph of their views; but we may perhaps be pardoned a passing expression of regret that so many lives should have been lost and so many valuable years been wasted, while the vain endeavour was being made to shirk the full burden of responsibility imposed on us by local circumstances and by the high necessities of our paramount position. Even now it cannot safely be assumed that the arbitrary line which bounds our present jurisdiction to the east of the Angami country will long suffice. We have left outside the sphere of our direct control not a few tribes of Nagas, who may still prove troublesome to both hills and plains; and I for one believe that we shall only find permanent peace when we have brought under our sway the whole of the Naga border up to the very summit of the great water-pent which bounds the British territory to the south of the Assam Valley. There is no need, however, now to hurry matters





unduly. We have secured and strongly occupied the navel of the hills; we have settled the limits of Manipuri interference; and we have, it may be hoped, effectively protected the tea planters and cultivators of the plains from outrage and plunder. For the rest we can afford to wait, until the consolidation of our rule over the Angami villages warrants the extension of supremacy, of police, and of civilisation, among the tribes that are for the present left outside the Hills District.

As regards the Lushai country, on the information available in 1871, it seemed to many of us desirable even then to treat it precisely in the same way as the Naga, Khasi, and Garo Hills. This view was almost naturally suggested by a consideration of the striking analogies between its local position and theirs. It did not appear tolerable that a tract of unexplored barbarism should permanently thrust itself up between the British districts of Cachar and Chittagong and the two protected States of Tipperah and Manipur. The Government of India preferred, however, on the knowledge of the country gained by the expeditions of 1871-72, and by the attendant or subsequent surveys, to confine itself for the present to a strictly defensive policy. The Lushais themselves both north and south received at that time a salutary lesson which they have not yet altogether forgotten. On the Chittagong side our posts and patrols were at last advanced to a position where they form an effective defensive line as against the outer tribes to their east and south, and are also within striking distance of some at least of the tribes living between Chittagong and Cachar. The frontier of Sylhet and Cachar is strongly garrisoned by a chain of protective stockades, while considerable progress has been made in the opening of a frontier trade and in the extension of intercourse with the nearer chiefs and clans. But the situation is still I venture to think very far from satisfactory. The communities that we know are being pressed upon from the south-east by communities of which little or nothing is known. The history of the past tells us that they must, sooner or later, be driven up to or across our border; and there is among them no paramount chief or dominant tribe that we could recognise and support, or entrust with the task of consolidating the scattered clans, to form an effective outwork against this growing movement from the south. It is not, therefore, beyond the bounds of possibility that we may ere long have ourselves to go in and occupy in force this land of the Lushais, in order to superintend effectively the settlement of the various tribal units, to prevent a regime of tribal massacre upon our border, and to obviate all risk of outrage upon the settled district of Cachar. The task ought not after all to prove either difficult or costly; and no one can look at the map and fail to see that the Port of Chittagong is destined to be some day the proper outlet for the teas of Cachar and the products of Manipur, and the source from which the Surmah Valley must draw those supplementary supplies of food which its yearly growing population will more and more require.





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**APPENDIXES.**

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## APPENDIX A.

## WELSH'S REPORT ON ASSAM, 1794—(PAGE 3).

From CAPTAIN WELSH, to EDWARD HAY,  
Esq., Secretary to Government, dated 6th  
February 1794.

In obedience to the orders of the Honourable the Governor General in Council, I lose no time in replying to the questions proposed in your letter of the 6th ultimo.

The information transmitted is, I may venture to say, correct in the most material points.

*1st Question.*

"What form of government subsisted in Assam previous to your arrival there. In replying to this query you are to specify, as far as may be in your power, the relative degree of authority possessed by the Rajah and the different Chiefs."

*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

*Answer to 1st Question.*

At the period in question a subversion of all regular government had taken place, but the question involves the ancient form of government and the most important alterations which it may have experienced. At present the outlines of the system will suffice for the information of the Board; it deserves a minute detail at a period of more leisure.

The right of conquest had vested the dominion of this Kingdom in the race of Surgee Deo and the descendants of the principal associates of Sookapah, the original conqueror. The form of government was consequently monarchical and aristocratical.

The monarchy was possessed by the descendants of Sookapah, being partly hereditary and partly elective. It was hereditary in the fraternal line. In failure of brothers in the direct line of the Monarch's sons; in failure of these in the sons of the brothers next in seniority. Beyond this line, the aristocracy exercised a latitude of election among the nearest relations of the late monarch with some attention to the claims of nearer consanguinity, but more to those of personal merit.

In early times the succession appears to have gone generally to sons except in cases of deposal. The circumstances of the succession one to another of the four sons of Roodru Singh is said to have originated in the death-bed injunction of that Monarch. It was not unusual for the reigning King to appoint a successor, and it was the practice to disqualify other members of the family from reigning by causing a slight wound to be inflicted upon them which was considered as an insurmountable bar to the acquisition of the regal office.



The Monarch was the first executive officer and presided over every department of the State. He distributed honors, titles, and offices, without the concurrence, but not without the counsel of the aristocracy. He was not lord of the soil, but would alienate lands for the legal tenure of which the possessor had no written documents. All uncultivated land was entirely at his disposal. He possessed no power over the lives and property of his subjects. He could not make peace and war without the concurrence of the aristocracy. He treated with foreign powers by his own ambassadors and in his own name, but with the previous concurrence of the aristocracy. In the public councils, he possessed the privilege of a casting voice. In executing sentence of death on a criminal his order alone would sanction a form by which the criminal's blood might be shed. He alone coined money. His person was sacred.

The aristocracy, or Patrah-Muntree, was composed of three Gohains and the two Prime Ministers of State. The

Aristocracy.

three Gohains or Patrah were the Burh Patrah Gohain, Burh Gohain, and Boorah Gohain. They were permanent and hereditary counsellors of State little inferior to the Monarch in rank. On all occasions their counsel, and on all important affairs their concurrence, were indispensable. They proclaimed the Monarch and could depose him in the instance of incapacity or great delinquency. Some doubt, however, exists of their legal power of deposition.

In the provinces allotted to each, they exercised most of the independent rights of sovereignty. In the execution of sentence of death, their order could not sanction a form in which the blood of the criminal might be shed, but they could authorize his death by drowning. In the event of war or the construction of public works they furnished their proportion of militia or men. They likewise supplied some trifling articles for the King's stores, but paid no other revenue. They ruled their provinces on the principles of the general system. The pre-eminence

Notes by Mr. D. Scott.

2. With exception to Royal grants and the khats or farms of individuals, usually of small extent, there is no division of the land in Assam amongst a comparatively small number of individuals such as seen in the feudal countries of Europe and in Bengal, and the cultivated soil may be considered as the property of the pykes or peasants owing service to the State to whom it is allotted. Waste land might be reclaimed by any one who had the means of bringing it into cultivation, and a property in the soil might thus be acquired, subject, however, if held without a grant from the King, to an agrarian law which rendered the whole of the transplanted rice lands (*roopeet*) liable to division amongst the pykes, on a new census taking place, in case there should be an insufficiency of waste land for their support. Gardens, tanks, groves, &c., which are formed upon the higher description of land, were not subjected to this law, nor was ground that had been occupied for a great length of time and inherited or transferred from one party to another for a valuable consideration. Land of the latter description called *pykedrick*, or ancestral, was not subject to the payment of revenue until the reign of Kumoleasar, when a tax in kind was imposed on it equal to from 5 to 8 annas per Bengal beegah. It is believed that no estate of this kind exists exceeding in extent 200 Bengal beegahs, and that no individual in the country is possessed altogether of 900 beegahs of such land of *roopeet* quality.

3. The authority of the King was in practice probably much more despotic than is here represented, and it would not appear from the history of the country that the aristocracy had any legal means of preventing the execution of his wishes, the only remedy seeming to have consisted in the actual exercise of their power of deposing him in case of gross misconduct and neglect of their advice. It is to be regretted that the historical work to which I have had access treats with great brevity of those reigns in which no troubles occurred, and in which the Princes may be supposed to have acted in constitutional manner, but when it does afford any insight into difference of opinion between the King and his Counsellors, we usually find one or other of these parties exercising unlimited sway, the Prince in some cases dismissing and putting to death the Gohains, and the latter frequently treating their master in the like manner.

4. For examples of the exercise of this power *Vide* pages 23 to 45 of the accompanying extracts of these precedents. Only three—the deposals of Soorum Pha, Sooching Pha, and Soonyut Pha—can be considered as having anything of the character of deliberate acts of the great Council of State; while from the circumstance of all of these instances having occurred within a period of thirty years, and two of them in the time of the same Boorah Gohain, there seems to be some ground for the doubts here expressed as to the legality of the proceedings in question.

5. The Gohains had altogether allotted for their own use 10,000 pykes equal, at the old assessment, to Rs. 90,000 per annum, which, adverting to the relative value of money in Assam and Bengal in former times, may be considered as equivalent to treble the amount in the latter country.





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

was possessed by the Gohains who obtained from the Monarch the title of Roye and the additional services of 2,000 men.

If the son of a Gohain was incapacitated by youth, want of abilities, or other causes, he was excluded from the succession.

The Monarch, with the concurrence of the two Gohains, conferred the appointment on the late Gohain's brother or his brother's son. In failure of incapacity or delinquency of the nearest claimants a greater latitude was allowed, but in every instance the vacancy was supplied from five families descended from the associates of Sookapah. In the event of delinquency a Gohain might be removed from his office by the Monarch with the concurrence of two Gohains.

The Prime Ministers, or Muntree, were the Burra Burwah, and the Burra Fogon. Their offices were not hereditary, but they were chosen from four families, the descendants of the associates of Sookapah. The Ministers were removable at the Monarch's pleasure with the concurrence of the Gohains.

The Burra Burwah commanded the forces, received the revenues, and administered the justice of the upper provinces from Suddea on the eastern confines to Kolliabar in Decanpah and Derung in Ooterpah with an exception in favour of the provinces under the Government of the Gohains. He could not sanction the execution of a criminal by any form of death. The Burra Fogon's office was considered of higher importance, though of later creation than the former. The jurisdiction commenced at Kolliabar and Derung and included the whole of the kingdom to the western confines. His jurisdiction was similar to that of Burra Burwah, but its distance from the seat of Government rendered it necessary that he should possess the power of executing sentence of death by drowning. Appeals from his judicial decisions were scarcely practicable, and were only made on very important occasions.

The civil establishment was composed of the officers who superintended the various arts, sciences, trades, sources of public revenues, employments of the King's household, and numerous other departments. About 12 Fogons and 20 Burwahs were allotted for these offices, and were chosen from the nine families of hereditary nobility. They were amenable for their conduct to the Monarch only.

6. It does not appear that the Gohains could be selected except from three families—one furnishing a Bar Putra Gohain, another a Bar Gohain, and a third a Boora Gohain.

7. The members of twelve families are now eligible to these offices upon the strength of past precedents. These twelve families are distinct from the preceding three from which the two Ministers could not be chosen—a rule that was probably enacted with the view of preventing the too great accumulation of power in particular families.

8. The Bar Boorooa had the command of 14,000, pykes but they were bound to perform service to the King, and the Prime Minister's perquisite consisted in an allowance of 7 per cent. for his private use and in the fines levied from them for offences committed or on the appointment to the inferior offices of Hazarksoya, &c.

9. These offices were filled from the fifteen families of hereditary nobility already mentioned, and such of them as did not involve military service could also be held by the higher classes of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, but not by foreigners or their descendants for three or four generations.



In the Department of Justice, the Neeay Khodah Fogon represented the Sovereign, and received appeals from the Burra Burwah and Burra Fogon. Every officer under Government was a Judge in his department, with an appeal to his superior officer, and ultimately to the Monarch's representative. In the Gohain provinces no appeal was allowed from the decision of the Chief. In the administration of justice, witnesses were examined and written documents received in evidence, the Judge decided according to the customs of the country and to the best of his judgment, as no written laws existed previous to the introduction of Braminical religion. The Monarch would authorize any person of consequence to take cognizance of particular causes in any part of the Kingdom.

**Military Establishment.** The army was a militia, and organized in the following manner :—

Every family furnished the Sovereign with one man in four as a permanent militia or standing army. When the public service required an additional force, two men, and in cases of great emergency either of war or public works, three men. The first was denominated Mool, the second Dowal, the third Tawal. The fourth who remained to cultivate the soil, and the four are termed Ghote Pike Officers.

Twenty men were commanded by a Burra, one hundred by a Khotkea, one thousand by a Hazaree, three thousand by a Rajekoar, and six thousand by a Fogon. The Burra Burwa and Burra Fogon as Commanders-in-Chief, had each the particular command of a body of twelve thousand men. The Fogons, Rajekoars, and Hazarees were nominated by the Monarch, but with the advice and concurrence of the Gohains. The Khotkeas and Burras were appointed by their respective Fogons and Rajekoars. The privates might demand through the regular channel the the dismissal of their Burras and Khotkeas, and the appointment of an officer of their own nomination. Each officer administered justice to the men under his command with an appeal to his superior officer, and ultimately to the Neeay Khodah Fogon.

From these services were exempted the descendants of the hereditary nobility, unless in the event of delinquency, and all who possessed offices under Government.

*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

10. This officer exercised jurisdiction in the absence of the King only, and in the palace or fort.

11. No record was kept in criminal trials, but in civil cases a summary of the proceedings was drawn out and delivered to the successful party called Siddhant Pattrir. Trials were conducted before the Bur Boorwa or other delegate as President, and a certain number of Khattakes, Khagistees, Ghunnucks, and Pundits as assessors, by whose opinion the Judge was usually guided. The administration of justice is said to have been speedy, efficient, and impartial in former times, but a good deal corrupted since the commencement of the disorders occasioned by the Moamaria insurrections. No Wukeels were employed, the parties or one of their relations appearing personally. From the Bur Boorwa's Court not even the three Gohains were exempt.

12. After this, a force consisting of mercenaries from the western provinces was introduced, and by that means the late Boora Gohain was enabled so long to usurp the whole power of the State.

13. The pykes are now chiefly employed as labourers; or a revenue is derived from the commutation of their services for a money payment varying from 6 to 18 rupees per Ghote. A considerable number of the inhabitants are exempted from personal service on the score of their caste or rank or by purchase, but by far the largest portion still continue to work, in a most unprofitable manner, for the Government.

14. Since the loss of a great number of pykes in the reign of Rajeswar Sing, the number of men forming a Ghote in Upper Assam has been reduced to three. All persons below the age of 15 years and above 50 years are exempted from service.

15. This is one of the most important rights the lower orders possessed, and it extended usually to the Hazarkeeyas, and in case of proof of maltreatment to the higher ranks placed over them. When a dispute occurred between the retainers of two different Commanders, it was decided by the officer of highest rank.

16. The descendants and frequently the collateral relations of nobles guilty of treason, and particularly of shedding the royal blood, were attainted and degraded so as to be incapable of holding any office.





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

Military stores were under the superintendence of the Kargoriah Fogon.

It is only necessary to observe that the  
Ecclesiastical. Braminical religion has  
prevailed since the time  
of Rooder Sing, who reigned about 70 years  
ago.

The creation of three lesser Gohains from  
Alterations of the the same families as the  
original system. former appears to have  
been the principal legal  
alteration in the Civil and Military Depart-  
ments. The office of Burra Fogon was of  
later creation also. The recent Gohains are  
the Suddea Koa Gohains, Governor of the  
eastern confines or Suddea; the Moorung  
Koa Gohain, Governor of the confines  
towards Naga and Kossaree; the Solal  
Gohain, Governor of Kolleabur.

In a lapse of centuries every possible  
deviation from regular Government might  
be enumerated, but it will be proper to  
confine the discussion to those illegal inno-  
vations, which proved the first source of the  
late troubles.

The sacred regularity of succession to the  
Throne was violated by  
Source of discontent and disaffection. the power of the Burra  
Burwah, in the instance  
of Rajah Swar Sing who superseded his elder  
brother Mohun Mala Deo.

The rights of the hereditary nobility were  
superseded by the appointment of Roop  
Sund, and at a later period of his son Chiste  
Sund, the grandfather of Joinath, to the  
high office of Burra Burwah. Joinath is the  
dismissed Burra Burwah.

The power of the State and the direction  
of the Royal Councils were now completely  
diverted from the lawful channel of the  
Gohains. The secret machinations of the  
latter co-operating with the general struggle  
for power under a weak and vicious admin-  
istration and with the discontents of the  
people seem to have excited the Maran and  
Maimaria insurrections.

The execution of the Gooroo or High  
Priests of the Momarias and of his son,  
suspected, probably with great justice, as the  
principal authors of the troubles, was the  
chief cause of the subsequent insurrections.

Mohun Meeha Deo's death by Moran  
poison had rendered legitimate the latter  
part of Luckee Sing's reign, but the sons of  
his elder brothers possessed a right to the  
succession superior to that of Gourinaut  
Sing; the expedient of mutilation, however,  
had left Gourinaut (the present Rajah of  
Assam) without a rival, and he became  
lawful Sovereign at an early period of life.

17. This office is now held by a family of  
Kampteas who settled in Assam about 70 years  
ago.

18. This is accounted for in page 57 of the  
historical extracts. It appears that the elder  
son was disqualified for the succession in conse-  
quence of his being marked with the small-pox,  
any personal blemish, whether natural or arti-  
ficial, being considered as an insurmountable bar  
to the attainment of the regal dignity in Assam.

19. The Momarias still possess some power  
in the upper part of the country. They are  
united under the command of their elected chief  
the Bur Sinaputtee. In any arrangement that  
may be made for the future settlement of Assam,  
it will be necessary to consult the interest of this  
numerous body. If attached to the Government,  
they might become as full as a militia, but the  
exorbitant pretensions of their priests may  
render it difficult to satisfy them. Of late years it  
was usual with the Assam Government to keep  
the High priest at Court, and after under res-  
traint. His influence is now supposed to be on  
the decline.



*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

The debauched minority, the ignorance, imbecility, caprice, execrable cruelty, and oppression of Government, whose ministers and low favorites were the dread, detestation, and shame of the great, the scourge, and execration of the people, involved the whole Kingdom in confusion.

The Burh Gohain and his five sons were murdered. Adasooria, Burra Burwah of hereditary nobility, and numerous adherents suffered mutilation.

All the men of consequence were divided in opposite interests; but the whole seemed united in sentiments against the vile favourites of Gourinaut.

Every kind of oppression was practised on the people. The Momarias succeeded probably by the connivance of the King's Generals—certainly by their supineness. The Boora Gohain may with great justice be suspected of having favoured the insurrection. The King fled from his capital on the approach of the insurgents and repaired to Gowhatty. The Boora Gohain and other persons of consequence, many petty Chiefs of districts and towns, and some adventurers, with a very few followers, assumed independence in various parts of the country.

The same crimes and oppressions afflicted the vicinity of the Monarch's residence wherever he fled. It is probable that the Diga Rajah, of Derangh, was provoked by similar oppressions to rebel, yet there is some reason to think that his principal motive was the opportunity to assert independence which the times afforded. He perished by the hands of the executioner. His son, deprived of the succession, seized Derangh and Kamroop with the assistance of the Burkan-dases.

The Rajahs of the Noaduwar esteemed the times favourable to their personal independence, which was accordingly asserted, without any apparent provocation. A bold adventurer, with two or three hundred men, advanced to Gowhatty, and Surgee Deo fled to Bengal.

This question has been partly answered. It remains to notice the relative authority of the Rajah and the different Chiefs. western Rajahs of Doomriah, Derangh, Bel-tolah, Rannygong and Noaduwar.

Surgee Deo founds his title of Sovereignty over these Chiefs on the right of conquest or voluntary submission.

With the concurrence of the Patrah, or Potrah Muntree, he could dismiss a Rajah, and appoint his brother to fill the vacancy, or his son in failure of the fraternal line. It is doubtful whether he possessed the lawful power to put a Rajah to death.

20. The whole of these Chiefs are now in subjection to Assam as far as their possessions in the plains extend, but they are nearly independent in the hills. There is every reason to believe that they are particularly well disposed towards the British Government, and the principal person amongst them, the Rajah of Burdewar, is now actively engaged in improving the road through his territory which extends nearly to Pundwa in Sylhet.

21. Of late the Bar Phookin exercised the right of dismissing and appointing the above Rajahs with exception to those of Durung and Bel-tolah without previous reference, but subject to an appeal to the King.



*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

The Rajahs were Judges in their own districts, but with an appeal to the Burra Fogon and the Monarch. They must attend personally with their complement of men, when summoned by the Surgee Deo. All the Rajahs, except the Rancee, pay an annual revenue, in addition to the number of men they might furnish on any emergency.

