



The first plan has, perhaps, the merit of being the most consistent with our general frontier policy, and it would apparently lead to fewer complications than either of the other two. But I think that practically it would be found the most difficult and in the end by far the most expensive course that could be adopted.

It must always be borne in mind in considering this question that our exposed tea gardens and villages are as yet mere specks of cultivation in a vast expanse of marshes, hills, and forests, and that to give effectual protection to them by means of guards and outposts we should require a line that could not be slipped through with safety, extending from north-east of the tea gardens on the Jeri round the south of Cachar and Sylhet and probably through Hill Tipperah, to the north-west of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and along the north of that district to Arracan. The difficulties and cost of establishing such a line of posts are questions of a military nature, and I do not feel competent to discuss them. But I may point out how, under certain contingencies, the network of roads which would necessarily form part of the line of defence might become a serious danger to the frontier.

It would be impossible to keep up the guards during the rains except at a great sacrifice of human life, and it is likely that in very unhealthy seasons it might be absolutely necessary to withdraw them altogether, in which case, if the Lushais were unfriendly, they might make use of the roads in attacking our villages and gardens. Hitherto we have enjoyed a practical immunity from raids during the rains. But this has not been, because the Lushais cannot get about at this season. On the contrary, this is their best time for collecting rubber, and they constantly come during the rains in pursuit of game along the high hills almost up to our cultivation. But they fear the low hills that surround our gardens with their rank and in the rainy season almost impenetrable vegetation, and the treacherous streams and strips of marsh that intersect them. Our paths would enable them to overcome the difficulty and would, when the guards were withdrawn, deprive us of the protection which we now have for eight months of the year.

This danger would, of course, be equally great if instead of thoroughly defending the whole of the exposed line, we were to select for complete protection certain portions of it, while during the cold weather attacks would be almost certainly diverted to the positions left imperfectly defended. Such are a few, and only a few, of the considerations which would lead me to reject the policy of pure defence if a more hopeful one could be devised. The permanent occupation of all the hills lying west of the watershed of the Irrawaddy, if accompanied by the complete subjugation of the tribes inhabiting them, would have the great advantage of almost completely protecting the south frontier of Cachar and Sylhet as well as Hill Tipperah, and in some measure the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In other words, it would have the effect of pushing the line to be defended some eighty miles, perhaps more, east of Hill Tipperah. I have no doubt that all the villages west of this line could be brought under subjection. Of course a strong military expedition at the outset would be necessary, and even after that the work would be troublesome and very costly. Still the thing could be done, and the only question to be considered is whether the advantage would outweigh the disadvantage.

If by subjugating the people of these hills we should deprive them of the power of injuring us, we should at the same time deprive them of the power of defending themselves against attacks from outside, and we should take upon ourselves the duty of protecting them from such attacks. We do not know with anything like an approach to certainty how far east lies the portion of the watershed of the Irrawaddy, connecting the Yuma range east of Arracan with the Laimatoh range west of Manipur, nor do we really know what people we may find in addition to the Lushais west of this line. For instance, it is not impossible that some at least of the Sokte villages and some of the people called Poies by the Lushais are on this side of the watershed. We should therefore in occupying these hills undertake to defend a country about the extent and inhabitants of which we know scarcely anything. But we know still less of the people from whose attacks we should have to defend it. The hills east of the watershed are supposed to be subject to the Burmese, but their inhabitants are described by Sir Arthur Playze to be "practically as independent and as little known as the tribes of Central Africa before the days of Burton, Speke, and Grant."

The little that is known of these tribes seems to show that they are more numerous, fiercer, and more untractable than those nearer our present frontier.





It is, therefore, possible that after we had with great difficulty and expense subdued every Chief up to the watershed, we might find that we have to defend a more difficult frontier than the present one from more formidable assailants than we now have to deal with, and that too at a much greater distance from the cultivated districts which must always be the base of any operations whether defensive or offensive. In the above remarks I have taken it for granted that the whole country up to the nominal Burmese frontier would be occupied, and effective measures at once taken to establish our authority over the inhabitants. It might be urged that the occupation of a portion of the hills, say, of all to the west of the Tipai, would be sufficient, or that instead of employing at once sufficient force to reduce all the villages to submission, we might, while declaring that our jurisdiction extended over the whole territory, take our own time in reconciling the facts with this theory, and, as opportunity offered, extend our actual rule to one village after another.

As one of the objects of the occupation would be effectually to protect Cachar, I think that no boundary short of the watershed would be sufficient. The clans who attacked Monierkhal and Nudigram this year came from the east of the Tipai, and their conduct at the Monierkhal stockade showed that they are a more formidable enemy than we have had to deal with hitherto. The occupation of the hills west of the Tipai would directly put any restraint on them, and might have the effect of making them attack us more furiously than before by exciting their anger without depriving them of the power to hurt. The Chiefs too of the villages occupied by us would not fail to increase the danger by their intrigues, and they would possibly attempt to divert suspicion from themselves by inducing the eastern clans to attack the exposed gardens on the Jeri and the Barak which are, perhaps, the most difficult of all for us to defend. The objections to a gradual and at first merely nominal occupation of country are the same in kind, but far stronger.