Confines. Suddia, Miree, Duffala Orika, Botan, Naga, Koparee, Jointa, and the Garrows paid tribute to the Monarch of Assam.

22. The powers of the Rajahs have since been much curtailed, at present they exercise judicial authority in minor cases in common with the chowdries by sufferance only, but the facility they possess of escaping into the hills, when pursued by the officers of Government, has often induced them to assume still higher powers, and to mutilate and put persons to death for which a fine was usually accepted as an atonement under the Assam Government. Nothing of this kind has occurred since the full establishment of the British authority.

23. The Duplas, Bhooteeyas, and Ankas pay a nominal tribute, and in return levy black mail to a very oppressive and continually increasing extent in the districts north of the river. Cachar and Jyntiah long before this period had regained their independence. Twelve of the Singpho Chiefs were also nominally subject to Assam, but did not pay tribute.

*2nd Question.*

"How far Surgee Deo, Rajah of Assam, has been restored the exercise of his legal authority? You are desired to signify particularly whether any of his subjects still refuse submission to, or continue to act independently of, him, and, if any should come under this description, it is wished that you should communicate their names, quality, force, and situation, with the grounds of their disaffection as far as you are acquainted therewith. It is also desired that you should state your opinion whether any and what measures are necessary to be pursued for establishing obedience to the Rajah's authority, and the period required for carrying those measures into execution."

*Answer to 2nd Question.*

The limited degree of authority which the Surgee Deo at present enjoys, he derives from the countenance of the Company's troops.

The different Chiefs and Rajahs profess submission and obedience to the authority of the Surgee Deo, but seem all inclined to act independently of it. The grounds of their disaffection are enumerated in my reply to the first question, and their military force appears to be extremely despicable.

I am clearly of opinion that to establish obedience to the Rajah's authority, it is only necessary that the mediating power should more decidedly interfere, and declare its determination to support, the Government of Assam in all its constituent parts.

*3rd Question.*

"Whether you think there is any probability that the principal Rajahs or Chiefs





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

will soon be prevailed upon to accept your and the Rajah's invitation to assemble for the purpose of concerting a form of government, and in that case how long it will be before such an assembly can be formed, and admitting them to meet, whether you have any hopes from your knowledge of the characters and views of the individuals that they will be induced to agree on a plan for the settlement and tranquility of the country."

*Answer to 3rd Question.*

By proceeding to the capital I shall have an opportunity of requiring the personal attendance of all those Chiefs who are stationed in our route, and who only agreeably to prescriptive rules are necessary to establish the original form of Government. Convinced of the impossibility of prosecuting with success their ambitious designs, and of being protected by the mediating power against the tyranny of the Surgee Deo, they will, I doubt not, unite and agree to a plan for the settlement and tranquillity of the country. The period required to effect this depends upon adventitious circumstances.

*4th Question.*

"The late Ministers having been dismissed and the Rajah's incapacity for the government of his country being asserted, whether you know any person or persons of sufficient ability, weight, and authority in that country for supplying the places of the dismissed Ministers. If you do, you are desired to name them, and to deliver your opinion how far their appointment could be made with the Rajah's consent, and would be acceptable to the principal people. It is also wished that you should specify how far the Minister lately elected by the Rajah appears to you to possess the requisite qualifications for the trust committed to him."

*Answer to 4th Question.*

On my arrival at the capital I shall have an opportunity of consulting the three Gohains, whose concurrence is necessary in the appointment of Ministers. I cannot yet venture to recommend any one to fill the important office of Burra Burwah.

The nomination of the late appointed Burra Fogon appears to be generally acceptable to the people, and I have reasons to think that he possesses the requisite qualifications for the trust committed to him.

24. Although very illiterate, there are nevertheless several persons amongst the Assam nobility who, with considerable talents, possess a sufficient knowledge of business to enable them to conduct the affairs of the country until it may be determined, who is to be raised to the throne. It is of course impossible to say whether or not any particular individual could be appointed with the Rajah's consent, but, under the altered circumstances of the case, the British Government would no doubt be justified in exercising the most decided interference in regard to the selection of the higher officers of State.





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

*5th Question.*

"Whether Kissnarain since his admission to the Raj of Derangh has behaved with proper submission to the Surjee Deo, and whether you can rely upon Kissnarain's assistance, if required, in supporting Surjee Deo."

25. The Rajahs of Durung have been reduced to complete subjection since the date of this report, and at present they do not possess the means of disturbing the peace or assisting the Government. They are appointed and dismissed like the other officers of State, an individual of the same family being, however, always chosen. There is at present one Rajah in possession and three *ex-Rajahs*, all of whom entertain bitter enmity against each other.

*Answer to 5th Question.*

Kissnarain, since his admission to the Raj of Derangh, has behaved with proper submission to the Surjee Deo, or rather has acted in compliance with my wishes, in every instance. I do not think his regard for the interests of the Surjee Deo would induce him to contribute his assistance, but I can rely upon Kissnarain's affording his services, whenever required by me.

*6th Question.*

"What are the reasons in your opinion of the Rajah's delay in proceeding to his capital, and whether any and what obstacles occur to this measure."

*Answer to 6th Question.*

The late Ministers, and other interested advisers, represented to their infatuated Monarch the danger of returning to his capital, and to their successful attempts to awaken his fears I partly attribute the delay. But the Rajah's extreme indolence and impotence, both of body and mind, would naturally render him averse to a measure, which must be attended with some degree of personal exertion. He is now, however, on his way thither.

*7th Question.*

"Whether the Commercial Regulations settled between you and the Rajah are considered to be in force, whether any and what benefit has resulted from them, and whether you think they admit of any, and what, alterations, with a view to the improvement of the commercial intercourse between the two States?"

*Answer to 7th Question.*

The Commercial Regulations settled between the Rajah and myself are in full force, but the principal benefit which has arisen from them is the demolition of an iniquitous monopoly, which ultimately must be productive of great pecuniary advantage, and in the meantime removes the distresses of the people. Resulting from the collections at the Candahar chowkey the sum of Arcott Rs. 12,012-2-9 has been received





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

during the space of nine months, after defraying incidental expenses, and from this source the Rajah is to receive annually Rs. 12,000, and the overplus is destined to defray part of the expense of the detachment.

I am of opinion that this commercial compact will admit of considerable alteration with a view to the improvement of trade between the two States. But as the efficacy of such alteration depends, in the first instance, on the restoration of order, and, in the second, on the degree of influence the Honourable Board may be desirous of obtaining in the affairs of Assam. Before I can give a decisive answer on this subject, I beg I may be indulged with some time to be assured of the former, and to be informed of the latter.

*8th Question.*

"Whether from your knowledge of the Rajah's character you are of opinion that, after the return of the Detachment, he will observe the stipulations he has entered into, or may further agree to."

*Answer to 8th Question.*

From a knowledge of the Rajah's character, and the views of many individuals in power and favour, whose personal interests are affected by the stipulations entered into with him, I am decidedly of opinion that none would be observed, supposing the detachment and all control on the part of the British Government is withdrawn.

26. This opinion was completely verified by the result. On the detachment being withdrawn, the Rajah ceased to observe the commercial treaty and a virtual monopoly was again established.

*9th Question.*

"Whether you think it probable, in the event of your detachments being recalled, that the Government of the country will be so regulated as to admit of a beneficial commercial intercourse between the two States, and to what extent, and in what articles you suppose such a commerce may be carried on. In your answer to this query you will state such information as you may have obtained relating to the productions and actual commerce of Assam."

*Answer to 9th Question.*

This query may be considered under three distinct heads, viz. :—

- 1st.—The consequences of the recall of the detachment, with respect to commerce which will be noticed in my reply to the 13th query.
- 2nd.—The articles of commerce.
- 3rd.—The probable extent, and actual state of commerce.





Notes by Mr. D. Scott.

### IMPORTS

Articles of Commerce. From the eastern confines or Suddea, copper, cotton, springsalt, fir trees.

From the northern confines Miree supplies copper, munjeet, ouka; and Duffala supply munjeet, lonj pepper, ginger goomdan, Maytoon, an animal of the kine species. Botan supplies musk, blankets, cowtails, small horses, gola borax, rock salt, Nainta, kind of cloth, Goom, Sing, an embroidered cloth, Daroka, a silk of a mixture of green, red and yellow colours.

From the southern confines, Naga supplies cotton, Luckibilla, a silk cloth, Teatbund, a silk cloth, Narakapore, an embroidered silk, red hair, (?) and Nagazatee spears. The Garrows supply cotton, copper, iron, coarse cloth.

From the western confines or Bengal, copper and other metals, red lead, woollens of Europe, chiefly of the coarser kind, cottons of Bengal, chiefly of the coarser kind, chinty particularly kinkhoos, cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, blue vitriol, assafoetida, alum, darmook, orpiment, a variety of drugs, salt.

### EXPORTS.

The exports to Bengal only will be noticed here, they are divided into—

1st.—The produce of the other confines.

2nd.—The produce of Assam.

1st.—Cotton in considerable quantity, munjeet in doubtful quantity, fir trees probably in any quantity, ginger probably in some quantity, gold in considerable quantity, borax probably in considerable quantity, musk in considerable quantity, small horses.

2nd.—The merchantable produce of Assam may be considered at more length under three heads of vegetable, mineral, and animal productions.

Sugarcane thrives in every part of Assam.

Vegetable productions. The cane of the best quality affords a granulated sugar, on experiment superior to the cane of Rungpore. The natives convert the juice into a substance (ghoor) unfit for granulation, and of little consequence as an article of export. But in respect to this article it may be confidently asserted, that proper encouragement would render it very valuable.

27. This statement still exhibits the principal imports. The quantity of goods of European manufacture has of late increased, and it is probable that there may hereafter be a considerable outlet for woollens at a sort of annual fair held on the confines of Durung, to which merchants from Thibet and the intermediate country resort.



*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

Pepper vine is cultivated in Kamroop, Derungh, Bassadoyungh in larger quantity, Bisswenath and other provinces of the kingdom possibly, in no great abundance anywhere, although the soil in many parts would seem extremely favourable to its cultivation.

Poppy grows in luxuriance in most of the Lower Provinces. The natives, however, are as yet unacquainted with the manufacture of merchantable opium, which might be procured in considerable quantity.

Indigo is cultivated in various parts of the kingdom, but in very inconsiderable quantity. Encouragement would probably render this a very valuable export.

Mustard seed. The plant is cultivated in great abundance. The seed and oil are articles of export, the latter, of universal consumption, within the kingdom.

Tobacco was procured in luxuriance in the Lower Provinces and of a superior quality in the higher. It was formerly an article of export.

Sooparee was produced in great quantity everywhere; the consumption among the inhabitants was enormous, yet it was formerly an article of export.

Ginger is produced everywhere in abundance.

Rice was, and is, produced in very great abundance. It is asserted positively that a scarcity has never been known to happen from natural causes. The nature of the seasons in Assam confirms the assertion. It might prove an invaluable export in times of famine in Bengal.

Gold is found in considerable quantity among the sands of the Mineral production. Burrampooteer and other streams which flow from the northern and southern mountains. It was formerly a source of considerable revenue to the monarch.

Iron might be procured at Bossadayungh, as well as from the Garrows, in considerable quantities.

28. This article thrives well, and the quantity would admit of being greatly increased. The price formerly used to be from ten to fifteen rupees per maund it is now much enhanced.

29. A great quantity of opium is produced and used by the inhabitants. In point of purity it is probably equal to that of Patna or Benares, but it is prepared in a different form, being reduced to a dry state by exposure to the air, spread on narrow slips of cloth, which are afterwards rolled up into small bales, and called Kance or Kappa.

30. The Burmese invasion has proved very destructive to the Sooparee groves; immense numbers having been cut down and still more destroyed by wild elephants after the villages were abandoned. This article is now one of import.

31. The quantity of gold would probably admit of much increase by the adoption of improved means of washing the sands containing it, which is at present done by the hand and apparently in a manner involving a great deal of unnecessary labor. The gold-dust is found in conjunction with a black sandy ore of iron, probably produced from the disintegration of granite. The gold is ultimately separated in the usual manner by long washing and subsequent trituration with mercury.





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

Saltpetre was procured everywhere in the Upper Provinces in considerable quantity, and might probably in time prove an article of export.

Lac—The quantity usually exported in favourable times, has not been ascertained, but we may presume, that it was not very inconsiderable from the actual produce, which we have lately observed.

Moongah silk seems to offer a most valuable and extensive article of export with proper encouragement, as the several trees on which the worm feeds, were cultivated in the utmost profusion, throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, with few exceptions. A coarser kind of silk is produced by worms which feed on the castor-oil trees.

Elephants' teeth have always been an article of export, and in the present desolated condition of the country might be procured in any quantity. Increase of population will necessarily diminish the possible quantity of this export.

Rhinoceros's horn was a trifling article of export.

Buffalo's hide has not hitherto proved an article of export.

Deer's skins—The animal abounds in Assam.

Until the geography, and other particulars of this and the neighbouring countries, be more particularly known, no decided judgment can be offered relative to the probable extent of the future commerce with Assam. It is certain, that an intercourse of some kind has existed with all the neighbouring nations, particularly with Jaintia, Kossaree, and even Sylhet, with the people of Mooglo, now in the possession of the King of Burma or Ava. It is possible that a communication with all the neighbouring nations might be rendered beneficial to commerce, with proper encouragement, during a considerable lapse of time, hitherto, we may suppose it has been very inconsiderable, unless, perhaps, in the single article of Bengal salt.

Commercial intercourse is much facilitated by the number of navigable streams, which intersect Assam in every direction, especially in the season of the rains, including a period of seven or eight months. Some of these flow from the mountains on the

32. The quantity of lac annually exported, previously to the late troubles, amounted to about 8, or 10,000 maunds. It might be increased to a great extent, but not very speedily. The trees upon which the insect feeds requiring a long time to grow to the requisite size.

33. This is an article of great value and importance, and which will probably prove a useful material in many of the mixed stuffs manufactured in England from its superior strength and durability to silk. The quantity at present exported is small, but it may be expected to increase very rapidly. Extensive plantations of the trees required for the support of the worms being everywhere to be seen abandoned by the proprietors during the late troubles. This tree also grows wild in the upper part of the country.

34. The quantity of salt imported during the year 1824-25 was only 25,000 maunds. The consumption of this article in Assam and the adjoining parts of Rungpore is much less than might be expected, with reference to the population, chiefly in consequence of the inhabitants very generally preferring an alkaline seasoning for their food, prepared from the ashes



northern and southern confines. Beyond the eastern confines, the great stream flows to a very great distance; but whether there be any navigation or commerce on that river beyond the limits of Assam is doubtful.

Commerce could never have been very considerable in Assam, under the discouraging restraints imposed by a Government particularly jealous of strangers. The subversion of all regular Government, and the desolation of the country, reduced it to nothing. The actual commerce is therefore very inconsiderable, though reviving, and it would be unreasonable to doubt, that it might in time, under the influence of the British Government be rendered extremely beneficial to both States.

*10th Question.*

"How far the pecuniary commutation proposed by you to be made by the Chiefs in lieu of the supplies of men has been carried into effect, and to what extent the supplies furnished in consequence of such commutation have contributed to defray the expenses of the detachment?"

*Answer to 10th Question.*

The pecuniary commutation in lieu of the levy of men proposed by the Rajahs of Derung and Beltola in June 1793 is so far carried into effect, that since the period before mentioned, the service of men has not been exacted from them; and of the stipulated annual sum of Rs. 51,600 to be paid by them and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of the detachment, I have received Rs. 10,000.

*11th Question.*

"What is the amount of expenses of the detachment in consequence of the service in which they are employed over and above the ordinary expenses attending it, and whether you know any mode by which these extraordinary expenses may be defrayed."

*Answer to 11th Question.*

In making a calculation of the extraordinary expense attending the detachment and deputation, I have been careful not to omit any allowance, which I conceive to be incident to their situation. I have supposed the European officers to be on an average entitled to full batta, and the Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates, to half time of full and half, of half batta.

*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

of plants. Potash and soda are both used for this purpose, the latter being manufactured by burning certain aquatic plants, some of which are found in a wild state, and others cultivated for this express purpose.

35. The river is not navigable much beyond Sudeeya, nor is there any trade of consequence carried on in that quarter.

36. This arrangement was not adhered to. The commutation for services would be most acceptable to the peasantry, and, with some restrictions rendered necessary by local circumstances, and the habits of the people, it might be adopted with much advantage.

37. The future defence of Assam will involve no expense that could otherwise be avoided, and the security of our own Provinces would on the contrary be most easily and effectually provided for by occupying the country as far as the 93 degree of East Longitude which would bring the troops on the Burhampooter into communication with those on the Soormah.





*Abstract of the monthly extra expense attending the detachment and deputation in Assam.*

European officers, &c., &c.	Average of half month, half batta to the Troops, exclusive of European Commissioned Officers.	Expense of the detachment in Assam support, full batta to be the average for European Commissioned and half batta for half month for the Troops.	Expense of the detachments in Assam or double full batta.	Extra expenses incurred by the detachments and deputation.
<b>16th Battalion.</b>	<b>S. Rs. A. P.</b>	<b>S. Rs. A. P.</b>	<b>S. Rs. A. P.</b>	<b>S. Rs. A. P.</b>
1 Captain ... ..	.....	415 0 0	595 0 0	180 0 0
8 Lieutenants ... ..	.....	2,386 0 0	3,064 0 0	763 0 0
1 Adjutant, including his staff allowance ... ..	.....	389 0 0	485 0 0	98 0 0
1 Sergeant Major ... ..	2 8 0	5 0 0	.....	2 8 0
1 Quarter Master Sergeant ... ..	2 8 0	5 0 0	.....	2 8 0
The different Ranks and Departments of the Battalion.	734 12 0	1,469 8 0	.....	734 12 0
Allowance for Halkarras and Guides	.....	.....	.....	160 0 0
Probable amount for boat allowance to 9 Subalterns 16th Battalion.	.....	.....	.....	720 0 0
<b>Detachment, 27th Battalion.</b>				
2 Lieutenants ... ..	.....	574 0 0	766 0 0	192 0 0
The different Ranks and Departments of this Detachment.	234 12 0	469 8 0	.....	234 12 0
Probable amount for boat allowance to 2 Subalterns	.....	.....	.....	160 0 0
<b>Detachment Staff.</b>				
1 Adjutant's staff allowance, &c. ... ..	.....	287 0 0	465 0 0	198 0 0
1 Quarter Master ... ..	.....	.....	.....	157 0 0
1 Assistant Surgeon ... ..	.....	287 0 0	383 0 0	96 0 0
1 Quarter Master Sergeant ... ..	2 8 0	25 0 0	.....	22 8 0
Quarter Master's Establishment... ..	.....	.....	.....	158 4 0
1 Tindal and 9 Lascars of Artillery	63 4 0	74 4 0	.....	11 0 0
Boats for the transportation of the Troops on an average.	.....	.....	.....	2,300 0 0
<b>Expenses incident to the Deputation.</b>				
Captain Welsh's salary Sica Rs. 1,500 ... ..	.....	.....	.....	1,567 9 1
Ditto average of contingent bill for Durbar charges.	.....	.....	.....	850 0 0
Captain Welsh's probable boat allowance ... ..	.....	.....	.....	290 0 0
Ditto ditto ditto for transporting public servants.	.....	.....	.....	60 0 0
Assistant to the deputation, his salary Sica Rs. 200.	.....	.....	.....	209 0 2
Assistant to the deputation, his probable boat allowances.	.....	.....	.....	145 0 0
Mr. S. P. Wade, his salary Sica Rs. 100 ... ..	.....	.....	.....	104 8 4
Ditto his probable boat allowances	.....	.....	.....	80 0 0
Total amount of extra expenses attending the detachment and deputation monthly.	.....	.....	.....	9,489 5 4
Total ditto ditto annually...	.....	.....	.....	1,13,872 0 0

*Abstract of the sums to be paid annually for the purpose of defraying part of the expense of the detachment, &c.*

	<b>Rs. A. P.</b>
By the joint-Rajahs of Derung in lieu of the levy of men	50,000 0 0
Do. the Beltolah Rajah ditto ditto ... ..	1,600 0 0
Do. Bisnarain, from Kamroop ... ..	51,000 0 0
Do. Collections of the Candahar Chokey, an overplus of the sum of Rs. 12,000 to be paid to the Rajah, the amount not yet ascertained ... ..	0 0 0
<b>Total amount</b> ... ..	<b>1,02,600 0 0</b>



*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

The Surgee Deo has promised that on his arrival at the capital, the arrears due on account of the detachment, &c., shall be discharged, and mode adopted for the regular payment of the expense attending it, which I have represented to him, as amounting annually to about 3 lakhs of rupees, and the resources which may contribute to produce this sum are abundant.

*12th Question.*

"You are further desired to state generally what in your opinion is still necessary or proper to be done for the arrangement of the affairs of Assam, considering that arrangement as concluded by the establishment of the Rajah's authority, combined with the general assurances which you were authorized to make in conformity to the instructions of Marquis Cornwallis."

*Answer to 12th Question.*

In the progress to the establishment of the Rajah's authority throughout his kingdom, I am of opinion that the original form of government, in all its parts, should be preserved as nearly as possible. The little intercourse the natives of Assam were formerly permitted to have with strangers, has rendered them bigotted to the forms and customs of their own country, and innovations which would even prove beneficial to them must be introduced, with some degree of caution. They are naturally of a distrustful and jealous disposition, and it will require time to get the better of their prejudices.

38. In the present state of society in Assam, the ancient constitution would not admit of much improvement. That it is fully adequate to insure good government it would be too much to affirm, but if means were taken to raise the character and qualifications of the nobility by an improved system of education, it can scarcely be doubted that with all its imperfections this system would prove greatly superior to the simple despotism of Cooch Behar, and other subordinate States, where the Chief too often delegates his authority to servants who have anything but the interest of his subjects at heart and who are suffered without check or control to carry oppression and misgovernment to an extent that under other circumstances would not be compatible either with the safety of their Sovereign or the continuance of their own power.

All that appears to me necessary for the arrangement of affairs in Assam, is to effect the union of the Chiefs, without which energy cannot be restored to the Government, and as the Rajah is incapable of either judging or acting right, it is proper that the Government of his country should be vested in the aristocracy; and to prevent the conflict of opinions and interests among the Chiefs which would inevitably produce factions and civil discord, it appears to me advisable that the British Government should continue its mediating and controlling influence, as the only means of preserving order and tranquillity.

*13th Question.*

"What in your opinion would be the consequence of recalling the detachment from Assam without further measures or interference on the part of this Government."





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

*Answer to 13th Question.*

The contest for influence, power and independence, would revive among the first officers of State, the dependent Rajahs and the petty Chiefs of districts and towns. The same confusion, devastation and massacre would ensue. Assam would experience a state of desolation, greater in proportion to the temporary restraints, which the British influence had imposed on the inhumanity of the monarch, the ambition and resentment of the Chiefs, and the vengeance of the people. Kissnarain would either abandon his country or recall his Burkandasses, for in defiance of any possible stipulation in his favor, he might reasonably expect and would certainly fear private assassination. The obnoxious ministers and favorites would be immediately restored to their offices. Every individual, who had been observed to cultivate the friendship of the British, would flee the country, with the well-grounded apprehension of destruction from the ministers, or their connections. Commerce would again be suppressed by the confusion prevalent in the country, and the monopoly would revive in its pristine vigour. The monarch, whose person is too sacred for assassination, would probably be compelled to abandon his kingdom again.

Such would be the consequences of a cessation of the British influence, until a long course of regular administration shall have operated an entire revolution in the habits of the principal Chiefs, and in the minds of the people and in predicting the evils which would result from the recall of the detachment. I have been guided not by my own opinion alone, but by that of the most respectable natives, with whom I have had intercourse; the Rajah himself has repeatedly declared that with the detachment he would quit his kingdom. Sindoorah Hazaree has the charge of 1,000 Ghot Pykes, and is one of those petty Chiefs who taking advantage of the confusion of the times, asserted his own independence and became the leader of a faction. Lieutenant MacGregor invited him to attend at Kalliabar, which he evaded doing by frequent excuses, and considering his attendance necessary to effect the object of his deputation, Lieutenant MacGregor detached Deen Diall, Naick, with orders to bring Sindoorah Hazaree to Kalliabar.

*P. S.*—Omission under the head of monarchy.

To absolve the monarch from the lesser, and to assist him in the greater cares of Government, two executive officers were added to the monarchy, viz., the Teepaum and Seringh Rajahs. Their titles are derived





*Notes by Mr. D. Scott.*

from the districts annexed to their office, their jurisdiction in their respective districts was similar to the Gohains..

Their rank next to the monarch, their duties to communicate the deliberations or decrees of the aristocracy to the monarch, to receive, promulgate, or carry into execution, his consequent orders. On less important occasions the decrees of the aristocracy might be promulgated by these officers, without application to the monarch.

The two brothers next in succession to the throne, became Teopam and Seringh Rajahs, and in failure of brothers the senior nephew according to the usual course of succession to the throne.

The aristocracy who possessed a legal power of deposing an unworthy monarch might certainly have exercised a similar power, in the instance of the two presumptive successors.

This was not however always the case. Princes who had been disqualified by mutilation being frequently appointed to those offices.





## APPENDIX B.

## NOTIFICATIONS DEFINING THE "INNER LINE" OF BRITISH JURISDICTION IN FRONTIER DISTRICTS—(PAGE 55).

*I.—Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 631 P., dated the 8th March 1876.*

Under the provisions of Section 2 of Regulation V of 1873 (*a Regulation for the Peace and Government of certain Districts on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal*) the Governor General in Council hereby notifies that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" under that Regulation in the District of Durrung :—

From the eastern boundary of the district of Kámrúp, that is, from the pillar No. 98 on the Bor Nadi, the line shall follow, in an easterly direction, the southern boundaries of Bhután (including the countries of the Kariapára and Charduar Bhutias) and of the Akha and Duffa Hills, as defined by the Revenue Survey in the years 1872-73-74-75, and demarcated by pillars Nos. 98 to 160 inclusive. From pillar No. 160 the line shall run in a south-easterly direction to the point where the Balum River cuts the northern boundary of the Singlijan waste land grant No. 18. Thence the line shall follow the eastern boundary of the Singlijan grant No. 18 to the point where the boundary cuts the Duffa Gar.\* Thence the line shall follow the Duffa Gar to a point on the Mora Sessa River, being the north-westerly extremity of the "Inner Line" of the Luckhimpur District, as notified in the *Gazette of India*, page 452, of the 4th September 1875.

Under the provisions of the section above quoted, the Governor General in Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subjects from going beyond the "Inner Line" hereby notified, without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of Durrung.

*II.—Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 2427 P., dated the 30th September 1875.*

Under the provisions of Section 2 of Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I. of 1873 (*Regulation for the Peace and Government of certain districts on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal*), the Governor General in Council hereby notifies that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" under that Regulation in the District of Luckhimpore :—

From the eastern boundary of the District of Darrang, that is, from a point on the Mora Sessa River, the line shall follow the course of the Rajghur Ali to the Subansiri river. It shall deviate from the Rajghur Ali, so as to follow the western, northern and eastern boundaries of the Harmati No. 55 and Joyhing No. 65 waste-land grants. From the Subansiri to a point on the Sessi River, marked by a masonry pillar, it shall follow a line, to be hereafter marked out, along the foot of the Abor Meree hills. From the masonry pillar on the Sessi River, it shall follow the patrol path to the Dimu out-post ;

\* The Duffa Gar is a high embanked road running along the frontier, which as the Rajghur Alee is continued along the Luckhimpore border. The Regulation was suspended in 1878 in favour of the Towang Bhutias in respect of Natives of Durrung crossing the line for purposes of the Bhutia trade. (Political Proceedings (India), March 1876, Nos. 515-8, July 1879, Nos. 3-7.





thence along the patrol path to the Pubha out-post. From the Pubha out-post it shall follow the patrol path to the confluence of the Lali and the Brahmaputra Rivers; thence it shall follow the right bank of the Brahmaputra and Dibang Rivers to the junction of the latter river with the Sessiri opposite the Sessiri out-post. From the Sessiri out-post to the Dikrang out-post, the line shall follow the patrol path; thence to the masonry pillar on the right bank of the Brahmaputra River it shall follow the patrol path. From the said masonry pillar it shall run along the right bank of the Brahmaputra River to the confluence of the Noa Dihang with that river; then it shall follow the left bank of the Noa Dihang River to its confluence with the Kherampani River; thence along the right bank of the Kherampani and Dihang Rivers to the confluence of the latter river with the Namsang River; thence along the left bank of the Namsang River to a masonry pillar near the Hukanjuri tea garden; thence it shall follow the path connecting the Hukanjuri with the Taurack tea garden to a masonry pillar on the right bank of the Disang River, near the latter garden. Then along the right bank of the Disang as far as the Ludoigarh Ali.

Under the provision of the section above quoted, the Governor General in Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subjects from going beyond the "Inner Line" hereby notified without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of Luchimpore.

*III.—Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 1486 P., dated the 21st June 1876.*

Under the provisions of Section 2 of Regulation V of 1873 (*a Regulation for the Peace and Government of certain districts on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal*) the Governor General in Council hereby notifies that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" under that Regulation in the District of Sebsaugor:—

The line shall follow the southern Revenue Survey boundary of the district from its eastern limit, namely, a point on the Disang River, to its western limit, namely, a point on the Doyang River.

Under the provisions of the section above quoted, the Governor General in Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subjects from going beyond the "Inner Line" hereby notified, without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of Sebsaugor.

*Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 330 E. P., dated the 24th February 1882.*

In modification of the Foreign Department Notification No. 1486 P., dated the 21st June 1876, and under the provisions of Section 2, Regulation I of 1873, the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that the line described below shall be the Inner Line under that Regulation in the District of Sebsaugor:—

2. The line shall follow its present course from the Doyang River to the Desoi River, up the Desoi River to the foot of the hills, thence skirting the hills till the River Jhanzi is reached, down this river to the point where the present line intersects it, and thence along the course of the present Inner Line to the Disang River.\*

\* The effect of this amended notification was to push the Inner Line out to the foot of the hills, and take in tracts covered with valuable forest, not in the actual occupation of Nagas. The local officers were cautioned, however, against rash reservation of forests in the tract thus included, and against creating needless apprehensions of encroachment on supposed Naga rights. (Political Proceedings, India, August 1877, No. 319-22, March 1882, Nos. 38-46.)





*IV.—Notification by the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 2299 P., dated the 20th August 1875, as modified under G. O. No. 1240, dated 19th June 1878.*

Under the provisions of Section 2 of Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I of 1873 (a Regulation for the Peace and Government of certain districts on the Eastern

Cachar.

Frontier of Bengal), the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" on the southern frontier of the District of Cachar:—

A line commencing from the site of the out-post established during the Lushai Expedition of 1871-72, a few miles north of the Chatter Choor Peak, and running thence to the out-posts of Jhalnacherra along the track cut by the police to connect the out-posts of Chatter Choor and Jhalnacherra; thence along the Dullessur River, in a southern direction, to the south-west corner of the Jhalnacherra grant, as revised after survey in 1872; thence along the southern boundary of the Jhalnacherra grant, across the Jhalnacherra Khall to the top of the range of hills immediately to the east of that Khall; thence along the said range in a northern direction to Baroocherra grant; thence along the southern and eastern boundaries of the Baroocherra grant, to the north-eastern corner of the grant. From the north-eastern corner of the Baroocherra grant, along the ridge which leads from that grant for a distance of two miles to a pucca pillar. Thence in an easterly direction to the Rengti Pahar range (this line being marked by three pucca pillars); thence along the ridge of the Rengti Pahar range in a northern direction, as far as the point where that range bifurcates into two smaller ones, the one leading to the Claverhouse, the other to the Bara Jalinga grant. From the point of bifurcation the line follows the ridge of the western branch of the Rengti Pahar, as far as the source of the Jalinga; then along the Jalinga River to the south-east corner of the Sonacherra grant; and along the eastern boundaries of Sonacherra and Nowarband grants to a point where the police road meets the latter. Thence it follows the police road to the Rukini River and then runs in a south-easterly direction to the western boundary of the Monierkhall grant; and follows the west and south boundaries of that grant to the River Sonai along which it runs to the north to the opening of the police road to Mynadbur, which it follows to the western boundary of that grant. It then runs along the west and south boundaries of Mynadbur grant to the River Barak.

Under the provision of the section above quoted, the Governor General in Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subjects from going beyond the "Inner Line" hereby notified without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar

*V.—Notification by the Government of Bengal, dated the 30th June 1879—(Political Proceedings (India), March 1879, Nos. 143-62).*

With the sanction of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, it is hereby notified, under the provisions of Section 2, Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation I of 1873 (a Regulation for the Peace and Government of certain districts on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal), that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" of the Chittagong Hill Tracts:—

This line of boundary commences at the hill station marked S, south of Belting Sib 2234, on the Jampoi range of hills forming the Hill Tipperah eastern frontier; it then runs along the whole course of the "Tulenpu" or "Sujjuk" River to its junction with the Karnafuli River, a little north of Demagiri; thence it continues eastwards along this stream up to the junction of the "Tui Chong" River, after which it follows the whole course of this river to a point immediately to the south-east of the hill station of the Ohipum No. 5; then turning westwards, crosses the Ohipum range of hills, and joins the Thega Khall at a point midway between the hill stations of Saichal, Nos. 2 and 3, after which it follows the course of the Thega Khall River to its source; then again turns south-westwards and follows the water-shed of the Weyhong range of hills, until it meets the southern hill station of Keokradong on the south-eastern boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, following the water-shed until it meets the frontier of that portion of the Arracan Hill Tracts in which order and regularity are maintained.





2. It is further notified, under the provisions of Section 2 of the said Regulation, that all British subjects except the Lushais of the Thanglova and Syloo clans and the members of the frontier police while on active duty, are strictly prohibited from going beyond the inner line without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, or of such other officer as he may authorize to grant such pass.

3. The following form of pass is prescribed under Section 4 of the said Regulation :—

This pass is granted to \_\_\_\_\_, son of \_\_\_\_\_  
resident of \_\_\_\_\_ It authorizes him to go beyond the  
inner line of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and will remain in force from \_\_\_\_\_  
to \_\_\_\_\_

The holder of this pass shall not collect any forest produce or tap India-rubber or kill any elephant whilst within the Lushai country.

He shall produce this pass whenever called on to do so by any officer or private of the Frontier Police Force in charge of a frontier post or on patrol duty.

4. A fee of one rupee shall be payable on each pass, and no pass shall remain in force for more than six calendar months.





## APPENDIX C.

## THE SEEBSAUGOR NAGAS IN 1873—(PAGE 98).

*From P. T. CARNEGIE, Esq., Assistant Commissioner of Jorehaut, to the Deputy Commissioner of Seebaugor,—No. 415, dated Jorehaut, the 10th July 1873.*

In compliance with the request expressed in your demi-official letter lately received, I have the honour to submit such information as I possess regarding the Naga tribes inhabiting the hills lying on the southern boundary of the Jorehaut sub-division. The tribes of whom we have any actual knowledge inhabit merely the outer edge of the hills which extend from the southern boundary of the Assam valley to Burma; none of the people we see come from villages more than three days' journey from the plains. We know scarcely more of the real Naga than we should do of the Khasi Hills were our communications from the Assam side cut off at Nungpo, and there was no way into them from Sylhet. Of the tribes beyond, who are called Abors, but who are, of course, Nagas, we know nothing; none of them, so far as I am aware, having ever been seen in the plains; nor would it appear did Colonel Brodie succeed in getting any of them to come into his camp when in these hills. They are prevented from doing so by our friends who know what the advantage of holding trade in their own hands is, and carefully exclude their more remote neighbours from intercourse with us. With regard to them also they are very chary of giving information, always when questioned saying the Abors are wild savages who know nothing and try to kill every one who goes near their villages, but they cannot deny that most of the cotton and other things they bring down comes from the Abor villages, and that the Abors who consume most of the salt and rotten fish they take away, *also buy the dhaoos*.

2. In the cold season of 1844 Colonel Brodie, then Deputy Commissioner of the Seebaugor District, made a tour through the hills, marking from the Dikhoo to the Doyang, and in the course of it passing through a number of the villages lying between the Janjhee and Kakodonga, the eastern and western boundaries of this sub-division, he met with no opposition and took agreements from the different chiefs, in which they acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and undertook to abstain from making war on each other. These agreements, however, do not appear to have been strictly observed at any time, and very soon became a dead letter. So far as I am aware, Colonel Brodie was the first British officer who visited this tract of country and the last. Soon after his time the policy of Government with regard to the treatment of the hill people changed, and our officers were discouraged from interfering with them or visiting the hills, while no occasion has ever arisen for sending any expedition into their country. As Colonel Brodie found the different Naga communications in 1844, so I believe they will be found now. Progress there has been little or none, and their history has been one series of petty raids and broils, each tribe keeping up one or more blood feuds with some of its neighbours, or the still wilder tribes beyond. But they have made no raid into the plains since our occupancy of Assam, nor so far as I can ascertain for a long time before it, though they appear to have received "black-mail" in former days from the Assam rulers. These tribes are neither so strong nor so well organized as the tribes to the east of the Janjhee. The difference in the latter respect exists now, with a few exceptions, as it did when Colonel Brodie made his journey. He on this point says:—"The Nagas come down here to Samsha in very large numbers, and I was somewhat fearful of an outbreak, for a great many of the chiefs were in a state of intoxication and appeared to have very little control over their followers. We saw a marked difference in this respect here and as we went on westward. Hitherto we had found the chiefs sober and their orders readily obeyed, but henceforward we were to meet with nothing but drunken rabbles. In each village there are dozens of aspirants for power, and we had daily to witness brawls between them that threatened to be serious, and perhaps lead to collision with us. By great forbearance, however, on the part of my escort things went on as well as could be hoped for, and we completed our tour without any untoward occurrence."

3. These Nagas, like those to both west and east, are armed with spear and dhao the latter being by all accounts the weapon on which they mainly depend for real hand-to-hand work. They sometimes use the shield and sometimes not. They, so far as I



know, do not use fire-arms to any extent, though a certain amount of old muskets must have found their way into the hills. Since I have been here one trader has been convicted of selling fire-arms to Nagas, but they were Angamis from Samagooting, who are superior in intelligence to our Nagas, and more fitted to make use of fire-arms efficiently. As things are, I believe fifty good men, well armed, could go wherever they chose and take any village in these hills. The fighting which goes on at present is nearly all of a sneaking and desultory kind, there being few or no attempts at open attack. Every village is constantly prepared against surprise, parties of their men keeping continual watch and ward over the village gate-ways.

4. The people of all the tribes known to us are great traders, and parties of them are continually to be met with in the cold season, when they bring down cotton, chillies, ginger, &c., and take away salt, iron, dhao, fish, and pariah pups. It is, I believe, their appreciation of the value of this trade that makes the Nagas peaceable neighbours to us. By the stoppage of it they would not only lose much profit, but be pressed by the Abors from behind, who just now are satisfied with getting what they want; but if supplies were cut off would insist on pressing forward to trade for themselves direct. In 1872, when the Mekilai and Jongpay doocars were blockaded, they began to complain that the Abors were threatening them because their salt was stopped. From this trade the different tribes must have amassed a large amount of material wealth, especially of late from rubber, on the purchase of which large sums have been spent, but in this respect, at all events, it appears that for the present they have killed the goose which laid the golden eggs, for the two latest parties who were here complained that their trees had ceased to yield rubber; to which their Kotogi added that it was no wonder, for they had been chopping them all over from the roots to the upper branches. Unfortunately, too, much money is now squandered by Nagas on opium, and many of them, particularly from the nearer tribes, are confirmed eaters of the drug. Some opium is grown in the hills, but not enough for the consumption there, so considerable quantities of Government opium are taken away by Nagas. The Nagas who have regularly taken to opium are miserable specimens of humanity, and it is a great pity that this evil habit should ever have taken root amongst them.

5. Intercourse with the different tribes is maintained through interpreters or Kotogis residing in the plains in some village near their paths. The Kotogis are in possession of the land held by each tribe or group of tribes and make what they can out of it in return entertaining the Nagas when they come down. It is the custom also for the Nagas to leave their spears at their Kotogi's house as they come down from the hills on trading expeditions, and to reclaim them on their return. In every tribe on this border, however, some men are to be found who have learnt Assamese, and are spokesmen for the rest when brought in contact with the plains people. In dealing with the tribes these men are very useful. I have always found them very sensible in their ideas, considering what their opportunities for acquiring knowledge are, and they are not such great liars as the Kotogis, though quite bad enough in that respect.

6. The Nagas we have to deal with here are divided into three main groups according to the paths or "doocars" they use. These are—beginning at the west corner of the sub-

*Bortolla Doocars.*

Lakootee.  
Ahook.  
Akokat.  
Mekilai.  
Jongpay.