Even if we were eventually to succeed in extending our authority to all the villages, and success would be by no means a certainty, there would be a long intervening period during which the danger of attacks on Cachar would be, perhaps, greater than it is now, and such attacks, if made by people nominally our subjects and theoretically within our jurisdiction, would have a worse moral effect than even unpunished outrages committed by wild tribes whom we do not pretend to govern. In Eastern Bengal, with its dangerous Mussulman population and its colonies of intriguing Manipuris and wild hill-men, it is of vital importance that every man should feel that our rule is a real one wherever we choose to extend it, and that the power of our Government is sufficient to enforce unqualified submission from every one living within the limits of our territorial jurisdiction. Besides this, if we should eventually succeed in bringing all the villages up to the watershed by degrees under our rule, we should then have to face the difficulty of defending them from the tribes beyond. So that after many years of possible suffering to our subjects, and of danger to the internal peace of our districts, we should be in no better position than if we were to occupy and subdue the country at once. I have not said anything of the cost of administering the hills after our authority had been once established in them, because I believe that their wealth in forest products would be great enough if properly managed to do more than make the district self-supporting, that is, if in addition to the expense of the internal administration we should not have to take costly precautions against the inroads of the tribes to the east.

On the whole, if we were confined to the alternative of merely defending our cultivated territory or of permanently occupying the hills west of the Irrawaddy watershed, I should, for the sake of my own district, prefer the latter. But I consider that the third line of policy mentioned above is in many ways better than either of the others.

I believe that by a just and prudent course of action we could bind the Kookies to us by ties so strong and lasting that the tribe, instead of being a source of difficulties and danger to us, would become our strongest frontier defence. But while I think that this can be done by conciliatory measures, I am convinced that we cannot hope to succeed unless we make the tribe feel that we can, and when occasion requires shall, not hesitate to punish for misbehaviours with unflinching severity. There would be no need of adopting a policy of reprisals in order to bring this home to the minds of the hill-men, and nothing but absolute necessity could justify such a policy. But it seems to me that a distinction should be made between a more system of counter raids and measures taken deliberately for the punishment of known offenders.





In the one case, perhaps, a year after the commission of an outrage a few troops or Police would be hurried into the hills, the first village reached, possibly an innocent one, would be burned, and the force would then hurry back to the plains pursued by angry hill-men like a swarm of hornets after an unwary intruder into their nest. After this nothing would be done till the next outrage, which would be followed by another miserable attempt at a reprisal, and so on in a monotonous and humiliating alternation of raids and counter raids. I can see no resemblance between such a system and a carefully organized and well conducted expedition, undertaken after grave deliberation, to inflict punishment of a defined character on known Chiefs, whose guilt had been established by careful enquiry, and who had previously rejected all the friendly advances made to them, such an expedition would be merely a break in the policy of conciliation, which could be resumed again immediately after the successful ending of the expedition with a certainty that hereafter, for a long time at least, there would be no danger of our friendship being despised or our motives misunderstood.

If the above views are correct, the only points we have to consider are whether the circumstances under which the recent raids were committed are such as to call imperatively for punishment, whether we have proof enough of the identity of the guilty parties to take action in the matter, and whether there is a reasonable probability of our being able to carry out a successful expedition.

I think an affirmative answer may be given to all these questions. The attacks on our gardens and villages were unprovoked, and were avowedly made for the sole object of getting plunder and prisoners. The raiders on one side were completely successful without apparently any loss to themselves, but after killing one European and many Natives they carried off much plunder and a large number of prisoners. The party attacking Monierkhal were not so fortunate, but though they suffered severe loss and did not get very much booty, still they did a great amount of mischief, besides killing a number of our troops and Police. Besides this they think that we were prepared for them in consequence of the information I sent in from Changsil and naturally hope to do better another time. Even if Cachar stood alone, punishment seems to me to be imperatively called for, but the outrages in Manipur, Sylhet and Tipperah make the case very much stronger.

There can be no doubt that the raids on Monierkhal and Nungdigram were committed by Lalboorah and Tangdong. The Manipur Political Agent seems to think that Poiboi was also concerned in them, but I have not been able to get any evidence of this. Indeed, all that I have heard favours an opposite view. The evidence against Bhenkuis and Sangboong seems to be strong enough to justify hostile measures, and Vandool and Savoong will probably find much difficulty in clearing themselves.

I have not noticed a statement made by some Kookies, who said they recognized one of Sookpial's son at Allinuggur. In the first place, because I do not know any further particulars and cannot tell how far we can depend upon the Kookies; and secondly, because I hope to get some reliable information from people who are going out with the three Lushais who accompanied me to Cachar. Meantime I may point out that before the last raids the Chittagong authorities warned us that Howlongs were on their way down the Dulloi to attack Cachar. Now the Dulloi runs near Allinuggur, and people working through the hill above it would probably come out at that place. Anyhow we may assume that the deplorable outrages at Kathicherra, Alexanderpoor, and the Anwar-khal Cachari village were committed mainly by Howlongs, and surely they ought not to go unpunished. Lastly, there is now better chance of conducting an expedition to a successful end than there has been hitherto. We now know the character of the country, and that it does not oppose any insuperable obstacles. We also know generally the direction of the villages we want to get at, and the way to reach them. Above all the information collected lately on this side and at Chittagong makes it possible to estimate the amount of oppositions we are likely to meet with and to form a definite plan for an expedition. Taking all these things into consideration, I have come to the conclusion that we ought to take measures to inflict punishment next cold weather on the perpetrators of the outrage of this year, and I should propose to send one force from Cachar to the villages of Lalboorah and Tangdong, and another from either Chittagong or Tipperah to the villages of the sons of Lalpitang. Of course I do not presume to make any definite suggestions about the strength of the force to be sent in, its organization, or the way in which it should be conducted. There are, however, some points upon which the knowledge I have gained in the hills may be useful. If an expedition should be decided





on, it is of the utmost importance that preparations should be commenced as early as possible. Supplies, carriage, &c., should be collected at Cachar during the rains and sent by the Barak to Tipai Mukh before the 1st of November, or at all events within a week after the cessation of the rains. I have assumed that Tipai Mukh would be adopted as the starting point, because it is nearer to Lalboorah's village than any other place that can be reached by water. The river up to it has been surveyed, and is navigable for boats of 200 maunds up to the very end of the rains, and although there are some shoals which impede the navigation in the dry season, still even then it is every way superior to either the Sonai or the Dullessur. From Tipai Mukh there are paths leading to the villages, but I am inclined to think that a little higher up the Barak there are better paths leading from a place at which some Manipuri traders have established a mart. Between Tipai Mukh and Lalboorah's village are the great villages of Kholei (Vongpila's) and Selliang (Poiboi's). It is almost certain that the former would side with us, and more than probable that the latter would follow its example. But it would be advisable to leave a strong guard near, but not in each. This would ensure the fidelity of the people, and when they found that we had no intention of injuring them, their women and children would probably return to the villages from their hiding places in the jungle. Of course if these people should prove friendly, the utmost care should be taken to protect them from any kind of injury or annoyance. Lalboorah's village would probably be found deserted, perhaps burned. The force should, however, establish itself there and send out parties to get possession of the grain in the Jumes, to make prisoners any women and children they could find, and disperse any parties of armed men they could get intelligence of. The clan on finding that the force did not meet to hurry back to the plains in the usual manner would probably take to offensive measures. It is not likely that they would venture to attack the main body or any of the securing parties, but it would almost certainly attempt to interrupt communications and cut off supplies. Besides attacking weak parties coming up from the rear, they would probably stake the paths leading from the base to the main body. They would, however, soon tire of this and attempt to negotiate. The surrender of the Chiefs concerned in the raids should be insisted on as a preliminary step. They would give themselves up if promised their lives and liberty on complying with our demands. A very heavy fine of elephants' tusks, metnags, gongs, and amber necklaces, should be imposed upon them, and they should be compelled with their people to assist in making a good path up to the place in which a junction with the Chittagong force should be effected. The latter expedition should *mutatis mutandis* proceed on the same principles as that from Cachar. In returning both should be accompanied by the Chiefs and headmen of the offending villages. This would prevent any attempts at annoyance on the way back.

In the foregoing remarks I have assumed that the force would not meet any resistance in its advance, but that the supports would require to be very strong in order to provide against annoyance after the villages had been occupied. From what I know of the Lushais and their ideas about fighting, I think that this is the most probable course of events. But there may be opposition, other clans may make common cause with those against whom our force would be directed, and these last might elect to stockade and defend their villages. In either case a strong force would be necessary, and above all things it should be thoroughly organized and equipped. It would be well, too, to post strong parties on Chatterchoora, Rengtipahar, and Bongkong, and to get the Rajah of Manipur to send a large force to some points south of Moirang. This measure would prevent Kanhow from giving any aid to the Lushais even if he were willing, which seems unlikely. Mr. McWilliam is at present engaged in collecting all available information about the relative position of the several Lushai villages and about the routes from Tipai Mukh. We shall then compare this with what I have learned during my tour in the hills, and then show the result of our enquiries as correctly as possible on the existing maps. As in this matter fullness and accuracy of information are of greater importance than haste in submitting it, we shall not send the final maps and reports of routes until we are satisfied that we have exhausted all means of adding to our knowledge or of correcting our present views. As soon, however, as I can get a copy of the Eastern Frontier map, I shall put down on it roughly the position of the chief villages and send it semi-officially. One very important point on which we hope to gain information is the supply of water along the route. It is possible that in some places there may be difficulty in getting water enough for the force, but this can be overcome by the use of Norton's pumps where the water rises from a considerable depth, and by carefully accumulating and economising it when it is dependent on mere surface drainage.