*Hattigur Doocars.*

Bordoobija.  
Mookesgaon.  
Japhoo.  
Mooneing.  
Samaha.  
Booragaon.  
Holabureea.

*Assyringia Doocars.*

Nowgong.  
Assyringia.  
Lassoo.  
Kampoengia.  
Dekho Hymeng.  
Bura Hymeng.

division—first, the Bortolla doocars which are the paths debouching near the Kakodonga stream (the west boundary of the sub-division); second, the Hattigur doocars or paths coming out where the Desoi flows from the hills, and the place where the great elephant trap of the Assamese kings ended,—hence the name of Hattigur; third, the Assyringia doocars, which include the paths between Debrapour and the Janjhee River, the eastern boundary of the sub-division. In the margin is a list of tribes using each doocar, taken according to situation from west to east. The group of Naga communities using each doocar speak the same language, or at all events dialects so much alike as to be easily understood by all. The language of the different groups differs entirely, the men from Bortolla and Assyringia meeting cannot understand each other in the least.





7. The Lakootee and Akhook tribes are not properly Jorehaut Nagas, as they live in the hills overhanging Mukrung and Gilladharee in Golaghaut, but they occasionally use the Bortolla dooar, and are in alliance with the Jongpays, through whose village they pass and re-pass. Both villages are strong and large for this part of the frontier. They were estimated by Colonel Brodie to contain 200 and 300 inhabitants, and these numbers have not, so far as I can learn, decreased, as the tribes have not for years been seriously cut up and have had additions to their populations by runaways from the Jongpay Suree and Malussee tribes. Lakootee is the strongest village of the two, and is under two Chiefs who have more control over their followers than is usual amongst the Jorehaut Nagas. One of these Chiefs is a young and energetic man, who, when we were blockading the Sonarigaon tribe in 1872, offered to go and clear out the Sonarigaon village if Captain Blathwayt would give him a dozen old muskets, and was believed to be in earnest and ready to do what he offered.\*

\* This village is at an elevation of about 4500 feet, and the highest of all now referred to.

Coming down to Bortolla from Lakootee and Akhook the Jongpay village is passed, though this belongs to a weak and rather miserable tribe of about sixty families, who are supported almost entirely by trading, and do not grow enough grain for their consumption. When their dooar was blockaded in 1872 they were very hardly put to it, and when the blockade was raised were just on the point of abandoning their village and going off to join the Mekilais *en masse*. The Jongpays are a comparatively harmless set, but are allies of the Mekilais, and most of them have taken heads either from the Hattigurias or Abor tribes in the usual sneaking way. Jongpay lies low and only about five hours' journey from the foot of the hills. The people are physically very poor specimens of Nagas.

8. On the same range as the Jongpays, and using the same dooars, but further to the east, lie two villages named Tunee and Malussee. They were attacked and destroyed by the Hattigurias in their great outbreak, and suffered considerably. The remnant of the Surees, numbering some sixty fighting men, immigrated to Lakootee. The Malusees struck south into the hills about two days' journey; and on the border of the country held by the Abors at a place named Akookot they found a small tribe with whom they coalesced, and they now represent their village as containing about 200 houses. These Nagas are great traders, and are, so far as can be learnt from them, just now at peace with all their neighbours.

9. On the eastern flank of the country held by the Akookot people lies the Mekilai tribe, about a day and half's journey from the plains. The village was visited by Colonel Brodie, and is described by him as "a very large and strongly-stocked village." It is the strongest and most populous of this group, and has been the barrier against the Hattigurias, who but for its existence would have cleared out all the country up to the Kokodonga. The tribe numbers, so far as I can learn, about 500 fighting men, and though they have had many losses in war, their numbers have been pretty well kept up by men from weaker tribes joining them. There was in Colonel Brodie's time a village called Mohom lying between them and the plains, the inhabitants of which have gone over to Mekilais *en masse*. The Mekilais have been at continual feud with the Hattigurias in general, and the Bordoobyas clan in particular, for many years, and there have been continual losses on both sides. The clan have a bad name for turbulence, but have given us no real trouble. They have had several squabbles with the owners of the Borhola garden, but it has never gone further than words, except on one occasion, some seven years ago, when they cut down some tea bushes in an out garden which they declared to be on their land. The police went out, but the Nagas had of course gone off long before their arrival. Some time after an attempt was made to burn down the Borhola factory, but that was the work of a drunken man, who was severely thrashed by his own friends for it.

10. The Mekilais, like most of the other tribes, have no particular Chief, but are, when sober, guided to a certain extent by four or five middle-aged men, who have earned a reputation as warriors.

11. To the east of Mekilais and in sight of it is Bordoobyas, the most westerly of the Hattigur group and the strongest on the Jorehaut frontier. The Bordoobyas number, so far as I can learn, some 600 or 700 fighting men, who were, until about three years ago, kept pretty well in hand under one Chief. This Chief, Lalong, had much influence and must have been an able man. About three years ago he fell into an ambush and was killed; a party of Mekilais were lurking near a stream under Bordoobyas on the look-out for heads one morning, and had an extraordinary piece of luck, for Lalong, accompanied



by only two followers, came down to look at a fish-trap, and was, of course, killed. The Mekilais are exceedingly proud of this fact, and it was acted in pantomime before me with great *eclat*. The Naga story goes that after the Bordoobya Chief was down, but still alive, one of the Mekilais commenced cutting off his head, but in a bungling way, when the Chief reviled him for carrying a blunt dhao, and said "take my dhao which is always sharp and cut my head off properly." Some years after Colonel Brodie's visit the Bordoobyas suddenly attacked the Samsha village, one of considerable size, and took it. Those of the inhabitants who escaped fled to the plains for shelter, and the tribe has never recovered since; some of them are now ordinary ryots in the plains and a few live on a hillock just over the Honwal tea garden in an open village. They have never been molested by the Bordoobyas, and are quite friendly with them now. The origin of the attack was, I believe, a dispute about jhoom land, the Samshas having taken up a piece which had been previously cleared by the Bordoobyas. It was after the attack on Samsha that the Bordoobyas pressed on to the west and destroyed the Suree and Malusee villages. So far as I ascertain, the tribe has only given us trouble on one occasion since Colonel Brodie's visit to the hills, that was about twenty years ago, when they lifted a number of cattle from Moreeanee mouzah. A guard was then sent out to their dooar, and after a little pressure the cattle which had not been eaten were returned, and compensation received for those that were. About eight years ago a murder was committed by one of the clan near the Honwal factory. The murderer was given up, and on conviction sentenced to transportation. The murdered man was a shop-keeper who had cheated the Naga about the sale of some opium, and he in revenge came down and killed him. In addition to their Mekilai feud the Bordoobyas say they have much fighting with the Abors to the south, and I have no doubt this is true. They are physically good specimens of Nagas for this frontier.

12. None of the other villages forming the Hattygur group are of such importance as Bordoobya. Kolabona is the next largest, and the others are comparatively small. All lying further to the east and north than Bordoobya have that village as a sort of Bulwark between them and the Abors and Mekilais; all are in alliance, and join on great occasions in raids. They have always been peaceful so far as we are concerned. The villages are none of them nearer the plains than the second range of hills. Bordoobya and Moonsing lie on the third.

13. The tribes using the Debraprar dooars nearly all live on the ridge between the plains and the Tiroo, a tributary of the Janjhee. The hills are from about 1,500 to 2,500 feet high, and immediately overhanging the Terai and visible from them. The villages are all small, numbering from 40 to about 120 houses, and well disposed to us. In the cold season numbers of these Nagas come down and work for the planters at jungle-cutting. They also supply the factories with mats. The villages are all strongly stockaded, however, and they indulge in raiding and counter-raiding with tribes beyond. The Rampoongya people call themselves disciples of the Dukhinpat Gossain, and every year some of them pay him a visit and make some offerings. Their conversion to Hindooism, however, is only in name. They say the Gossain did once explain a great deal about religion to a deputation from the tribe, but that what it was all about they have altogether forgotten. They, however, pretended not to eat beef, but that is only a pretence. One Chief, Ambugoo by name, has more hold over them than is the case with the other tribes. He considers himself very civilized, and is very fond of wearing a beaver hat and dress coat, with which a European gentleman presented him. The Rampoongya village has been twice visited by Mr. Begg of Deehingapar factory (the second time about four months ago), who has always been very hospitably received. He describes the village as very difficult of access, the situation having been skilfully chosen so as to allow of only two very narrow approaches. The village itself, however, is commanded by another height within easy rifle range, so that it could not be held for any time against an attack by well armed troops. The strength of all these villages lies in the difficulty of access; but I fancy that as it is with Rampoongya, so it is with most, and that they could not be held against well armed men.

14. To the south of these villages and on the higher ridge between the Tiroo and Janjhee lie the two Hymang villages; these are larger than Rampoongya and the other villages near it, but far inferior in strength to the better organized tribes east of the Janjhee. The Dekho Hymang village was during the past cold weather visited by Mr. Clark of the Sebsaugor American Mission. He met with a hospitable reception and good treatment, and I believe a large number of the tribe expressed a wish to become Christians. They have had indeed a catechist amongst them for some time. The Kansingias are in the habit of bullying and levying black-mail from these villages, and





in 1871, when I was at Gabhuroo Purbat, a party had just been down selling some property to make up a sum of sixty rupees in cash, that being the sum the Kansingias had demanded with the alternative of attack in case of refusal.

15. There is no marked physical difference between the Nagas of different tribes on this frontier except that the men from the lower-lying villages near the plains are inferior in size to those coming from the higher tribes. In dress, such as it is, all are pretty much alike, only each clan has its own tartan. Generally, in their own villages, all the men and women wear a very small piece of cloth secured by a string round the waist, and very often, the men at least, dispense with that. The women when they come down to the plains wear a short kilt. Every one except the very poorest has a cloth in addition. This cloth is of cotton, dyed black, and dark shades of red, blue, and green, arranged in stripes differing with different tribes. This cloth is worn over the shoulders. The spears carried by the different tribes also differ in pattern, though all are of the ordinary Naga kind, the difference is in the length of the shaft and situation of the ornamental tufts of red and black goat's hair on it.

16. The Nagas on this frontier do not tattoo their faces as a mark of manhood, but when one of them has taken his first head he is entitled to wear the Kapantali, that is a slip of bamboo about eighteen inches long and an inch and a half broad covered with fine cane work, dyed yellow and red, and fringed with red and black goats' hairs, or in some cases human hair. This they wear strung round the neck exactly like the piece of stick villagers tie round their goats' necks to prevent them getting through fences. On taking a second head the man assumes a collar of boar's tusks round his neck, which he wears ever after; and for a third head he is entitled to wear on great occasions an apron covered with cowrie shells, and is looked upon as a great warrior, and keeps a tally of heads taken on his cloth. This tally is on a white stripe let into the middle of the sheet, and is kept in a pattern painted on it. I have counted up to twenty-five heads on a Mekilai's cloth. All these he declared were taken with his own hands, and included those of men, women, and children indiscriminately. Some of these heads were, no doubt, taken in fair fight, but the majority were those of wretched old women surprised out on the "jhoom," or at some spring. The full moon is the usual time chosen for head-hunting expeditions, when smaller or large parties start off. They practice divining before going out, and if the omens are bad will not start. The mode which they have shown me was a very simple one. The leader of the intended war party simply cuts two thin chips of wood about the size of the thumb nail, and holding them lightly together between his finger and thumb lets them fall on the ground from a height of eighteen inches or so; if the chips fall and lie close together on the ground, the omen is favourable and the party start. If the chips fall apart, then they put off the expedition to another day. I believe they have other modes of divination which they would not show as they were evidently averse to talking on the subject, and very reluctantly explained their chip system.

17. Even when enemies, the different tribes seem to intermarry. This was even the case between the Bordoobyas and Mekilais until a short time ago, when a party of men from the latter tribe escorted a woman of their village to the home of a man of Bordoobya who had taken her to wife. These men were hospitably entertained and made drunk, then when on their way home again were set upon and killed. This was considered even by Nagas as a very black piece of treachery.

18. So far as I can make out these Nagas have no particular sense of religion, but dread the influence of evil spirits, and endeavour to propitiate them in times of sickness or misfortune by sacrifices of animals, from cocks up to buffaloes, according to the emergency of the case.

19. The Assamese accuse the Nagas of cattle-stealing, and I have no doubt a good many stolen cattle find their way into the hills, but I question if, except in very rare instances, the Nagas are the actual thieves, though they are always ready to buy cattle without any questions asked. In only one instance, since I have been here, have the Nagas been caught actually taking away stolen cattle. That was not long ago, when the owner of the cattle, with the aid of the Kotogi, followed some Kamgpoongias into the hills and recovered his property peacefully. In this case the cattle had been sold to the Nagas by an Assamese for about their full value, and there was no proof that they knew they were purchasing stolen property.

20. There has not, so far as I know, been any Naga outrage approaching in atrocity to the late attack on the Bor Lungees committed so near our rent-paying lands; indeed, there seems a sort of tacit agreement among the tribes here about not to interfere with





each other's trading parties. They, no doubt, see that were a system of cutting up these parties to a rise, all their trade would be paralyzed, and they are too prudent to risk that. The cutting up of the Bor Lungees, though it took place on the west bank of the Janjhee, was the handiwork of people coming from the eastern side.

21. The Nagas of the Jorehaut country, in common with those living farther, talk very big about "their land," but they have no particular line up to which they claim. Generally it is where the land begins to rise, *i. e.*, from the plain to hill. In other parts they say their land comes well out into the Terai, but in no case do they actually claim any ground under cultivation by Assamese ryots nor any tea gardens, the Mekilais apparently having given up their claim on the Serelle garden as hopeless. When talking to them on the spot, they said they merely wanted their right of way kept up through part of it, and to that the manager of the concern had no objection.

22. With the tribes inhabiting the hills to the east and west of their own, the Jorehaut Nagas have very little communication, and know very little about them.

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## APPENDIX D.

## ORDERS OF 1838 ON HILL TIPPERAH TRANSIT DUES—(PAGE 282).

To J. J. HARVEY, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division,—No. 121, dated the 27th December 1838.

I am directed by the Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal to acknowledge your letter (No. 22) of the 2nd May last, together with its enclosures, upon the subject of the claim of the Rajah of Tipperah to levy transit duties within his independent territory.

2. The correspondence in this case, which is voluminous, commenced on the 10th October 1836 with a letter from Mr. Dampier, in which complaint was made of the Rajah of Tipperah levying "sayerat duties within his zemindary on cotton and other produce, although, at the time of the perpetual settlement, a remission to a large amount was granted on the jumma of his estate as a compensation for the abolition of the sayer mehal and the collection of such duties has been expressly prohibited by law."

3. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Dampier stated, the Rajah levied duties at 28 ghâts and 29 phaurees within the *Tipperah zemindary* in the Company's territories, and also at the passes leading from the hill territory of the Rajah to the Company's territory. Both levies were, in Mr. Dampier's opinion, irregular and illegal. The former (that within the territory of the Company) the Commissioner considered himself competent to prohibit forthwith; the latter he left for the consideration of Government. He suggested at the same time that the opportunity should be taken to ascertain the correct boundary between the Rajah's hill territory and his zemindary, as it was believed that the Rajah, in his independent capacity, had made many encroachments on the latter territory.

4. On an attentive consideration of Mr. Dampier's report, and the documents appended to it, it appeared to the Government of Bengal that, upon representation by the local authorities of the evil effect of the sayerat levied by the Rajah in his zemindary, and continued by the Collectors while the zemindary was under khas management, the Government of 1788 had resolved to abolish the collections, in the zemindary, of sayer duties from the inhabitants of the hills and others, and thus gave up collections averaging Rs. 30,762 per annum. When in 1792 the zemindary, heretofore held khas, was restored to the Rajah at the decennial settlement, the sudder jumma engaged for by him was Sicca Rs. 1,37,001, being about Rs. 28,000 less than it had been before the abolition of the above duties.

5. But, it was remarked, the Rajah has two capacities—one that of zemindar within the pale of the permanent settlement, the other that of an independent prince in his own hill territory, and it was clear, from a petition presented by his attorney, that the Rajah now claimed to levy transit duty on produce *within* his own territory, it being stated to be his only source of revenue.

6. Concerning the levy of sayerat in the settled zemindary, His Lordship came to the conclusion that it was clearly and absolutely illegal and improper, and it was therefore prohibited by my predecessor's letter No. 2038 of 15th November 1836. Further the impression upon the Governor's mind was, that the Rajah had no right to levy these duties at all at any station. This impression was founded upon the following considerations:—

7. The duties levied by the farmers of the British Government up to July 1788 comprehended all those which the present Rajah claims a right to exact. Mr. Buller wrote in that year that—"besides cotton, timber, bamboos, ratans, straw, and every other article pay a heavy cess as they pass by the ghâts of the sayer mehals;" and Mr. Bignell, the Rajah's Attorney, states that—"the produce of the Tipperah mountains consists chiefly of cotton, bamboos, wood, grass and canes;" and that—"upon the exportation of this mountain produce—the Rajah had always been in the habit of levying a moderate duty."





Indeed, it was clear, on comparing Mr. Buller's reports of 1788 with Mr. Bignell's letter of the 10th October 1836, that the nature of the demand, and the manner of its realization, corresponded exactly as far as the produce of the hills was concerned.

8. But as no trace could be found that the then Rajah levied any duty as chief of the hills, or that he claimed any right to impose such a tax (which, in all probability, the traffic in question could not have borne whilst saddled with the impost of the British Government), the conclusion to be deduced from Mr. Buller's reports was that no such pretensions were then advanced, and that the duties were considered to belong to the British Government exclusively—a conclusion which was further corroborated by the same officer's letter of the 17th March 1788, of which a copy has been furnished to the Rajah. Indeed, His Lordship thought it was not likely that the Government of that year would have given up a revenue averaging Rs. 30,000 per annum, for the benefit alike of the inhabitants of the hills and of the plains, if they had anticipated, or even thought it possible, that the Rajah of Tipperah would take advantage of the concession to impose just as burthensome and vexatious imposts upon one part at least of the trade.

9. But beyond this it appeared to Lord Auckland that the Rajah had already received and enjoyed since 1792 (in which year the ancestor of the present Rajah was admitted to engage for his zemindary) an ample compensation for these duties, the demand against him as zemindar of Tipperah having been reduced to the extent of Rs. 28,000, at Rs. 30,000 per annum, the boon to the people having been accompanied by the order for "remission of such portion of the jumma of the sayer (to the malgoozar) as Mr. Buller upon enquiry might deem adequate to the amount realized from the collections," and this order having been carried into effect by the remission of the whole jumma.

10. Upon these premises, His Lordship was inclined to think that the levy of all duties upon the traffic carried on between the hills and the champaign country should be absolutely interdicted, and it was urged to the Rajah, in my predecessor's address before quoted, that he could have no equitable claim to enjoy at the same time the peaceful immunities of a zemindar under the shield of the permanent settlement, by which the remission above quoted had been guaranteed to him in perpetuity, and the extreme rights of an independent sovereign prince. The Rajah was also informed that the Government could not, so long as all conditions on his part were fulfilled, re-impose upon his estate in the plains the amount of the remitted revenue, he being a British subject protected by the laws of 1793. But, being so protected, and having enjoyed since 1792 the advantages of a large and profitable zemindary, rendered far more valuable than it formerly was by the abolition of the duties in question (which must have greatly impoverished his own ryots, the principal customers and suppliers of the hill tribes), the Governor could not think that he had any right to levy any of those same duties as Rajah of the hills. It was also endeavoured to show the Rajah that he would be benefited rather than damaged, even in a pecuniary point of view, by the entire interdiction of the imposts which he claimed a right to exact; for as his tenants, both of the hills and plains, would be the chief gainers, it was probable that it would place him indirectly in the enjoyment of a larger revenue, by giving him much more quiet, thriving and peaceable subjects and ryots, than he could hope to possess, were they subjected to the vexation and extortion inseparable from the levy of the cesses to which he laid claim.

11. Accordingly, on the date already quoted, the Rajah was called upon to reply to the arguments against his claim to levy transit duties in his own territory as above detailed, and generally to show cause why he should not be prohibited from collecting the duties in question as well on the hills as on the plains.

12. To this call the Rajah replied at great length on the 6th March 1837. Assuming that the right of an independent chief to levy taxes within his own dominions would not be disputed unless some compact could be adduced in proof of the abandonment of the right, he proceeded to argue that in the present instance no such compact could be shown; that the duties abolished in 1788 did not include the *sayerat within the hills*; and that the compensation received by the Rajah was not on account of these duties, but on account of the *sayerat* duties, formerly levied in the zemindary, and abolished in 1778, when the zemindary was under the khas management of the officers of Government.

13. Accordingly he stated these duties had always been levied since 1792 up to the present time as was acknowledged by Mr. Dampier himself, and the onus of proof of the absence of right to levy these duties should, under such circumstances, be upon the Government. He contended that the duties were altogether distinct from the duties for





which compensation was made at the time of the decennial settlement, and affirmed that no proof had been attempted to the contrary, while the fact itself was capable of the most complete demonstration.

14. He went on to state that, on the 14th August 1789, a proclamation, consequent on the orders of 1788 for the relinquishment of the sayer duties in the zemindary, was issued by Mr. Buller at Tipperah. This advertisement was addressed to the inhabitants of chukla Roshunabad, and prohibited the levy of duties on cotton in *that chukla*. That on the 19th December of the same year, Mr. Buller issued a notice to the inhabitants of Noornugger, Besolghur, Dhurumpore, Gopynatpore, Ootter Gunganugger, Chumpanugger, and other pergunnahs included in chukla Roshunabad, "*except pergunnah Kolaysheer*." All these pergunnahs, he stated, were notoriously in the zemindary, while that excepted was as well known to be in the hill territory. This proclamation states that the sayer mehal of Kolaysheer had never at any time been united to that of Noornugger, but that on a former notice its name had, by mistake, been inserted. But that in Kolaysheer the Rajah was absolute or independent, and the former customs must therefore continue in force there. He adduced a similarly-worded perwannah to the inhabitants of Kolaysheer bearing Mr. Buller's signature.

15. Other proofs of this nature are brought forward in this reply, all tending strongly to support the Rajah's right to the duties, and to show that his hill territory is distinct from the zemindary in the plains, and was not included in the measures of 1788 for the abolition of sayer duties in the latter.

16. This reply being forwarded to Mr. Dampier was answered by that officer on the 3rd May 1837. He stated that the exception made in Mr. Buller's notices and perwannahs of pergunnah Kolaysheer or Kaleesheer was owing, not to the cause assigned by the Rajah, but to the circumstance of that pergunnah being in Sylhet and not in Tipperah, and that Kaleesheer was not in the hill territory but in the zemindary, as could be proved by certain settlement papers referred to. Mr. Dampier observes, upon the Rajah's admission, that the collection of duties was always made at places within the zemindary, and not within the hill territory, and thus infers that the sayer duties abolished in 1788 were inclusive of the hill duties as well as those of the plains. Mr. Dampier argues that as the engagement for the zemindary at the decennial settlement was signed by the Rajah as for pergunnah Roshunabad, dakilla khoo, *Sirkar Odeypore*, which Odeypore was the original place of residence of the Rajah within the hills (since removed to Augurtollah), and these engagements bind him as zemindar not to collect sayer duties; the Rajah is therefore bound not to collect them anywhere, whether in the zemindary or in the hill territory. In short, Mr. Dampier continues, the tahoods of the settlement and other papers extant clearly prove that the territory called independent is not in fact so, but is part of the settled zemindary of Roshunabad, or that at any rate that Augurtollah, where the Rajah now resides, is not within the hill territory but is part and parcel of the zemindary. He concludes by recommending that a local investigation should be made with a view of fixing more clearly the boundary between the settled estates of Tipperah and the hill territory, since he has reason to think that much of what is now claimed as part of the latter should in fact belong to the former.

17. In a subsequent letter, dated 23rd May, Mr. Dampier continues the subject of the Rajah's territorial encroachments, and forwards documents to establish the fact. These are processes of the Tipperah authorities previous to the decennial settlement, directed to Odeypore and other places within what is now termed the independent territory—processes which could not have been issued if those places had in fact been within that territory.

18. On the 2nd August 1837 Mr. Dampier submitted a further letter on the subject, with documents, to prove that Augurtollah and Odeypore, now said to be part of the hill territory, were in reality portions of the zemindary, and to show that Kaleesheer or Kolaysheer was excepted from the notice of Mr. Buller, because it was in the Sylhet district, and not because it was in the hill territory.

19. These papers were made over to Mr. Bignell, the Rajah's Attorney, who, on the 4th November 1837, replied to them at large. Referring to Mr. Dampier's statement that Kolaysheer or Kalasheer, commonly called Ootter Kalasheer, was in the settled zemindary, as proved by certain settlement papers of 1786-87 (when the zemindary was held khas), in which it stands third on the list, Mr. Bignell says that the settlement papers of that year, obtained by him from the Office of the Secretary to the Bengal Government, agree in the *third item* on the list with the jumma quoted by Mr. Dampier,





viz., Rs. 5,201, but that the name is not Ootter Kalasheer, but *Ootter Balissur*, a place well known in the present day, as within the zemindary, and distant 40 or 50 miles from Kalasheer. Respecting Mr. Dampier's explanation of the exception of Kalasheer in Mr. Buller's notice, which Mr. Dampier contended was only occasioned by the circumstance of Kalasheer being in Sylhet and not in Tipperah, Mr. Bignell observes that Mr. Buller who must have known the reasons for the exception better than Mr. Dampier, can now know them, expressly stated in his notice and perwannah that it was because Kalasheer was in the independent territory. In fact, says Mr. Bignell, no part of the zemindary was ever in Sylhet, and if even it were, it would not alter the case, for the *whole zemindary*, wherever situated, was in 1788 held khas, and it was respecting the zemindary so held khas that the orders for the abolition of the sayer were issued.

20. On a certain document marked I, brought forward by Mr. Dampier, he remarks that it appears not to be authentic, and at any rate is unintelligible, and he points out the circumstances in the document which induce him to think so.

21. He brings forward a paper of 1810 in which Mr. Patton, then Collector of the District, acknowledged Kalasheer to be in the independent territory; in which also, he adds, it was included by Captain Fisher in his survey of 1822.

22. He recurs to the proof afforded on the former occasion, by the production of a perwannah from the Magistrate of Sylhet, and showed that the duties there spoken of were levied, not in the district of Sylhet, but in the Rajah's hill territories.

23. He says that Mr. Dampier, admitting that the Rajah had no other source of revenue in the hills *but* these duties, had endeavoured from that very circumstance to prove that the allowance of Rs. 1,000 per mansem, given to the Rajah by Government when the zemindary was held khas, was a demonstration that he was not at that time supposed to levy any duties, or to derive any revenue within the hill territory.

24. But, continues Mr. Bignell, a letter on this subject from Mr. Buller, dated 1787, completely refutes this, for in that letter, referring to certain balances due from the zemindary, it is stated—"the zemindar may be made to liquidate this from the *produce of his territory or possessions on the hills*, which, I understand, is something considerable."

25. Mr. Bignell denies that the Rajah had, in any part of the discussion, *admitted*, as supposed by Mr. Dampier, that, previous to the decennial settlement, the duties in the hills and the duties in the plains were both collected at ghats in the plains, and he concludes this part of the argument by asserting that the allegations against the Rajah's claims have now been completely refuted.

26. Upon the boundary question, Mr. Bignell, after objecting strongly to the manner in which it is brought forward, proceeds to observe that Mr. Dampier may be challenged to produce any witness, Native or European, who can assert that Odeypore and Augurtollah, the late and present residence of the Rajah of Tipperah, were ever situated, or held to be situated in the Company's territory.

27. Mr. Bignell shows reasons, derived from the history of the Tipperah family, for the use of the words "Sirkar Odeypore" in all their deeds and instruments, merely as expressions of form and prescription, conveying no meaning capable of topographical application.

28. That the ghats of Odeypore and Augurtollah are within the Company's dominions may be, Mr. Bignell says, and probably is correct, but that fact is no proof that the towns of those names are in the plains; the real truth being that these two towns are notoriously within the hill territory.

29. Mr. Bignell quotes Mr. Buller's correspondence with the Board of Revenue in 1786 as expressly calling Augurtollah the Rajah's place of residence in the hills; and in the matter of the processes issued by the local authorities into Augurtollah, he adds, that the Rajah actually confined the messenger, and quotes various letters to show that Augurtollah, in those days at least, was considered *without* the zemindary, and within the hill territory. Mr. Bignell then proceeds to notice shortly the other documents brought forward by Mr. Dampier, and opposes them by arguments similar to those already alluded to. He especially remarks that the measurement papers of the estate, which are considered of sufficient importance to weigh heavily in resumption cases, do not contain the names of Odeypore and Augurtollah.





30. On the 9th January 1838 all the papers in the cases were transmitted to you for your opinion as to the right of the Rajah of Tipperah to levy transit duties within his hill territories; this call was answered by you on the 2nd May last in the letter now under consideration.

31. It appears that, not content with the arguments, proofs, and illustrations contained in the papers made over to you, you sought for additional information in the records of the Chittagong and Tipperah Offices. You arrived by these means at the conclusion (far beyond the question proposed) that the Rajah of Tipperah had no independent territory whatever. To prove this you quoted the following papers:—

32. A letter from Mr. H. Vansittart (Governor of Fort William), dated 20th January 1761, and addressed to H. Verelst, Chief of Chittagong, in which notice is taken of the refractoriness of the Rajah of Tipperah, and the Chief is instructed to reduce him to obedience, and to report the advantages likely to accrue to the Company from the possession of his country.

33. On the 17th March 1761 Mr. Verelst replies to the above. He notices the detachment of 206 sepoys and two guns under Lieutenant Mathews for the reduction of Tipperah, and the consequent flight of the Rajah to the mountains, leaving every fort in his country in the possession of the British. He goes on to state that Lieutenant Mathews was reinforced and directed to proceed, and had reached "Nunagar, the capital of Tipperah"; that the Rajah had submitted and joined the troops in the way; that Mr. Marriott was about to proceed to administer the civil government of the country; and that it was hoped that it would turn out a valuable acquisition.

34. The instructions to Mr. Marriott, from Messrs. Verelst and Rumbold, were to proceed to Tipperah, settle the revenues of the province, cause the Rajah to reimburse the Company all expenses, and report on the resources of the country.

35. Mr. Marriott proceeded accordingly, and reports "*Komeella*" (Commullah of the present day) that he had been to Nunagar, the place of residence of the Rajah, and had settled with him for the revenue and expenses.

36. On the 5th April 1761 Mr. Marriott again writes from "*Komeella*" on the subject of the revenues and the amount of the Rajah's payments, and states that, according to his information, the country formerly paid three lakhs of rupees to Moorshedabad.

37. You next advert to certain documents procured by you from the Office of the Sudder Board of Revenue, showing that, in consequence of rebellious practices long subsequent to the above transactions, the reigning Rajah, Kishen Manick, had been dispossessed of the zemindary of Roshunabad, and Bulram Manick appointed in his stead.

38. In 1785 a sunnad of investiture was made out under the orders of the British Government in favour of Rajdhur Manick, and this document, you state, was addressed to the canangoes, &c., &c., of the pergunnah of Roshunabad, &c., commonly called Tipperah, in the Sirkar of Odeypore, in the Province of Bengal; and the Resident of Tipperah reports that he invested Rajdhur Manick accordingly at Augurtollah.

39. This man, you observe, is shown by other papers to have been, in the year 1783 or 1784, apprehended and sent to Chittagong to answer a charge of harbouring dacoits.

40. From all this you infer that no independence was left to the Rajah; that the whole country, including his capital, Nunagar, was taken possession of; that no distinction was drawn between hill territory and plain territory; that the Rajahs submitted to investiture at the hands of the British Government; and that one of them was actually apprehended and tried by British officers of justice. It is also plain, you remark, that Odeypore, which the Rajah now claims as part of his hill territory, gave a name to one of the Mogul divisions of the country, and that *therefore* the town of Odeypore must have been within, and subject to, the Mogul Empire. "I find," you proceed to say, "every proof that the Rajah of Tipperah was as dependent as any zemindar in the Company's dominions, and that too to the Mogul Government as well as to the British."

41. It is impossible, therefore, you argue that he can claim any independent power and, of course impossible, that he can have a right to levy in any part of the country sayar duties which have been expressly prohibited by the British Government.





## 42. Accordingly you proceed to recommend—

First.—That as forming a part and portion of the British Empire in the east, provision should be made for the administration of justice in the hills (hitherto supposed independent).

Secondly.—That provision be made for levying a revenue from this new acquisition, which you divide into two kinds—revenue from the plains, not hitherto settled; and revenue from the hills, not hitherto settled. The right to revenue from these lands, you conceive, should, without delay, be asserted.

43. As for the duty on cotton, which all the authorities from Mr. Buller downwards have so strongly objected to, it would seem that, considering it as a due of Government, and not of the Rajah, you rather approve of it than otherwise, and recommend that it be kept up, collected by the Rajah, and appropriated by Government.

44. It will be observed that, in the original question between Mr. Dampier and Mr. Bignell or the Rajah, the independence of the latter within the hill territory was an admitted point. The question was simply, being as he is independent in other matters, is he or is he not bound by a special contract to refrain from levying sayer duties within his independent territory. But you incline to believe that in fact both parties are wrong; that the Rajah is not independent at all; and that, whatever might be the expediency of the duties on cotton, bamboos, &c., &c., when enjoyed by the Rajah, they clearly are very fit and proper duties (that on cotton at least) to be levied and enjoyed by the British Government.

45. Upon this the Deputy Governor remarks, in the first place, that by prescription at least the Rajah of Tipperah has a claim to independent possession of a certain territory, exclusive of the zemindary in the plains or district of Tipperah, of which he is the recorded proprietor: whatever may be the origin of this possession, it is admitted by all, and it is indeed matter of notoriety for that, a great number of years, extending certainly as far back as the decennial settlement, the possession has been enjoyed without challenge, and, until your last letter, no one ever thought of challenging the right. Under such circumstances, His Honor deems it undeniable that the burthen of proof lies with the challenger and not with the Rajah.

46. Now it appears to the Deputy Governor that you have proved absolutely nothing. You have proved that in 1761 the British Government took possession of the Province of Tipperah, and commenced administering its revenues on its own behalf. There is nothing in your report to show what was included in this province, and what was taken possession of and administered, can only be inferred from the circumstances since known to exist. These circumstances are, as has been observed, that the country administered by the British Government is that below the hills heretofore known as the zillah of Tipperah, exclusive of a certain territory in the hills held independently by the Rajah. Why the British Government did not take possession of the rest is not known, though it may be supposed that they refrained, partly in order to conciliate the Rajah, or from generosity to a foe in their power, and partly because the hill territory was not worth taking.

47. That the British forces proceeded to Nunagur, would be (even if that place were, as you assume, within the hills) of no value in proof of your position, since subsequent events show that the British forces, if they did reduce the hill country, nevertheless afterwards withdrew from it and left it to the Rajah. But the Deputy Governor is disposed to think that *Nunagur* is in fact nothing more than the corrupt mode of writing *Noornuggur*, the name of a town in the plains, situated within the zemindary and zillah of Tipperah, and at present the head quarters of a Moonsiff.

48. The only other fact brought forward by you to prove that the Rajah ought rightly to have no independent territory is, that the Rajah, after 1761, or at least in 1785, received investiture as Rajah from the hands of the British Government, and that he was once apprehended and sent to Chittagong a prisoner to answer a charge of harbouring dacoits.

49. To this argument His Honor cannot attach any weight. If the investiture of the Rajah *per se* was symbolical of the conveyance of his independent territory to the British Government, what would become of the chiefs and Rajahs and jagirdars all over in India, who habitually receive investiture from the paramount government without ever supposing that, by so doing, they are making over their independent territories to territories to be brought in judicial and revenue matters under the general laws and regulations?





50. The history of India, from the days of Timour downwards, is full of instances

\* *Note*.—An ancestor of this very Rajah, in 1708, A. D., received investiture from Moorsahd Kooly Khan without relinquishing, or being supposed to relinquish, his independent jurisdiction. The circumstance is mentioned by Stewart (History of Bengal, page 372), and it is distinctly stated that no encroachment on the Rajah's rights was attempted, though the "khillat" was annually renewed. In fact, the Province of Tipperah was not conquered and added to the Mogul Empire until 1733, when it was overrun and subdued by Meer Hubbleb, Dewan of the Naih Nazim of Dacca. (*Id.*, page 427).

of investiture by the paramount power of inferior princes, Rajahs, soobadars, jageerdars and others; but there is nothing, His Honor thinks, that can bear out your supposition that, by receiving a khillat of investiture, the right of administering the raj or jageer of the inferior feudatory passes in effect into the hands of the superior State.\* It is notorious, indeed, that the very contrary has been the case; and that the practical exercise of power by the inferior is in reality confirmed and corroborated by the ceremony in question.

51. In the case of the Rajah of Tipperah there was a special reason for investiture by Government. The most valuable possession of the Rajah was his estate in the British territory; as a zemindar of that estate he was a subject of the British Government. Succession to the estate was of course regulated by the general laws of the British territory,

\* *Vide* Sadder Dewanny Adawlut Reports, volume 1, page 270—Ran Gunra Deo ocrans Door-gunancee Jobraj. In this report the existence of the independent hill territory is expressly declared.

and enforced by the British tribunals. As a matter of course, therefore, the succession to one property carried with it succession to the other, and in effect this has always been the case.\*

52. The Rajah had therefore two capacities—one as a subject and zemindar of the British Government, the other as an independent Rajah in the Hills. But as the succession to the latter was nearly certain to depend on the succession to the former capacity, he might very well be disposed to receive investiture and do homage at one and the same time, and in one or both capacities, to the ruling and paramount government.

53. As for the arrest of the Rajah in 1783-84 the case explains itself. As zemindar, and as a British subject, the Rajah was and is answerable to the British tribunals. In these days, when forms are more attended to and minute distinctions more carefully kept up than in 1783, the apprehension of the Rajah for a crime committed by the zemindar would, of course, be conducted with more regularity, more attention to technicalities, and less confusion of departmental authority; but it would not less certainly take place (if necessary) now than in 1783, though no one would suppose that the Government, by exercising jurisdiction under the regulations over the zemindar, necessarily enforced the same jurisdiction over the independent Rajah.

54. On the other hand, besides the notorious fact of independence, there is the testimony of good authority to the existence of the Rajah's right since the accession of the British.

55. "The manik or zemindar of Tipperah," says Hamilton, speaking of the year 1801, "is an independent sovereign of an extensive territory in the hills, but usually resides in the town of Comillah, which is the head-quarters of the Judge and Magistrate."

56. Again in 1808 Mr. Melvill, Second Judge of the Dacca Provincial Court, under date 9th October, is found reporting to Government on the subject of disturbances that had taken place in the hill territory of Tipperah, and throughout the letter speaking of the territory as independent as to jurisdiction, though held according to custom by investiture from the British Government as successors to the Mogul. Still more strongly the same functionary writes a few days afterwards (19th October 1808). He gives an account of the inhabitants of "the Tipperah independent territory," which he also describes as "the hill territory comprehended within the boundaries of Tipperah Proper, or the country subject to the authority of the Tipperah Rajah." This territory, he goes on to say, "is in length about one hundred and twenty miles and in breadth seventy to eighty miles." He explains the customs of the territory, the officers of the government and their functions, military, judicial, and revenue, and he describes the army entertained by the Rajah, of whom, he says, "a number are of course at *Augurtollah*, the seat of the Rajah."

57. He elsewhere mentions *Odeypore* as a place within the territory, where the "soobah" (defined by him as "commander-in-chief") had assembled forces during the disturbances on which he was reporting, and in the following passages he announces distinctly the real circumstances of the Rajah's tenure of the territory in question.

"The Tipperah hill territory is certainly independent of the delegated judicial authority; but although it pays no tribute, that it has a certain dependence on the sovereign or supreme power of the State, is established by tradition as well as by the





testimony of witnesses. The inhabitants perhaps consider themselves dependent on their chief only, but they know he holds his authority under a superior, and that the confirmation of the Bengal Government is necessary to the validity of his title to that authority.

"It appeared, on judicial investigation from the most remote period to which the produced records or tradition ascended, that the hill territory of Tipperah, and the estate or zemindary of Roshunabad, were always held by one or the same person; the Rajah of that hill territory was uniformly the zemindar of Roshunabad.

"In investigating, therefore, the claims to that zemindary, the Dacca Court of Appeals, although they could pass no order relating to the disposal of the hill territory, were (as it was a point of fact disputed, and still undetermined), under the necessity of ascertaining if the claimant was or was not the person (by local custom respecting the succession) entitled to be considered Rajah of Tipperah, as on that depended his right to be zemindar of Roshunabad.