The question of carriage is very difficult. I should advise that elephants should be employed as much as possible on account of the difficulty of feeding coolies, and the danger of their breaking down. We should not be able to supply many elephants from this district or from Sylhet. They should therefore be sent up here, if possible, before the rains. The Mahouts should be all picked men, and great attention should be paid to the gear of the elephants. On this point more than anything else would their efficiency as a means of carriage depend.

After the termination of the expedition I think that we should again adopt those measures of conciliation which were interrupted by the outrages of this year. Chief among these is the development of trade. The history of our relations with the tribes on the North-Eastern Frontier abounds with examples of the eagerness of hill-men to trade, and of the beneficial influence which we have been able to exercise by taking advantage of it. But in all previous cases that I know of (with the doubtful exception of the Oossyah Hills) the trade has been of a comparatively unimportant description. Now the Lushais have not only an intense desire for many articles which they can only get from us, but also what is for the present a practically unlimited supply of a valuable staple, India rubber. The trade in this article may be said to have begun after the expedition of 1869. It has been hitherto confined to a few villages near the Cachar streams. By far the greater portion of the vast forest of caoutchouc trees are still untouched, yet the amount of rubber imported into Cachar since March of last year has been more than thirteen hundred maunds, said to be worth in Calcutta sixty-five thousand rupees. From the enquiries I made when in the hills, and from what I myself observed, I do not think that this was one-tenth of the possible outturn from the hills between Cachar, Manipur, and the hill tracts. The forests near the villages of the Howlongs and Sylloos are described to me as of far greater extent than those to the north. But strange to say, although people from the southern villages have been for years back trading in the Chittagong marts, they do not seem to have discovered the value of their rubber. I do not find India rubber mentioned among the articles from the hill tracts in the appendix to Captain Lewin's Report, and it is not noticed in the advertisement of the Mela at Chittagong. I have heard, however, of Lushai traders taking salt to the Howlong or Sylloo villages and exchanging it for four times its weight in rubber, that is for about forty times its intrinsic value, if the price of rubber be really so high as I have been told it is.

There are also said to be great forests of caoutchouc trees east of the Tipai which have scarcely been touched as yet. Even in the forests from which the rubber imported during last year was collected, a comparatively small proportion of the trees seem to have been tapped. Rude measures have also been taken for the preservation of the trees, and the Lushais with whom I have been have promised to plant out suitable portions of their jume lands, as they abandon them, with caoutchouc trees. This last, of course, is meant as a precaution for the future. At present there seems to be as much rubber as the Lushais can collect, and as the demand for the article seems to be steadily increasing, it is probable that the price will long continue at least as high as it now is. The Lushais therefore have the means of obtaining by trade far more wealth than they could possibly acquire by a long course of the most successful plundering, and they will come to realize this fact after a few years of intercourse with us, for they are not wanting in intelligence. But as they become rich, as their villages get filled with all the articles that hillmen covet, the danger to them of attacks of tribes still further east will be a constantly increasing one, and this must make them the more inclined to rely upon our good-will.

We shall be able to aid them by advice and probably eventually to give material assistance. Thus by degrees forming them into a barrier against the encroachments of the tribes beyond. In this way the rubber trade may have very valuable political results. I have dwelt on this article, because it is undoubtedly the most important, but besides rubber, cinnamon, lac, ivory, wax, cotton, and some other things of less value can be supplied from the Lushai Hills. I have also heard of something which I conjecture to be sandal-wood found in the Eastern Hills, as well as a pine yielding turpentine. I have attempted to introduce the cultivation of the potato among the people I have come in contact with, but I do not expect it would be likely to become an important export. Indeed, it is not impossible that after a time the clans nearest to us may find it more profitable to buy food from the plains than to produce it themselves. But it is not easy to forecast all the changes that the discovery of the caoutchouc forests will eventually produce in the internal economy of the clans inhabiting the Lushai Hills. While relying





mainly on trade as a means of influencing the Lushais, I should not neglect education. I do not mean so much instruction in book knowledge as in the simpler mechanical arts. At present some people in each village can work roughly in wood and iron, but the great intelligence which they show in all matters connected with mechanics makes me think that they could be taught to do much better.