"That the circumstances of the hill inhabitants, having been a considerable time without an acknowledged local superior, and in a state of uncertainty respecting the person to whom they were to look to as their immediate chief, may have somewhat unhinged their relative situations, and have produced something like a feeling of irritation amongst them, will readily be admitted.

"The right to the succession to the Tipperah Rajah has remained undetermined for a period of four years, and on the recurrence of similar cases—and instances will frequently occur, particularly in the Cuttack and other provinces—it may perhaps be found more expedient, as judicial proceedings are necessarily dilatory, that Government should, on an authenticated report of relative circumstances, give the investiture of the hill territory to the person they might consider entitled to the possession, and leave the claims to estates within the Company's provinces to be subsequently decided by the courts of justice."

Still more to the purpose is the following:—

"I cannot, however, in any case recommend, as a temporary measure, even the assumption of the management of the hill territory, as in my communications I could perceive a positive embarrassment in the hill people, lest by too great an exposure of the faults of the existing authority Government might be induced to take the internal management into its own hands, and deprive them of the immemorial privilege of being ruled by a chief of their own, and in retaining which privilege their pride and prejudices seemed deeply interested." And lastly, the reply of Government to this report is altogether decisive of the question.

"The right to the succession to the zemindary of Tipperah, situated within the limits of the British possessions, being at present under investigation by the courts of judicature, the Governor General in Council is unwilling to adopt any measures with respect to the succession to the independent territory while that case is depending. But whenever the Sudder Dewany Adawlut shall have passed its decision on that suit, Government will of course issue such orders as may then appear to be necessary and proper, with respect to the succession to the latter territory. Nothing can be farther from the intentions of Government than to assume the internal management of that territory."

58. It is obvious, therefore, that your proposition for taking possession of the Rajah's territory, and your plans for the administration of justice and revenue within it, must fail to the ground.

59. The questions at issue between the late Commissioner, Mr. Dampier, and the Rajah, are of two kinds—

1st.—Whether the Rajah has, under present circumstances, any right to levy duties at discretion in his own territory, or has surrendered the right by special compact?

2nd.—Has the Rajah, as an independent chief, encroached upon the Company's territory, and wrongfully taken from it and added to his own the towns of Odeypore and Augurfolah?

60. The first of these questions is in a great measure decided by the result of the enquiry into your propositions. It has been shown that the Rajah has an independent territory; and it follows that *within that territory* he may levy such duties as he pleases, unless there be any special compact to the contrary. Mr. Dampier endeavoured to prove that there was such a compact. He stated that the Government of 1788, having at that time the management of the Rajah's property in the plains, and being convinced that the





levy of duties, such as then existed within that property, was impolitic, abolished them, thereby giving up Rs. 30,000 per annum, which was the average produce of the duties when they were abolished.

61. This sum of Rs. 30,000 has been represented as a remission granted to the Rajah in lieu of the duties; and from the decided objections expressed by the Government of that time to the levy of transit duties, it has been argued that the Government would never have given up, or in a manner paid over, to the Rajah Rs. 30,000 per annum if they had supposed that the consequence would have been the levy of the same or similar duties in the neighbouring hill territory; *therefore*, it has been concluded the Government must have intended the remission as an equivalent for the levy of these duties in the hills as well as in the plains.

62. This argument appears to the Deputy Governor untenable.

63. The case, it may be gathered from the correspondence, and from the documents brought forward on both sides, is this. The Rajah, previous to 1788, certainly had the right of levying any duties he thought proper in his hill territory. He had also the right (possessed by all zemindars at that time) of levying *sayer* duties within his zemindary. He might therefore, in this double capacity, either levy a portion of the duties in the hill territory, and another portion in the plains, or he might levy all in the hills, and none in the plains; or lastly, he might levy the duty in the plains, and forego it in the hills.

In his choice between these three plans, at a time when the distinction between the dependent and the independent territory was not so clearly marked as it subsequently became, the Rajah would of course be guided by convenience and economy. Accordingly, he seems to have placed all his chowkies in the plains, and, in consequence, not to have levied any *sayer* duties in the hills.

64. The chowkies so placed seem to have yielded on an average about Rs. 28,000, or Rs. 30,000 a year, and they were clearly in those days a legitimate portion of the assets of the zemindary. His *sudder jumma* to Government on the zemindary was at this time about Rs. 1,65,000 of which about Rs. 28,000 was assessed on the *sayer* assets; and this, be it remembered, was a circumstance common to all zemindaries before the abolition of the *sayer* duties; their *sudder jummas* being all made up of the two items of land and *sayer* revenue as in the case of the Rajah of Tipperah.

65. Things were in this state when the estate was taken into *khas* management by Government, as happened to a great many zemindaries in Bengal, particularly in the eastern districts: and in this zemindary, as in others, the *sayer* assets as well as those of land revenue came into the *khas* management of Government. While, under that management, the Government, objecting to the nature of the *sayer* assets, abolished them, and the *jumma* of the zemindary became in consequence Rs. 1,65,000 minus Rs. 28,000 or Rs. 1,37,000, and therefore, when the zemindary came to be restored to the Rajah, he engaged for the lesser *jumma*, as a necessary consequence of the diminution of the assets by the hands of the Government itself. This was no *compact*, such as it has been sought to prove. Still less was it a *remission* to the Rajah of Rs. 28,000 or Rs. 30,000 per annum, as has also been imagined, and not being a *compact* of the kind sought to be proved, it can have no possible effect upon the admitted right of the Rajah to levy within his hill territory such duties as he might think proper.

66. If there be any doubt of this, let it be supposed, for the sake of argument, that the Government in 1788, while managing the zemindary *khas*, had chosen of the two assets, land revenue and *sayer* revenue, to abolish, not the *last* but the *first*; and that, retaining the *sayer*, they had, at the conclusion of their *khas* management, restored the zemindary to the Rajah at the *jumma* which such an arrangement had brought about, *i. e.*, at Rs. 1,65,000, minus land revenue, or Rs. 1,37,000—28,000.

67. Would anybody have argued that this was an annual donation to the Rajah of Rs. 1,37,000? Or that this measure for ever bound the Rajah to abstain from levying a land revenue on neighbouring and independent territory?

68. Would anybody, in short, have talked of a *compact*? Surely not; yet the two cases are precisely parallel. Or take another illustration. Suppose that in 1788, when the right of levying *sayer* duties was allowed to every zemindar, a given zemindar, A, had possessed two contiguous zemindaries, of which one in the year in question was in the *khas* management of Government, and had assets equal to Rs. 2,000, of which Rs. 500 were derived from *sayer* duties; then suppose that the Government chose in this one





zemindary to abolish sayer duties, thereby giving up Rs. 500 of the assets, and making the assets, when the estate came to be restored, to A only Rs. 1,500 instead of Rs. 2,000, would any one imagine that by this measure A had become bound to give up the sayer duties in his second zemindary? Would any one talk in such a case of a compact? Assuredly not. Yet this, like the last, is a perfectly parallel case to the one now under consideration.

69. This of itself would suffice to show that the Rajah is under no engagement, expressed or implied, to refrain from the levy of sayer duties within his hill territory; and when considered in connection with the strong arguments produced by the Rajah himself, through Mr. Bignell, will fully warrant the opinion to which, after due consideration, His Honor has arrived, that there is no ground whatever to interfere with the Rajah's right of levying, within his own hill territory, whatever taxes or duties he may think proper.

70. For the decision of the second question, whether the Rajah has or has not encroached on the Company's territory, the data produced do not appear sufficient. But the Deputy Governor is clearly of opinion, both that such an invidious enquiry should not be prosecuted without some *prima facie* evidence of its necessity, and that in the present instance no such *prima facie* ground for enquiry has yet been shown.

71. To conclude, therefore, His Honor decides that the Rajah has an independent hill territory; that your propositions for its resumption are totally inadmissible; that the Rajah has a full right within his hill territory to levy any duties he pleases; and that there is no ground at present for setting on foot an enquiry into supposed encroachments by the Rajah on the Company's territory.





## APPENDIX E.

PAPERS REGARDING THE LUSHAI COUNTRY AND  
POLICY—(PAGES 317–364).

## I.—MR. EDGAR'S NOTES ON HIS TOUR AMONG THE LUSHAIS IN 1871.

*Part I.*

In my report to the Commissioner of Dacca, sent in from Changsil, I gave an account of our proceedings up to the time we left that place.

In the 12th paragraph of that letter I mentioned that reports had been brought to me by Lushais of raiding parties, which I believed to be imaginary. It turned out that I was utterly mistaken that these reports, though not absolutely correct, were in the main true, and that the information, if properly understood and believed by me, might have been of the greatest possible value. I feel deeply the greatness of the blunder I made, and am fully aware that any attempt to justify it would be useless. At the same time it is likely that a full account of what I heard, what it really meant, what might have been done if I had understood and believed it, how I interpreted it, and the arguments which I thought at the time almost conclusive of its untruth, may be of use in forming an estimate of the past and deciding on the line to be adopted for the future.

On the 9th January messengers from Sookpilai came to inform me that a party of Howlongs were going along the Hachuk range, and that Sookpilai feared they were going to attack a part of the Sylhet District lying to the west of the Lunglai stream. They asked me to give information at once to the Magistrate of Sylhet, and I wrote to Mr. McWilliam to telegraph to Sylhet and Dacca, which he did on the 16th, seven days before the attack on Kutlecherra. But I showed in my letter that I doubted the information. The Lushais (as I then understood them) told me that the Howlongs were led by Savoong, who was going out for heads on account of his father Lulpitang. Now I knew that Savoong was a Syloo, and that he was not son of Lulpitang. I afterwards learned that the leader's name was Sangboong, who is son of Lulpitang, but the imagined inaccuracy made me doubt the whole story. These Howlongs had never made raids in this direction, and from what I could learn of the line of country they were said to have taken, I thought that, if they had gone anywhere, it must have been towards the south-west. The maps I had with me were very imperfect, and in some respects misleading, and at the time my idea of the line of the country to the south-west of Changsil was very confused. Still since I had a view of it for the first time from the high range that we crossed in the end of January, I have been surprised that I did not see that movement described to me might threaten Kutlecherra and Alexandrapoor. It was then too late to do anything, but I now see that if I had at this time clearly understood the information received from the Lushais, precautions might have been taken, which, though not averting the raids, would have saved much of the loss of life and property which occurred in south-west Cachar, and made it probable that the raiders would meet with severe punishment. When I saw Sookpilai on the 16th, I asked him about the raiders, and he told me that he had thought at first that they were going to attack him, but that they had passed him by and turned off to a range to the west. I now think he meant the Jampi, but at the time I believed it to be in the direction of Hill Tipperah.

Next morning, after Sookpilai had left, a messenger came in from Pibuk, whose village was south-east of Changsil, to inform me that a party, five hundred strong, led by Lenkom, son of Vonolel, were on the east side of the Sonai with a declared intention of attacking Bengallee villages, but that the Chiefs were trying to turn them back. I sent information of this to Mr. McWilliam, but I doubted the report very much. Vonolel had never been concerned in any raids on Cachar. At the time I heard the news I was anxious to get the Lushais to guide me to Sonai by the route which we followed eventually, and I thought they appeared unwilling. It seemed possible, therefore, that





the story was made up to induce me not to go. But my chief suspicion arose from a belief that Ruttun Poea had made money by giving information of imaginary raids to the authorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and that Sookpial might be trying to play the same game.

Contradictory rumours came pouring in during the next few days, till on the 19th, at night, several Lushais came to me and related that the raiding party had made a detour and crossed the Sonai higher up, and that they had got on to the Rengti Pahar.

My first idea was to follow them with the force I had, but I found that if they had gone at all, they must be too far north for me to overtake them. Then when I questioned the Lushais more closely as to the route the supposed raiders were said to have taken, their account seemed to me irreconcilable with what we knew of, and what the map showed, as the natural features of the country. The suspicion so caused was increased when the Lushais suggested that I should go down the river on a raft and allow them to guide Inspector Dost Mahomed and his men to a point where he could intercept and cut off this returning raiders. I looked upon this as a proof of the unwillingness of the Lushais to guide me along the route I wanted, and I said that I should myself go to the top of the hill to intercept the retreat. The Lushais asked me whether I had sent information to Cachar when I got news from them. When I said yes, they said that it would reach in time, and that they hoped I have taken precautions to strengthen the guards in the direction of Nowarbund. I at once wrote a letter, which I sent by express, and which reached Cachar some days before the attack on Monierkhall, advising the local authorities to strengthen the guards at Nowarbund and Monierkhall, and to send an European officer to one and one best Native officer to the other place. While expressing doubts of the story, I said that, if the raiders really had gone up, I could intercept the return by taking a post on the range. This was literally true, though not in the sense I meant at the time. The fact was that we had all an entirely erroneous idea of the conformation of the country between the two streams; for, owing to the density of the jungle on the hills over which we passed last year, we were never able to get a clear view of the country. This year we went over cleared hills of considerable height, and have been able to form correcter ideas than we could hitherto of the direction of the ranges. I then found that the range upon which I had contemplated intercepting the raiders did not extend so far south as Changsil, and that if I had gone to a point known to us since last year upon the main range and waited there, we should have taken the raiders at such a disadvantage as to be able almost to annihilate them. We had close on fifty guns all told; the number of the raiders was greater; but they would have been taken in an extremely unfavourable position, hungry, weary, with their powder all spent, and encumbered with their wounded.

I lost the opportunity however, and besides this my evident scepticism so hurt the Lushais that they did not give me any information for some time. After the 21st, when they told me that the raiders had left the Rengti Pahar, which was true, as we afterwards found out. I hope I have succeeded in showing that the information given to me by Sookpial and his people was early enough if believed, and correct enough if properly understood, to have enabled us to provide more efficiently than we did for the protection of the frontier and to inflict far severer punishment on the raiders than they suffered. My ignorance of the country and suspicion (right and prudent in itself, but carried too far) of the good faith of Sookpial were in fault. It is manifestly of great importance to keep this in view in forming an estimate of the conduct of the Lushais among whom I was and in judging of the sincerity of Sookpial. I shall now take up the account of our proceeding from the 26th January, the day on which we left Changsil on our way to the Sonai.

On that morning two elderly men from Mehtong's village came in, and said that they had been directed to accompany us across to the Sonai. We had besides a Muntree from Pibuk and one from Sookpial with us. We went during that day in a south-east direction for some mile, over a capital path, until we got to the top of a pretty high hill situated some way to the south-east of our last year's camp of Beparri Bazar. East of us, across a valley, about three miles off, we could see the village of Mehtong on a steep hill, but much lower than our position. Behind rose the steep base side of Sakkor Moe (the horse's mouth), a high precipitous peak on the Nungvai range. The position of this peak is shown incorrectly in all the maps.

During our day's march we found several well worn paths branching off from the main route. One of these led, as we were told, to Beparri Bazar, and from there, of course, to Sookpial's village. Another would take one by a somewhat circuitous way to the village of Lalchung. Another went to Vompilal's village.





Soon after we arrived in camp, the headman of Mehtong came over with some armed men to see, as he said, that we did not want for anything. He spent that night in camp. Next morning, after going a little way south, we descended the east face of the hill to the jumes below.

As we got opposite the village, we could see a number of men in it, and some fired shots in the air. After we had passed the village, we reached a very pretty jume, from which we had a good view of much of the country north and south of us. Here I began to see that all previous representation of the direction of the ranges was erroneous, an opinion fully borne out by all we saw subsequently. While we were going down the jumes on one side, a troop of women and children had appeared out of the jungles on the other, and we found them in the jume houses. They seemed to be very friendly, and we spent some time talking to them. We then went on for some time to the north-east along uneven ground till we came to a stream with a salt spring flowing into it. There were some men working there, but we were told that the manufacture had decreased considerably since the trade in rubber had commenced. From this place we went, at first along a well worn level path, and afterwards up the bed of a stream, till we reached our halting place early in the afternoon. Our coolies were very heavily laden, and our marches were, consequently, unusually short, in order to let the rear guard get up in good time. Next day our road was almost entirely up hill, the direction still being to the north-east, till we got to the site of the village of Morab or Moollah burned by Colonel Lister in 1849-50. This is a hill about 3,500 feet high, perfectly cleared from heavy jungle, so that we could see in all directions. On one side was the valley of the Dullessur; on the other, the valleys of the Sonai. South-west a high hill was pointed out as Ryek Thlang, the site of Sookpial's village. Many miles further, in the same direction, was a still higher hill on which the village of Savoong, the Chief of the Syloo, was said to be situated. South of us, beyond Sakkor Moe, we could see Dar Thalang and Mote Thalang, where are the villages of Pibuk, Sookpial's mother, and of his sister, Ruttangpi. Further south the hills inhabited by the Howlongs were pointed out to us, and east of them villages said to belong to Pois. North of these, and a little to the north-east of the Howlongs, we were shown hills that were said to belong to Bhuta. Further east in the far distance the country of Vonolel and his sons; north and north-west of which we saw the ranges of Poiboi, Vonpial, and Impancee. Due north of us was the great round Peak of Nisapui, which shut out our view of Lang Mohr, the hill identified by Major Macdonald with Peak Z of the Great Trigonometrical Survey.

We halted for the night at this place, and next day, after a little marching, we came upon a large party of Lushais cutting a new path through the jungle. The headmen of the village of Dhurmongpi, who had met us a little before, proposed that we should take this path. I said it was too steep, and we continued on the old route, which in a very short time took us right up to the village. From here we sent on our coolies to get ready our camp, and remained for some hours in a shady grove outside surrounded by men, women, and children. As I passed by the village I remarked several guns in almost every house that I went near, and I think that many of them must have belonged to other villages, for Dhurmongpi is a poor village and not likely to have the number I saw. After we left we went over the shoulder of Visapai and halted in a cleared jume. We had not been long there when we were followed by a crowd of women and children. After these left, I remarked that there were many armed men in the neighbourhood of the camp. I asked the Muntries about them. They said some were men who had been hunting, some had been sent to the eastern people and were now returning, and that some had come down with us. Next day we met many more along the path as we went down. I was puzzled at this at the time, for I saw that their presence was connected with us, and it was quite evident from the way in which they were placed that they could not have contemplated either attacking us or defending their village from us in case we had attempted to attack it. Afterwards when I knew what had happened in Cachar, I began to think that these men had been posted to protect us if we should happen to be in danger.

Next day went down some steep descents to the Sonai, which we reached at a place called Panchengkai. This was on the 30th. I thought this a suitable place for our permanent camp, and finding that boats could come up resolved to halt there.

Next morning I sent down a Manipuri trader who was with me, one constable, and two coolies, to order our boats up from Lushai Bazar, and sent two of the Lushais who had come with us to announce my arrival to the eastern villages. The Manipuri messenger did not return. It was he who took into Cachar the story about meeting





five of Venolel's people carrying heads. The Lushais came back in three days. They said that Vantang, son of Bhuta, had burned a village of Hraltie Kookies, which I had seen two years ago, a few miles to the north-east of Moizol; that the whole of the eastern village were in confusion; and that Mora Impanee's Muntree, who had gone south to make enquiries, would come to me in a day or two and tell me every thing. We now began to get uneasy about the non-appearance of our supplies.

On the 4th February we told some Lushais who were going towards the village of Dhurmongpi that we should like to buy some rice, as we were very near the end of our supplies.

Next day Mr. Burland went down to Lushai Bazar by a path along the hills to the east of the Sonai. He found that our hut of the previous year had been burned, and some of our men reported that they saw marks of blood there, and the remains of a kind of litter which had been tied with cane that grow only in the plains.

Our position now looked very nasty; our supplies were nearly consumed, so that if we attempted to make our way into Cachar overland, which I consider would have been the only safe way in case of opposition, we should have run a risk of something like starvation. On the other hand, the delay in the arrival of our boats, the mysterious and shadowy rumours flying about, the absence of all the representatives of the eastern villages, and, above all, the suspicious circumstances reported from Lushai Bazar seemed to point to as much risk in staying as in going. Fortunately, however, on that day, while Mr. Burland was away, people had come in from Dhurmongpi bringing rice, edible roots, fowls for our table, which were very welcome, as all our private supplies were fast disappearing, and I think a small pig. The Lushais refused to take any payment for these things, and promised to bring more. I then resolved to remain where I was for the present, to send fresh messengers down the river to get all the rice I could from Dhurmongpi to save as much of this as we could, so as to accumulate enough to take us down in case of an emergency, and meantime to find out all I could about the state of things in the east.