Some of the people I have seen seem anxious to have their children taught to read and write Bengali. I think that this desire should be encouraged, and that we should do all in our power to gratify it. But I am adverse to forcing any kind of education on hillmen when there are no traces on their part of a spontaneous desire to learn. To my mind the most valuable school for the youth of the tribe would be some such Levy as one proposed by me in 1869 in a letter to the Commissioner of Dacca dated the 3rd of April of that year.

As I still hold the views then expressed about the usefulness of such a Levy, I shall here quote some passages from the Report:—

"The Kookie Levy was raised in 1850 at the recommendation of General Lister, partly as a force to be used against the Lushais, and partly to give employment to the youth of the Kookie tribes whose love for fighting, it was hoped, would then be legitimately gratified in defending our frontier instead of in murdering their neighbours, as had been their custom from time immemorial. How this project succeeded, what the Kookie Levy was, and what it might have become, may be learned from the Report of Major Stewart to Mr. Allen of the Board of Revenue, dated 25th September 1857. Major Stewart commanded the Levy for some years, and I know of no man whose opinion on the subject ought to outweigh his. The Levy was amalgamated with the new Police in 1863, and now in 1869 the Officiating District Superintendent of Cachar has stated in a report, which I have just received, that Kookies are unfit to defend outposts. I believe that I can account for the apparent degeneracy of men whom competent judges like General Lister and Major Stewart thought singularly brave.

"The Kookies, like most of the other tribes upon this frontier, are of a low civilization, even for hillmen they are dirty in their habits, and they eat the most revolting kinds of food; they are at the same time sensitive to praise or blame, submissive to their superiors, and always ready to yield to any one possessing a higher civilization than themselves. The effect of the organization of the police force and of the duties constables have to perform is to render men of such a character perfectly worthless as fighting men. They find themselves looked upon by the Hindoos and Mussulman constables as unclean savages, scarcely worthy to be called men. They see that their ignorance and incapacity to learn practically shut them out from promotion to higher grades in which a knowledge of reading and writing is required; when they go into the district to serve summonses or to perform other similar duties, they cannot help perceiving that they are regarded by the people with contempt as hillmen with hatred as policemen. The consequence is that the Kookie Constable is one of the meekest and most inoffensive of men, but in becoming so he has lost the pluck and love for fighting which used to excite the admiration of Major Stewart. In this way we are unable under the present system to make any real use of the classes most suited for the work to be done on the frontier, while the same objections that exist to the employment of regular troops, whether Sikhs or Hindoostanees, may be urged with equal force against the employment of Policemen of the same races in jungles so unhealthy as those of Cachar. But there is a point of view even more important than the defence of the frontier against hostile tribes from which I regard the project of reorganizing the Levy. It might be made the most powerful means of binding them to us by ties of friendship and loyalty. If I were allowed to reform the Levy, I should do all I could to induce Lushais, Angamis, and, in fact, men of all the neighbouring tribes to enlist in it, and I should, above all things, endeavour to get unmarried youths of the most warlike villages to spend in the Levy the years that are now employed in the commission of acts of the most revolting kind. During the time of their service we should have an opportunity of teaching them to see, however dimly, the value of the civilization superior to their own, and we might be able to foster a desire to share in its benefits. But should we fail in this (and I confess that I am not very hopeful about it), still I am certain that European officials in a few years of kindly intercourse could get such a hold on the affections of the young men that they would on their return to the villages do all in their power to keep up friendly relations between their tribes and us."



There can be no doubt that great advantages would be gained if we could see our way to recognizing any one Chief as head of the entire Kookio tribes, but this seems to me out of the question. I do not think that even among the limited number of Chiefs who claim descent from Lalai there is any one who could undertake to conduct the affairs of the whole family. The efforts of frontier officers might, however, be profitably directed to an attempt to form a kind of confederacy of villages for the common object of defence against the tribes to the east. They might be also taught to look upon our good-will as a sort of band connecting all the clans with which we maintained friendly intercourse, and be induced eventually to submit internal disputes to our officers for arbitration. Of course before we could gain an influence of this kind over the hillmen, we should have to make them feel that we were really friendly and disinterested, and they can scarcely be made to understand this until they realize that we have the power to hurt them. If they think that our friendly advances are merely made to purchase their forbearance, they will be inclined to distrust and perhaps to despise them; and I fear that after the events of this year they would put such a construction on any further efforts at conciliation, unless preceded by the punishment of those Chiefs whom we know to be the worst offenders.

I have not gone into the subject of the precautions to be taken for the immediate protection of our cultivated frontier line, as the matter has been put into the hands of the Military authorities.

Before concluding I have to make some further remarks in connection with some of the topics mentioned in these notes.

The three Lushais who accompanied me from Punchung Kai start on their return to-day. They all go back by the Dullesur. I send with them a very intelligent Bengali, ostensibly to trade, but really to get what information he can pick up about the raids, and above all to do all that he can to get back the daughter of Mr. Winchester carried off from Alexanderpoor. Four Cacharies are going up at the same time in the hope of recovering the captives taken from the village near Aowarkhal which suffered so cruelly. They asked me to allow them to go, and I felt that I could not refuse them. Rowa, Sookpila's Muntri, has made himself answerable for their kind treatment, and promises that he will do all in his power to find out the captives and get them back. Mora, the Muntri of Impham, says that he will go across to the village of Lalboorah and see whether anything can be done for the three captives taken from Nuzdigram. It is possible that we may succeed in getting back some of these unfortunate people, but I am not very hopeful of getting this.

I am making all the enquiries in my power into the story told by Mr. Bagshawe of the four Kookies who went to his garden last November, and into the alleged identification of Lalchung with the Chief of the Alinagger raiders. For this purpose I have sent Hurry Thakoor, who has proved of so much use to me in all my dealings with Lushais, and Roipa Muntri, a Thlangum Kookie, to make local enquiries. I have heard that Likriano, the half-brother of the Tipperah Chief and unsuccessful claimant to the succession, is somehow mixed up in the outrages of the present year. The Magistrate of Tipperah has been written to about this. In a copy of a letter lately received from the Political Agent at Manipur to the Foreign Secretary, dated 5th March 1871, some captives who escaped from the Lushais are said to have incriminated Vonolei, Poiboi, and Vompilal. I think that their statements should be looked at with some suspicion.

There is no doubt that the sons of Vonolei were the chief perpetrators of the raids on Manipur and East Cachar. But the guilt of the villages of Poiboi and Vompilal is at least doubtful.

It is worth noting that the only village named by any of the escaped captives was Sumfai, by which Chumpei, the village of Lalboorah, is evidently meant. The woman who said that she was taken off by one of Vompilal's people escaped on the road, it is said, near the salt springs of the village. Now Vompilal's salt springs are west of the Sonai, and the woman could not by any possibility have been taken there. The woman Bougioo said she was taken to one of Poiboi's villages, but she did not know its name. She said that she saw some people going on a raid supposed by Dr. Brown to be on Monierkhall. She said that these were Poiboi's people. If they were the Monierkhall raiders, this is incorrect, for there is not the slightest doubt that the latter were mainly Vonolei's people led by his son, Lalboorah, and nephew, Tangdong. Of course some of Poiboi's people may have been with them, but it is more probable that they were not,





for during the raids there were men of mine at Tipai Mukh who say that the fighting men of Poiboi were engaged in bringing down rubber for sale at the very time the Naga woman says that they were going off to attack Cachar. I am inclined to suspect that the Manipuri officials who have shown on more than one occasion an unmistakable inclination to do mischief to both Poiboi and Vongpial have on this occasion tampered with the escaped captive and possibly may have misinterpreted their statements to Dr. Brown.

General Nuthall has promised me to enquire most fully into this. The conduct of the Manipur authorities in the whole affair seems very suspicious.

It appears, for instance, that Dr. Brown at the time of writing his Report of the 5th March knew nothing of the story of Kamhew's messengers to the Rajah which had reached Colonel McCulloch on the 18th February, as mentioned by me in the 1st part of these notes. Desire on the part of the Manipuris to make out that the people of Poiboi and Vongpial were as guilty as the people of Vongpial may be accounted for by the fact that the former have more than once complained to me that the Manipur Rajah levies tolls on timber cut and carried away from their own village lands.

The people about the Rajah are undoubtedly hungering after the rich rubber forests near Tipai Mukh, and they would like to use our paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

I am very anxious, on the other hand, to keep on good terms with Poiboi and the people of Vongpial.

If we are to have an expedition, the active assistance, or even friendly neutrality, of these villages would be simply priceless.

If any other policy be adopted, we should find their good-will of great use.

The fidelity of Soekpial is at present of far less importance, for if it should be found that he was concerned in any of the outrages, we can get at him with ease, while if the Howlongs and Sylkos were the perpetrators, as I at present think they were, they can be punished by us from the Chittagong side without his aid or even without his being able to help them if he felt inclined. In my Report to the Commissioner of Dacca, dated March 6th, I mentioned the admirable way in which I was supported throughout my tour by Mr. Burland, but I feel that I did not do him justice. I am very anxious that the Government of India should know that I firmly believe that if I had been accompanied by almost any other man I know, we should scarcely have got out of our difficulties as we did.

The situation must have been a more trying one for my companion than for myself. He could not have understood the motives that led me to act as I did on many occasions, and if he had shown any distrust of me, or any difference of opinion from me, all might have been lost.