I therefore, on the morning of the 6th, sent Rajkissen, a reliable man, with five constables and some coolies down the river on rafts, while Rowa, Sockpil's Muntri, went to the villages of Wollong and Kholol on the 7th. I also sent up ten rupees to Dhurmongpi with a message to say that, as the village had taken no payment for the things sent, I gave the money *pour boire*. It was returned next day with another present of rice, and a message to the effect that they could take nothing in return for what the village gave, but that henceforth individuals would come in and trade regularly in rice and other articles of food. Next day considerable quantities came in and were bought by us.

At first the Lushais took in exchange for their rice, red cloth, brass vessels, &c., but our stock of such things was quickly exhausted, and then we persuaded them to take money. But the rupees were not supposed to be accepted as final payment. They were looked upon as tokens that so much cloth or some particular brass vessel was owed by us to the holder. Some people preferred having their names and the amount due to them written in a book to the trouble and risk of taking away money. Our debts were to be paid on the arrival of our boats.

In this way we got considerable quantities of rice, and were able to lay some up for our return journey. Our coolies also poisoned the stream with the bark of a tree which, when pounded and thrown into the water, had an intoxicating effect on the fish. We got several maunds in this way, which our people dried over wood fires. We were thus able to keep off anything like absolute privation. But at one time we feared that we should suffer from want of salt. There was a scarcity of this article in Dhurmongpi's village, and though they gave us what they could spare, the supply was still insufficient. But when our coolies heard this they made light of the want. "Why," said one, "any one can make salt," and they burned split bamboos to ashes which they collected in a bamboo tube with a small hole in the bottom. This was then filled with water, which was allowed to drain through the hole into a pan placed below. The water when evaporated left a deposit of salt which formed a substitute, though not a pleasant one, for common salt. Every day we had parties of coolies in the jungle searching for edible roots, leaves, &c., which the forest supplied in great quantity and variety. Meantime Mr. Burland did what he could to make our camp safe from a sudden attack by clearing the jungle round it and piling up the cut bamboos about breast high on the sides exposed to attack, in this way forming a barrier which could not be crossed without cutting the bamboos. Of course this made a surprise impossible. On the 10th I sent a head constable and





five men down the river with directions to go as far as he could that day and return the next, carefully noting all traces observed along the bank. They came back late on the night of the 11th, and reported that they had been a considerable way down the stream without observing anything suspicious, and that they had put a mark on a bamboo to show how far they had gone. This was the mark which frightened the scouts who were with Captain Lightfoot. On the morning of the 11th, Mora, a Muntri of Dallong, the village of Impanee, Vonpilal's mother, came in with several people of his village. They said that they had not come in before, because they had gone down to the village of Lalboorah, son of Vonolel, to get back, if possible, 13 captives who had been taken from Tangtiloon, the Hralte village, which, as mentioned above, had been burned by Vantang, son of Bhuta. He said that he had succeeded in recovering three, and that ten were still kept by Lalboorah and Vantang who were represented as being closely allied. This story seemed probable, as a few days before some of the Hraltes who had escaped from the village had passed through our camp with a few things which they had saved from the raiders. They were going to seek a temporary asylum in Dhurmoungpi's village. They told us that they had lost twenty-one killed and thirteen prisoners, who, they thought, had been taken to Vonolel's village. While we were talking over all this and similar things with Impanee's people, I could see from their manner that there was something else which they had scarcely courage to tell, but at last they informed us that the rumours which we had heard were true that an attack had been made on Cachar, and that three British subjects were captives in Lalboorah's village. During that day and the next we learned much more from them, and by degrees we were able, by comparing various bits of information, learned, as was stated, from the people of Lalboorah's village, to put together a tolerably intelligible account of what happened. Many points, however, were obscure, and much was incorrect as I have learned since my return, but, on the whole, the account is not without value. I shall give it nearly as I wrote it down in my diary at the time, merely adding some further information which I acquired afterwards while still at Panchengkai. Lalboorah, son of Vonolel, and Tangdong, his cousin, led a party of about four hundred men against Cachar towards the end of January. This was the same party about which I had received information while at Changsil, but my informants were in error in saying that it was led by Lenkom. The latter, who is Lalboorah's brother, led a party which is said to have destroyed some villages in Manipur. The villagers on the Sonai tried to turn the raiding party back, but it broke into two, and one party under Tangdong crossed the Sonai and made for a hill on the Rengti Pahar range with the intention of attacking Nowarbund and other gardens south of the Chatla. They, however, failed to get the path along the top of the range, and got into the low land lying on either side of the Rukni. They seem to have found much difficulty in getting along through this, and mention is frequently made of the way in which their legs and bodies were torn by thorns as they pushed through the dense cane brakes. At last they fell in with a newly-cut path, along which they went until they came to clearances near the mouth of the Rukni. Here they got six prisoners; but while they were carrying them off, elephants came up and soldiers to kill them. They were forced to let go three of their captives, and they made off with three, two Naga girls and a man. They then thought it dangerous to remain any longer, and they made for Bongkong, where they were joined by Lalboorah returning from Monierkhall. The latter had found the bungalow and coolie lines deserted, and were met with a heavy fire from the stockade. They attempted to plunder some boats filled with rice which were at the ghât, but were prevented by the guard, which also drove them from the bungalow. They talk of a gun in the stockade which did great execution, and seems to have frightened them much. While the main body was attacking the Monierkhall stockade, another party got to a new garden, which they also found deserted; here, however, they got some plunder; my informants say that they were shown in Lalboorah's village a gong, several hoes, and three boxes of papers said to have been taken there. They were going to set fire to the bungalow and lines, but seem to have got frightened and retired to Monierkhall. Next day they seem to have made another attack on the stockade, but were apparently repulsed, after which the guard rushed out and fired at them as they were making their retreat into the jungle. Some of the Lushais, however, choosing what they call a good place waited till they got the troops well within range and then fired a volley which killed five men. Upon this, they say, the troops fell back, and the Lushais rushed upon the bodies to get their heads and weapons, which they secured at least partially. Then Lalboorah said they could do no more, they therefore buried as many of their dead as they could find, and went off to Bongkong. Next day they went to Liningthlang, where some of their wounded died. Another died at Bazar Ghât, which they reached two days after, and some more died in the village. The total loss they put down at fifty-seven killed in the raid, or dead since





of their wounds, besides many wounded, but still alive. On their return they found that Kamhow, Chief of Molbhem, had taken advantage of their absence to attack Tangdong's village, which he burned after killing many people and taking many prisoners, among whom was the wife of Tangdong. It is evident that the above story is a confused and inaccurate account of the attacks on Nagdigram and Monierkhall. Of course we could not expect accuracy of detail from people who professedly were not eye-witnesses, and who allege that the head people of Lalboorah's village attempted to conceal the real facts from them. But there are two points on which their evidence is important, if true—the number of the dead, and the identification of the villages to which the raiders belonged. All the Lushais whom we saw agreed in stating that the loss was over fifty, and all who pretended to give an exact number put it at fifty-seven, and this came to us not only directly from the people who said they had been to the village, but in a round-about way from traders, who said the report had reached their villages. There can be no doubt that the loss was heavy. The amount of independent evidence in corroboration of the charge against Lalboorah and Tangdong is very great. Munnoo Sing, the trader whom I sent down on the 31st, arrived in the station on the 8th. He stated that on his arrival at Bazir Ghat on the 31st he met five of Vonolel's Lushais, one of whom had some heads in a basket. They told him that their Chief was coming down the hill and would kill him if he was found there. The constable who was with Munnoo Sing says that he saw five Lushais with bloodstained baskets, in one of which was something like heads.

There can be no reasonable doubt that these men belonged to the raiding party, and I can see no reason not to believe Munnoo Sing's identification of them. He has for many years traded on the Sonai. He knows all the people living in its neighbourhood, and he could scarcely be deceived about the village to which the people he saw belonged. On the other hand, he could have had no imaginable reason for telling a wilful lie, and could not have known that the accusation against Lalboorah would be made some days later to me. Lalboorah is now the head of Vonolel's village, consequently he must have been the Chief mentioned as coming down the hill.

I have been informed by the Quarter Master General that he heard from Colonel McCulloch that some time since Kamhow of Molbhem sent four heads to the Rajah of Manipur with a message to the effect that hearing that Vonolel's son had taken all his fighting men for a raid in the west, he with his Soktoas had attacked and destroyed the Lushai village, killing many people and carrying off 300 prisoners.

Now Tangdong's village is frequently described as one of Vonolel's, and he is often called the son of that Chief, though really his nephew. It can be shown that if he committed a raid on the west, it must have been in the direction of either Cachar or Tipperah. The story heard by Colonel McCulloch, therefore, may be considered fully to corroborate so much of what I heard as related to Tangdong. But this is not all. A Manipuri trader, who had just returned from Tipai Mukh, where he has been among the people of Poiboi, another nephew of Vonolel, state that he heard there of the raid on Monierkhall made by Lalboorah and Tangdong, and a very inaccurate version of the attack on the latter by Kamhow, who was said to have carried off one hundred and six prisoners. The Lushais said that Poiboi was every much annoyed at the conduct of Lalboorah and Tangdong. But such assurances are a matter of course, and not of much value by themselves.

The statement that Lenkom, the brother of Lalboorah, attacked Manipur villages has been confirmed by the Political Agent. There is, therefore, independent evidence in corroboration of the charge made by the Lushais who were with me against each particular Chief, who, they said, was connected with the raids on Manipur and East Cachar, and I think that there is considerable reason to believe that no other Chief was directly connected with them. When I first heard of the raids, however, all this was, of course, unknown to me, I suspected that the villages on the Sonai might have had more to do with the outrages than they acknowledged, and I thought that the safest and worthiest course for me was not to conceal that suspicion. I talked the matter over with Mr. Burland, who took nearly the same view that I did. I then called up the Muntris and told them that I suspected all the villages east of the Sonai, because they had not either prevented the raiders passing through their country, or sent warning into the station. They said that they could not have opposed the raiders successfully, for one of their own villages had been cut up by an ally of the Chief who had attacked Monierkhall, and that they did not send information to the station because Pibuk, Sookpila's mother, had sent me news of the intended raid. I said that the good conduct of the people on the west of the Sonai was no excuse for their failure to do their duty, and I told them





that until they could clear themselves from the suspicion I should not enter into friendly relations with them. I added that there were three British subjects, on their own showing, kept in captivity in a village east of the Sonai; that until these were accounted for, I should not allow any traders of either the Sonai or Barak, and that hereafter it would be of no use for any Chief to say that these captives had been sold to the Pois or other eastern tribes, for when the time came we should accept no excuse of this kind. I also refused to receive some Muntries from Kholei, the nearest village to those of Vonolei's family, until I was satisfied that its people, and above all, a Hindoostani, named Button Sing, who resides in it, had nothing to do with the raid. Upon hearing all this the Lushais said that they would go away and collect all the chief men of their villages in order to devise some means of forcing Lalboorah to give up his captives and the plunder. I said that they might do what they liked, but that the one thing they should keep in mind was that some time or other the captives must be accounted for. The safety of these captives was the thing I was most anxious then to secure, and I think that I took the best measures in my power to attain that object. I may mention here, though out of chronological order, that several days afterwards some Lushais tried to find out whether I should be willing to make terms with Lalboorah who was said to be frightened at the loss suffered in the attack in Monierkhall and in Kam-how's raid. I at once refused even to listen to any such proposals, unless the captives and plunder were previously restored. Then I said, I might hear what they had to say, but they must distinctly understand that I did not promise that the result would be favourable even then.

On the 13th the eastern Lushais went away, saying that they would inform all the villages which they represented as friendly of my views.

At this time thinking that possibly a force might have been sent overland to look for us, I sent letters to the villages of Pibuk, Mehtong, and Dhurmongpi, recommending them to the protection of the officers in command of the party if it should reach any of them on its way to where we were. On the evening of the 15th I determined after great hesitation to send two constables and two coolies with a letter to the station. I had already sent down six out of our little force, and it seemed almost folly to reduce it still further under existing circumstances.

Besides, I was very unwilling to risk the lives of the little party, for I had heard that there were ten raiders unaccounted for, and if they were lurking in the jungle, they might have overpowered the two constables. However, I could not send more men, and the suspense and anxiety for news were fast becoming unbearable. Meantime each day people came in from Dhurmongpi's village with rice, fowls, roots, and now and then a little salt. Some of these brought in a rumour, at first shapeless and intangible, of the capture by Savoong of an European. By degrees we made out that a party of traders from one of Sookpilal's villages had been down to trade among the Syloos, and had there heard that a little girl had been taken captive in the west, but were Dhurmongpi's people could not tell, neither did they know by whom the raid had been committed. But they said that they thought the child had been probably carried to the village of Savoong, the great Chief of the Syloos. On the 16th, Tungupa, an old Lushai, on whom we placed much reliance, started off for the south to get what information he could about the western raid, and to find out if there were any chance of recovering the little girl.

We now felt our position getting more uncomfortable every day. The continued delay in the arrival of news from Cachar made us fear that our messengers might have been attacked and killed, or taken captives on the way down. We knew that this was in the highest degree improbable, but we could not account for the delay by any other hypothesis. If this conjecture were correct, we should have in all probability to fight our way down if we went by river, in which case the chances were that none of us would have escaped alive. On the other hand, I had not sufficient food for the land route. Besides this, if we had gone down, then the Lushais would have thought that we did so either through fear, an idea I was very unwilling they should conceive, or with the intention of returning in a hostile manner, in which case their best policy would have been to cut us off, if possible, on the way down. We had every reason to believe in the friendliness of the people of Dhurmongpi and the other villages on the west: they were bringing in supplies daily, and we felt that somehow or other we must in the long run get intelligence from Cachar. All these things were in favour of our remaining where we were.





On the other side was the knowledge that Vonole's tribe was hostile, and that we had thought it necessary to defy in a kind of way the other eastern clans. There was the cruel uncertainty about what had happened in the west, of which we knew scarcely more than that it must have been something very bad. We could not tell what pressure the south-western tribes might be able to bring on Sookpilal to betray us, or whether they were not strong enough to attack and cut us up, or (what I personally feared more) take us prisoners in spite of him. These seemed reasons for attempting to get back to Cachar at any risk.

I confess that I felt at this time considerable anxiety about our position. Fortunately I had three as brave and prudent advisers as a man could wish for in a case of difficulty in Mr. Burland, Inspector Dost Mahomed, and Baboo Hurry Charan Sarma. I talked over our position with them separately, and then resolved to wait for intelligence till the 22nd, and, if we got no news by that time, to send for the headmen of the villages round and inform them that we were going down to find out why intelligence and supplies had not come up, and then get back to Cachar as quickly as possible. On the 20th, however, people from the eastern villages came in. With them was the Muntri of Sookpilal, who had left us on the 7th. He said that he had gone to the village of Lalboorah in the hope of being able to get back the captives; that he had failed in doing so then, but that he thought they would be sent to me if I went across to Tipai Mukh. He said that Lalboorah was anxious to make terms, but I refused, as I mentioned above, even to listen to any overtures while our subjects were in captivity. The Muntris said that all the other eastern people were very anxious that I should go through their villages to Tipai Mukh, and that they would do anything I chose to demand in proof of their fidelity. They said that Khalkom, Sookpilal's son, would come to me at any place or time I chose to fix. On the same day some of the people I had sent to the south came in to say that they had ascertained that the little girl had been taken from a tea garden on the west of the Dullessur; that the attack had been made by Bhenkeri and Songboong, sons of Lalpitang, a powerful Howlong Chief; that the people of the Sylloo Chief, Sayoong, had been concerned in it, and that it was in all probability organized by Gaurshailon, or Mischoidal, son of Lalchokla, transported in 1845, a Poitoo Chief, who is said to be at present living on the lands of Ali Ahmed Khan, a Sylhet zemindar. Their chief reasons for suspecting him was that two of his Muntris were known to have gone down to the Chittagong Chiefs a short time before the latter started on the raid.

The child was said to be in the village of Bhenkeri's mother, the widow of Lalpitang, and to be treated with some kindness. It was also said that there were rumours that the Chiefs were debating about sending her either to Rutton Poa or to Sookpilal, in order that she might be either taken to Chittagong or brought into Cachar, but it was thought that either Chiefs would be unwilling to have anything to do in the matter lest he should be suspected of complicity in the raid. I sent down at once to Sookpilal to ask him to give any assistance in his power to recover the child, and if he could get her, to send her down to Cachar as quickly as possible on a raft. While I was still discussing these points with the Lushais, five messengers from Captain Lightfoot made their appearance. They had left him before he had met my messengers of the 16th. Captain Lightfoot's men were led by Raopa Muntri, a Thlanguni Kookie, who had done me right good service all through this tour. He had gone down with Rajkissen on the 6th, and had now, when Captain Lightfoot had found a difficulty in getting a man to take a letter to me, volunteered to make an attempt with four of my Mikir coolies, who had also gone down on the 6th. On learning all that had taken place in the district, I resolved to give up my plan of crossing to the Tipai and to return to Süchar as quickly as possible. I sent information of this to all the villages round, and sent to ask Khalkom to meet me at Lushai Bazar on the way down.

On the 21st Captain Lightfoot arrived, and we decided to start for Cachar on the morning of the 24th, as all my arrangements could not be completed before the evening of the 23rd.

On the 22nd I got intelligence that a small party of Howlongs, without the consent of their Chiefs, had started on a plundering expedition, and that it was probable they would attack some of the gardens east of the Dullessur in South Hylakandy. I sent off news of this to the station at once.

We started on the morning of the 24th and reached Lushai Bazar during the afternoon. That evening, after dinner, Khalkom came into our camp and talked with us for a couple of hours. He said that all we had heard about the perpetrators of the eastern raids was correct, but that in addition to Bhenkeri and Sangboong there was a third





Chief, a second Lalboorah, nearly related to Vandoola, engaged in the raids on the west. He said that Savoong's people were almost certainly concerned in the raids, but he did not seem so satisfied of the complicity of Gnurshailon as all the people to the west apparently were.

Khalkom said in reply to our questions that the chief object of the raids was plunder, and that all other causes were merely secondary. We asked him what turn he thought affairs would now take. He said that he could not say much about the Howlongs or Syloos, but that he thought that Lalboorah was frightened at the position he was in, and that he would be glad to come to terms with us. In case we wished this, he said, we should find Poiboi useful, for he was friendly to us, and had weight with Lalboorah. But Khalkom's own opinion was that we should not succeed in making any arrangement of a permanent nature with either the eastern or southern Kookies until we had thoroughly frightened them as he expressed it. In the event of our resolving to attack Lalboorah, he offered to accompany the force in person and to supply guides and fighting men if required. He said that the routes from Tipai Mukh to the villages of Vonolel's sons are not difficult, and that elephants could get along them. He advised us to take the route along the Hachuk if we intended to attack the Howlongs and Syloos from the Cachar side, but he seemed to think that these tribes could be more easily reached from Chittagong, and he said that we should find a difficulty in getting water in some parts of the Hachuk range. If, however, we chose to attack from the side, he undertook that his father and brother would supply us with guides. He informed me that if one force were to start from Tipai Mukh and work down in a south-westerly direction through the villages of the sons of Vonolel, and another were to take a north-easterly line through the Howlong villages from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, they would meet in the villages of Bhuta. Before he went away I asked him again whether he had not heard some details of the western raids. He said that he had heard scarcely anything except the names of the leaders, and that Savoong, and possibly Gnurshailon, had assisted in it.

If the statements made to me on this subject were true, the authorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts ought by this time to have heard something in corroboration of them. At present there is very little independent evidence. In a memorandum of the Commissioner of Chittagong, dated 14th January 1871, he states that a party of Howlongs under two Chiefs, Mongpoon and Seipooya, had started through the Syloo country to make a raid on the north-west. I cannot find the name of Mongoon in any list of Howlong Chiefs. Seipooya is stated in one list to be the younger brother of Vandool, and it is possible that the southern Lalboorah may turn out to be his son. In a later telegram it was said that Syloos who were seen selling forks and other things in one of the Chittagong marts said that they had got them from the people of Sookpial and Lalboorah who had themselves obtained them in a raid on Cachar. From this account it is impossible to say which Lalboorah is intended, whether the son of Vonolel, or the kinsman of Vandoola. The Lushais I saw stuck all through to their original statement that the head of the western raiders was son of Lalpitang. The day after I left Changsil a trader with salt arrived there from the station. He remained at Changsil for seventeen days. During that time he saw great numbers of people from the villages of Sookpial and the neighbouring Chiefs. Some of those people told him that a raid had been made by people of a Chief living to the south-west. He thinks they said that the name was Lalpitang, but he does not remember accurately.