In my Report I omitted to notice the excellent conduct of a young Manipuri Rajpootra, son of Kanhai Sing. I keep this lad about me in order that I may see that he does not fall into mischief. When I went on my late tour he volunteered to accompany me. I allowed him, and have been delighted at the excellent spirit he displayed. It would be difficult to overpraise his courage, faithfulness, and cheerfulness amid our worst difficulties and privations. For his sake I should be rejoiced if the Government of India were to see its way allowing his father, Kanhai Sing, the choice of residing at Brindabun instead of Hazareebagh, and at the same time I think that such an offer made to Kanhai Sing and Gokul Sing would have a very good effect on our Manipuri colonists in Cachar and Sylhet.

I have just heard that after the capture of Kanhai Sing, his nephew, Kairukpa, went down to Gnrshailon's village. This was a little before the raids on Chatterchoorah. Information of this was given to Mr. McWilliam before my return by some one from the south of Sylhet, but as there seemed no reason at that time to suspect Gnrshailon, the significance of the fact (if true) was overlooked.

Hurry Thakoor will enquire into it now, and I shall report if we find out anything of importance. The story confirms my opinion of the advantage of letting the Rajpootras go to Brindabun if they wished. Their adherents here would know that their Chiefs were well off, and would be disinclined to intrigue lest we should punish the latter by sending them back to Hazareebagh.

CACHAR;

The 20th March 1871.

J. WARE EDGAR.





## II.—REPORT OF THE POLITICAL OFFICER WITH THE LEFT COLUMN OF THE LUSHAI EXPEDITION.

*From J. W. EDGAR, Esq., Civil Officer with the Cachar Column of the Lushai Expeditionary Force, to the Commissioner of Circuit, Dacca Division,—No. 548, dated Cachar, the 3rd April 1872.*

I have the honour to submit to you the general report on the political aspects of the Lushai Expedition, called for in Mr. Junior Secretary Mackenzie's letter No. 1896 of the 20th ultimo, forwarded with your No. A of the 23th idem.

2. Of course my review will be in the main confined to the operations of the Cachar column and its dealings with the tribes with which it was brought into contact; but I shall have incidentally to take notice of the political results of the action of the Manipur Contingent, and the present and future relation of that State with the tribes on its southern frontier. I shall also give a brief preliminary sketch of so much of the history of the Lushais since we first came in contact with them, as may help to explain the objects at which the Commander of our column aimed, and to show the amount of success he has had in attaining those objects.

3. From the earliest times about which there are any traditions in Cachar, the high ranges of hills to the south of this district and Manipur have been inhabited by tribes who, though very wild in some of their characteristics, and constantly engaged in fierce disputes amongst themselves, or with cognate but still more ferocious tribes living east of them, seem to have long ago advanced far beyond a state that could fairly be called savage. These tribes seem to have been practically independent as long as they were able to maintain their position in the higher hills. The Rajah of Tipperah indeed claims supremacy over all the villages west of the Tipai, but practically his authority was never acknowledged east of the Chatterchoom Range, up to which he used to exact a partial and, probably, sly obedience. Neither the Cachar nor the Manipur chief had the slightest authority in the hills south of Tipai Mukh, and it is evident from all the early Cachar traditions that they did not claim any. But from time to time some village or group of villages grew stronger than its neighbours, and reduced the latter to subjection, or forced them to take refuge in the hills, which were acknowledged by all to belong to Manipur, or Cachar, or Tipperah. The new-comers theoretically became subjects to the State within the limits of which they had taken refuge, and in the case of those who took refuge in Cachar and Manipur hill territory previous to the Burmese invasion, the facts agreed pretty well with the theory; but as mentioned above, this does not appear to have been the case with Tipperah. It seems to have been the custom with the conquering villages, at least for many years back, to encourage families of the wilder tribes to the east to settle down in the places vacated by the refugees, and in this they seem to have been tolerably successful. Meantime the old feud did not always cease when the weaker chief and his people took refuge in a neighbouring State; he was often followed up and attacked in his new position. Less frequently he was able to make a successful raid and do much harm to the stronger villages. But it is probable that previous to the Burmese invasion both Cachar and Manipur were able to protect their own people, and possibly to assist them in attacking their enemies; but for many years previous to the death of Gobind Chunder, Rajah of Cachar, in 1830, neither State was able to afford any protection against the independent hillmen. Each movement of the tribes in the direction of Cachar or Manipur was followed by horrible massacres of the refugees, and at last the Bengali settlers in the south of Cachar were attacked and driven out of the cultivated lowlands near the hills.