The direction in which he says they pointed is certainly that of Sangboong's village, as shown to me from the site of Morah's Poonji. They told him that they did not know exactly where the raid had been made, but that they thought it was in the direction of Sylhet.

Since I came back to the station I have got a bit of intelligence which I am inclined to connect with Gnurshailon. Mr. Stuart of Anworkhal tells me that some time before the raid on Kutlecherra four Kookies, apparently, from Mr. Stuart's description, Paitos from Sylhet, had asked Mr. Bagshawe to allow them to look for a site for a new village on the range behind. He gave them permission, and they spent several days in the jungle exploring. A short time before the raid they are said to have appeared and said they could not settle there unless supplied with guns. Upon Mr. Bagshawe's refusal they went away. After the raid it was discovered that a new path had been cut from the high range to the vicinity of one of the garden roads, and that the raiders had come by this path. This matter will be enquired into most carefully. It may turn out that the story is incorrect, or that the circumstances had nothing to do with the raids. At present, however, I cannot help connecting it with the statement that two of Gnurshailon's





Muntris went down to the southern Chiefs just before the raiders started. This man has been in some way mixed up with all the frontier troubles for years back, and I do not think it is likely that he has been idle this year. Khalkom directed a Muntri of Sookpial and two from the eastern villages to accompany us to Cachar and to remain with me until I gave them leave to go back. They are here now.

Nothing worthy of notice occurred after Khalkom left us. I hurried on ahead of the escort and reached Monierkhal on the evening of the 27th.

It may not be out of place here to give some information of the position and internal relations of the people to the south of Cachar. This information is not, however, new, for it may be found scattered through various reports made by me from time to time during the last three years. In describing the position of the various clans, I shall begin from the west, and work east for convenience sake.

East of the district of Comillah is a hill tract known as Independent Tipperah or Hill Tipperah, as it has been the fashion to term it for two or three years back. This is inhabited partly by Tipperahs and partly by Kookies under Chiefs of the Poitoo family. The best known and most influential of these is named Mischoilon or Gaurshailon or Mischoial. There are several other versions of the name. He is son of Lalchokla, a Chief who surrendered in 1845 to Captain Blackwood on a promise of pardon. According to the Kookies, Lalchokla was, however, tried and transported for life, and his dubiously named son is said to have sworn to take vengeance on us, a vow which he has religiously observed.

East of the Poitoo are the villages of the Syloos. Their most powerful Chief is Savoong. Majors Graham and Macdonald got to some of their villages last December.

The Syloos swore friendship with Captain Lewin in 1868; but, as shown above, there is reason to believe that they were concerned in the recent raids. Savoong's village is said to be on the west bank of the Gootur on a hill which was pointed out to me apparently thirty miles south of Beparri Bazar. On the east side of the Gootur are the villages of the sons of Lalpitang, who has been always considered by us as the most powerful of all the Lushais. I extract a passage from a Report of Major Stewart dated 10th April 1862:—"Between the villages of Ruttun Poa (Captain Raban's opponent) and (the Cachar) Lushais, there are other villages of Lushais at war with them, the Chief of these is Lalpitang, three days' journey south of Sookpial. \* \* \* Of Lalpitang all that is known is, that it is numerically equal to the three tribes north of it."

In a previous paragraph Major Stewart had stated that the number of the three tribes was 27,500, therefore he considered Lalpitang's villages to number 27,500 more. This I consider to be an enormous exaggeration. East of the villages of Lalpitang's sons are the villages of their cousin Vandoola or Vandullah. He is considered by the Chittagong authorities to be head of the Chiefs, whom they call Howlongs, and probably he is now the most influential among them, but we in Cachar have always considered Lalpitang to be the more powerful of the two.

To sum up what I know of the southern tribes. North, east, and south-east of the villages inhabited by Tipperahs are Poitoo and cognate Kookie villages. East of them and apparently west of the headwater of the Gootur are Syloos, among whom the leading Chief is Savoong. East of them and south of Mote khlang (shown in Major Macdonald's map) are the Howlong Chiefs, among whom the most prominent are Vandullah and the sons of his cousin, Lalpitang.

Ruttun Poa is further south, and practically may be said to be in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. East of all these are villages of different tribes called Poi by the Lushais. These northern Poes are said not to be Lakhayr Poes (Shindoos), but probably they are closely connected with them. If we return again to our frontier, we find to the south-west of Cachar and north of Savoong the villages of Sookpial. His own village lies between the Gootur and the Dullessur on a high hill called Ryek, which I cannot identify with certainty on the map, but which is probably the hill marked D. south of Tongpial. North of Sookpial is the village of his sister Vamatang, reached by Mr. Kemble in 1869. The village of Tongpial, an inferior Chief, is further east. To the west are villages of Sookpial's brother, Thumbum, and his son, Garack. East of the Dullessur and a little to the north of Sookpial's latitude are the villages of his mother, Pibuk, and a sister, Ruttungpi; further north are Mehtong and Dhurmongpi. East of the Sonai are Khalkom, a son of Sookpial, Impance, and some smaller villages; further south, close on to the Howlongs, are the villages of Bhuta, who himself is said to live on





a hill called Kotuiloan, a peak of the Kanthong range from which the Sonai rises. Going to the north and north-east across the Tipai, we get to Kholei, the village of Vonpilal's son, Lalhi. This is two days' journey south of Tipai Mukh. One long march further on towards the south-east is the village of Poiboi. Two days further on his Groupa, a village formerly inhabited by Labroom, brother of Poiboi and by his grandmother, Vonolei's mother. One day and a half more in a south-easterly direction one gets to the village of Lalboorah, better known as Vonolei's village. Tangdong, who attacked the rear guard at Nugdigram, lives one day further on a hill to the north-east.

South-west of Lalboorah are his brothers Lenkom and Deoute; further east are Pois; and north of them, in or on the watershed of the Irrawaddy, are the Soktees or Pytes whose great Chief is Kambow. The above is a rough and possibly incomplete account of the position of the chief villages between Tipperah on the west and the Great Burma range on the east, and between Sylhet, Cachar, and Manipur on the north, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts on the south. I shall now try to give an idea of the internal relations of these clans, a knowledge of which is, I think, of the greatest importance to us. Probably, the best way to do this will be to relate what I know of the history of the family of Lalul, which is the one that has had the closest connection with Cachar for many years back.

When we first took possession of the district the hills to the south were occupied by various clans of the tribe called Kookie by Bengalees. Villages under Poitoo Chiefs held the Hachuk range up to the Gootur. East of the Dullessur were Thado Chiefs. There were Changsils on the range which runs south of the Bhubuns, which were held by Thlangums.

The Sailreem Chiefs were east of the Tipai. Besides these there were many other clans, such as Hraltes, Warpies, &c. All these were people of the same race, speaking dialects of the same language, wearing the same dress, and having the same customs, form of polity, and religious belief. But they were constantly at war with one another, and when one Chief became more powerful than any of his rivals, the latter used to move up into Cachar, taking with them as many people as remained faithful. But the majority of the clan generally went over to the village of the stronger Chief. It was just as if in a feud between the Campbells and the Macgregors, the former had proved better men and had driven the Macgregor Chief with some of his clan to take refuge in the low lands, the Campbells taking all the clan lands and inducing the greater number of the Macgregors to remain on them and acknowledge the head of the Campbells as their Chief. About sixty years ago a Chief, named Lalul, of the Lushai clan, whose village was then situated far to the south-east, began to get formidable to his neighbours, and he pushed his village on towards the Cachar frontier forcing the Chiefs that he dispossessed to move north. He had five sons, Lalingvoo, Lalsavoong, Mongper, Bhuta, and one whose name I don't know. Each of these when grown up started a village on his own account, and so successful were they that twenty years ago Mongper had driven out the Poitons and moved his villages up to the Pakwa, north of Chutterchoora. Lalingvoo had all the country between the Dullessur and the Tipai, the Thado Changsil and Thlangum Chiefs having taken refuge in Cachar. Lalsavoong had completely broken up the Sailreems and got their hills east of the Tipai, while Bhuta had got the lands, which he still holds, to the south of Lalingvoo.

Mora, the son of the latter, made a raid on a Thado village in Cachar in 1849. This was followed by an expedition under Colonel Lister, who burned the Lushai village. Soon after this Mora died leaving a son, Vonpilal, during whose boyhood the affairs of the clan were managed by Impanu, widow of Mora. Vonpilal died a couple of years ago, aged twenty, leaving an infant son, Lalhi. The consequence of the early deaths of Mora and his son is that the clan has grown very weak. It has almost lost the land between the Dullessur and the Sonai, which has been annexed by Sookpilal, son of Mongper.

Impanu, in order to strengthen herself, some time since invited Bhuta to move a village north to a hill south of Dallong and about due east of Mehtong between the Sonai and Tipai. Bhuta was anxious for this, but Impanu changed her mind and allowed Khalkom, son of Sookpilal, to settle there instead. To avenge this, Bhuta's people plundered Impanu's village last year, and burned Thangtiloon, a small village of Hraltes belonging to her, this year. In spite of this Khalkom holds on, and now the villages of Sookpilal and his sons extend from the Gootur to the Tipai.





Two of Lalsavoong's sons, Lalpung and Vonolel, became great Chiefs. The son of the former is Poiboi, whose village is south of Tipai Mukh. Vonolel's sons are Lenkom, Deonte, and Lalboorah, who has succeeded to his father's village. Vonolel had a second brother, whose name was, I think, Thangchao. He is now represented by his son, Tangdong, whose village, however, is always considered to be one of Vonolel's. In the last mentioned villages, besides the usual mixture of Kookie clans, there are great numbers of Pois. People of this tribe took an active part in the attack on Monierkhall, and I have been informed that five of them were killed. The village of Lalboorah is said to contain about two hundred and fifty houses, but there are several small villages near which contain about three hundred more. Tangdong's is said to have contained about two hundred houses before it was destroyed by Kamhow. One account gives Lenkom one hundred and fifty, another not more than ninety. Deonte is said to have had a large village once, but it has dwindled down to about forty houses. Possibly these may be understated, but I have generally found the tendency to be toward exaggeration. One of the greatest foes of the eastern Lushais is Kamhow, who is said to have burned Tangdong's village and carried away his wife while Tangdong was making his raid on us.

It is probable that if we knew more than we do of the Howlong and Syloo Chiefs, we should find that their history and position resemble those of the family of Lahul, who is said by the Lushais to have been of the same stock as Vandool, Lalpitang, and Savoong, and I dare say that careful enquiry would show that the villages of the latter, like those of the former, are to a great extent composed of a motley collection of people from the various clans dispossessed from time to time by the Howlong and Syloo Chiefs.

This accounts for the constant fluctuations which we observe in the relative power of different Chiefs. If a man is dissatisfied with his Chief, there is nothing to prevent his moving to the village of another Chief. Consequently, when any Chief is unfortunate or unpopular, his village and, with it, his general influence dwindle away, as his people desert him for luckier or more popular Chiefs. I think it is of the utmost importance that these circumstances should not be overlooked either in shaping our future policy or in the dealings of local officers with the Lushais, and I believe that, if we know how to take advantage of the relations of the people to their Chiefs, we shall find in them a most valuable auxiliary force, not only in our immediate work of securing our cultivated frontier, but also in the attempts which, as I fervently hope, we shall make hereafter to elevate and benefit the hill men themselves.

J. WARE EDGAR.

CACHAR;

*The 9th March 1871.*

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MR. EDGAR'S NOTES ON THE LUSHAI AND OTHER KOOKIES.

*Part II.*

The importance to us of thoroughly understanding and realizing the composition and internal relations of the Kookie tribe is even greater than it seems at first sight. There are Kookie Chiefs settled in Manipur, Cachar, Sylhet, Tipperah, and possibly in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong. These Chiefs and the people with them have been driven out of the hills south of Cachar, as I pointed out in the previous part of these Notes, by other Kookie Chiefs of the clan known to us by the name of Lushai. We, seeing this and hearing complaints from time to time of outrages committed in our territory by the people of the Lushai Chiefs on the people of the ejected Chiefs, are apt to look upon the latter as a distinct race from the former, separated by them by impassable barriers raised not only by years of feud, but by difference of blood, of customs, and of language. Closely connected with this belief is an idea that our hill men are always in dispute with the Lushais; that in all frontier matters we can depend implicitly on their fidelity; that their peaceful habits, gentleness, and truthfulness offer a sharp contrast to the turbulence, cruelty, and treachery of their opponents—much in the way that the friendly Indians of Cooper's Novels are represented to possess all the imagined virtues of the uncorrupted child of nature, while the hostile tribes are incarnations of all kinds of wickedness. An accurate knowledge of the composition of the tribe and of the relations of its clans to one another shows that all this is exactly the reverse of the real facts.





The people who live in the village of a Thado Chief in Cachar or a Poitoo Chief in Sylhet or Tipperah differ in no respect from the people who live under a Lushai Chief. Probably there will be a greater proportion of people of the Lushai family under the latter, a greater proportion of Thados or Poitoos under the former, but the elements are precisely the same in both cases. Again, people from Lushai villages constantly come and settle in villages within our jurisdiction, while people from our hill villages from time to time join the Lushai Chiefs. More than this, whole villages with their Chiefs occasionally move from one jurisdiction to another, or leave our districts for the tracts outside.

These Chiefs, when not openly on bad terms with the Lushai Chiefs, are generally engaged in intrigues with them, which sometimes result in raids in our territory, sometimes in attacks made by one clan upon another. A brief sketch of the history of one family, that of Gnurshailon, some at least of the Chiefs of which are now settled in our territory, may show, perhaps, better than the above general remarks that the present position of the Kookie subjects of our Government as well as of those of Tipperah and Manipur is full of danger to the safety of the frontier. Most of the facts will be found in Mr. Mackenzie's memorandum on the North-East Frontier, others I have learned lately.

When the Lushai Chief Lalui began to push towards the north and west, the hills east of the Dullessur were occupied by villages under a family of Poitoo Chiefs, the most influential of whom was named Laroo. These Poitoos are also sometimes called Kachoks, but the latter name seems to be used by Kookies as a general term to describe all other clans of Kookies but that to which the speaker belongs. Laroo was driven out of the hills between the Dullessur and the Gootur by Mongper, father of Sookpilal, and then seems to have taken a position north of Chatterchoora, where, however, he was very hard pressed by the Lushai Chiefs. At length, after a very severe raid, the Poitoos asked for the help of two Manipuri Rajputras, Ram Sing and Tribhubhanjit, who were at that time settled in south Hylakandy. These Chiefs are said to have collected their retainers, and, under the guidance of the Poitoos, to have surprised Mongper's village and taken him prisoner. They released him, however, on his promising not to molest any of the Poitoo or Manipuri villages near the frontier. This agreement was kept until 1841 when Tribhubhanjit was defeated in an attempt made by him to get possession of the Manipur State. Immediately on this Mongper attacked Laroo, and drove him with some of his people from the Chatterchoora range to the south of Kailashur in Sylhet. Mongper then moved his village to the north of Chatterchoora, where he was joined by many of the people of the Poitoo Chief.

Some time after this Laroo died. His son, Lalchokla, became reconciled to Mongper, and immediately committed a raid on the Manipur village of Kochobarri, where he killed twenty people and carried off six prisoners. Lalchokla afterwards said that he did this in revenge for injuries done to his father, Laroo, by Tribhubhanjit. But this was untrue, and the story was evidently suggested by the attack on Mongper, made, as described above, mainly to protect the Poitoos. Probably the raid was suggested, if not aided, by Mongper.

The Kochobarri outrage took place in May 1844, and in December of the same year some troops led by Captain Blackwood were sent from Kailashur against Lalchokla. They were assisted by a cousin of the latter, Lalmai Sing, who led them to the village. They there obtained possession of all the year's crops, and in a few days Lalchokla surrendered, as all the Kookies say, on being told by Lalmai Sing that he would not be put to death or kept in captivity. Of course, Captain Blackwood did not know of this promise, but from what I know of the Kookie character I have little doubt that it was made by Lalmai Sing.

However, Lalchokla was tried at Sylhet, and transported for life. He left a son, Gnurshailon, who is said to have taken an oath to avenge what he considers our breach of faith with his father.

In 1849 simultaneously with the raid on Cachar made by Lalingvoo's son, Mora, some of our wood-cutters were massacred to the south of Sylhet and a Tipperah village burned. The perpetrators of these outrages were described at the time as Kachaks, and there is little doubt that they were Poitoos of Gnurshailon's clan. The matter, however, does not seem to have been carefully enquired into at the time. Probably about this time Gnurshailon married Vaniatang, a daughter of Mongper, and sister of Sookpilal. He then settled in the Sylhet District, and had a large village there partially peopled by Lushai and other adherents of his wife.





In course of time, however, Vaniatang and her husband quarrelled, and she with her people left him and returned to her bother Sookpial, near whom she established a village, the one seen by Messrs. Baker and Kemble in 1869. Gnurshailon seems after this to have left Sylhet and taken his village into Hill Tipperah. This separation led to an unintelligible dispute between Sookpial and his brother-in-law about the price of the bride, which was patched up in 1862 on a proposal made by Gnurshailon that they should join and make a raid on Sylhet. This led to the Adampoor massacre in 1862 in which Sookpial, Gnurshailon, and two relatives and dependants of the latter, Rungbhoom and Lal Hoodien, were concerned. At this time Gnurshailon was supposed to reside in Hill Tipperah, and is said to have been under the protection of the Bor Thakoor who was supposed at that time to favour the pretensions of Nilkiso, the unsuccessful claimant to the Raj. The present Rajah offered to give up Gnurshailon, but we did not accept his offer, and when he was asked about him in 1867 he denied all knowledge of him. For some time after the Adampoor massacre Gnurshailon remained quiet, and we thought he had disappeared from the scene. However the dispute between him and Sookpial was somehow reopened, and about 1868 he made an alliance with the Syloo Chief, Savoong, who has been long on bad terms with Sookpial. Meantime Rungbhoom, and possibly other Poitoo Chiefs, had moved into Sylhet from Tipperah and were attacked there by Sookpial's people in 1869. They afterwards accompanied Messrs. Baker and Kemble to the Lushai villages. These are the people to whom we suppose the four men who were at Katlicherra in November belonged, and whom I suspect of having got up the raid on our western gardens. Yet I am informed that all these Chiefs, Gnurshailon, Rungbhoom, and Lal Hoodien, are at present residing in the Sylhet District under the protection of Ali Ahmed, a Sylhet Zemindar. The Magistrate has been asked to enquire into the truth of this, but whether it is the case or not, the really dangerous thing is that it should be probable or even possible. The fact is that the state of the law and the ease with which these people move from one jurisdiction to another make it almost impossible to deal with them effectually. I think that wandering tribes like the Kookies should be exempted from the operation of Sections 25 and 26 of the Criminal Procedure Code and Section 4 of Act VIII of 1859, and that the jurisdiction over them should be made to depend on their race, not on their geographical position, at any given time. In other words, I should propose to treat them on somewhat the same principle as that theoretically adopted by the Government of the United States in dealing with the Indian tribes. This would require some legislative action, a special agency, and special tribunals. There might also be some difficulty in getting such a system to work in districts like Sylhet and Cachar without clashing with the jurisdiction of the existing courts, but I think that this difficulty might be got over with a little care and trouble. Of course, the above remarks apply mainly to our own districts. The Rajahs of Tipperah and Manipur should be pressed to put all matters connected with the management of their subject Kookies into the hands of the Political Agent in each State, who could then work in close connection with our own frontier officers.

If the system above indicated or some similar one could be carried out, we should have taken the first step towards protecting our cultivated frontier from Kookies external to it by getting a real control over the Kookies settled in our districts in Manipur and in Tipperah. But, of course, any measures of this nature would have no effect by themselves, and it is of more immediate importance to settle on the direct action to be taken with regard to the Lushai Chiefs and their villages. I have seen many propositions for the defence of our frontier and for the prevention of outrages like those committed in 1869 and this year, but I think they may all be classed under one of three heads.

The first of these may be called the policy of pure defence. It is to have as few relations as possible with the tribe, and, in the words of Lord Dalhousie used of another frontier, "to confine ourselves to the establishment of effective means of defence on the line of our own frontier."

A second line of policy is the permanent occupation of the Lushai Hills and the more or less complete subjugation of their inhabitants.

A third course is to refrain from occupying the country or from exercising any direct control over the people, and to attempt to gain an effectual influence over them by conciliatory measures by doing all in our power to extend trade and other humanising influences, while making the Chiefs and their followers clearly understand that we had both the power and the determination to inflict severe punishment for any misbehaviour on their part.