4. During the entire period of which we have any record or reliable tradition, the tract above-mentioned, at least as far south as the present northern boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, has been held by families of the great tribe known to us as Kookies. Colonel McCulloch indeed states that there are traditions both among the Kookies and Negas which seem to indicate that the latter tribe at one time occupied the southern hills, but I have not been able to find any corroboration of this tradition. The name "Kookie" has been given to the tribe by the Bengalis, and is not recognized by the hillmen themselves; and I have never found any trace of a common name for the tribe among them, although they seem to consider different families as belonging to a





single group, which is certainly co-extensive with what we call the Kookie tribe. This tribe is again sub-divided by the Cacharis and Bengalis of this district into "old" and "new" with reference to the time at which the people of this district first came in contact with each family of hillmen. The "old Kookies" are democratic communities with very doubtful traces of having been once organized under chiefs. The "new Kookies" are subject to chiefs whose families are regarded as almost sacred, and whose power is only limited by the possibility of a malcontent transferring his allegiance to a more popular chief of the same or some other semi-divine race. The difference between the political organization of the "old" and "new" Kookies probably accounts for the fact that the former communities were driven out earliest, and that there are now no traces of them in the villages of the Lushais and other new Kookies who occupy the hills from which they were driven. On the other hand each family of "new" Kookies that took refuge in Cachar or Manipur left behind many of its members in the villages of its conquerors, many of whom again, when their turn came, had to submit to live under some chief still stronger than their own.

5. When we took possession of Cachar, and for many years afterwards, the families whose feuds attracted most attention, and from whose raids we suffered most, were the Thalangums, Changsels, Thadoes, and Poitoos. But somewhere about 1840, the Lushais, (a new family) made its appearance, which by degrees has reduced to submission, or driven out all the others, and for the last twenty years has kept possession of all the southern hills. The first chief of this family, of whom we have any mention, was named Lalul; his village seems to have been originally further south than most of those of his descendants, and he is said to have come of the same stock as that from which the Howlong and Syloo chiefs are descended; but all the earlier traditions are very vague. We know, however, that he had at least four sons—Laling Vhoom, Lalsavoong, Mongpir, and Bhoota. The last, who was probably the youngest, is said to be still alive, and it is likely that at his father's death he succeeded to the original village, as often happen among the Kookies. Previous to this the elder brothers had each started a village on his own account, and being undoubtedly brave and capable men had widely extended the influence of the family. At this time (about 1840) Mongpir's villages were situated on some of the spurs of the Chatterchoora, from which the Lushais were rapidly pushing out the Poitoo chief who had previously occupied the hills on each side of the valley of the Gecur. Laling Vhoom's villages were situated on the hills east of the Dullesur, a considerable way south of Peak Z of the great trigonometrical survey; all the hills north of this and west of the Sonrai were held by Thadoes, who however were beginning to be hard pressed by him. Lalsavoong had pushed further east, and was struggling with the Singel Thadoes for the Chumfai valley and the range to the north of it.

6. About this time the Poitoos applied for assistance against Mongpir to two Manipuri Rajpootras, who had been settled by us some years previously in South Hylakandy, to protect that part of the district against the Poitoos themselves. In consequence of this application, the Manipuris with their armed followers made a sudden and successful raid on the village of Mongpir which was then situated on a hill near the Pukwacherra, somewhat to the south of the Chatterchoora range. The chief was taken prisoner by the Manipuris, but released on his payment of a ransom, and making a promise that he would not attack Cachar, or again trouble the Poitoos. After this the Lushais withdrew towards the south, but they kept up friendly relations with the Manipuri Rajpootras, and after the death of the latter, with their descendants. This seems to have been the origin of the connection between the Lushais and the exiled Manipuri Rajpootras, about which so much was heard in 1869 and again last year. The promise to refrain from attacking the Poitoos was possibly not without some effect. For although they were ultimately driven by Mongpir and his son Sookpial to take refuge in Sylhet and Hill Tipperah, still there have always since been relations between Mongpir's family and that of the Poitoo chiefs of a kind different from those existing between the other Lushai chiefs and the chiefs dispossessed by them. A more detailed account of this matter will be found in my report C. of the 13th March 1871.

7. Meantime Laling Vhoom, Lalsavoong, and Vonole, son of the latter, were prospering even more than Mongpir. Lalsavoong, having driven out, or subdued, all the chiefs north of the Chumfai Valley, died before 1849, leaving at least three sons, all of whom became powerful chiefs. One of these, Lalpoong, was head of the great village of Sellam, and the other villages now belonging to his son Pychoi; but he seems to have been to some extent subordinate to his brother Vonole, was undoubtedly the ablest and





most powerful Chief that the family of Lalul has yet produced. In his youth he seems to have been constantly fighting, and always apparently more or less successful. He fought various tribes to his south known to the Kookies by the general name of Poi, and carried off, or induced to accompany him, numerous families of those villages, whom he settled down either in separate villages or in the villages of his own Kookies. He followed the same policy towards the Soktes, another family of Kookies, whose head is Ramhow, the powerful Chief of Mubhem, and we found hundreds of Sokte families settled among the Lushais in whose villages we have lately been. He made numerous attacks on the Naga villages under Manipur, until, somewhere about 1850, Colonel McCulloch, who was then Political Agent, by judicious management induced him to come to terms, which I believe he kept faithfully as long as Colonel McCulloch remained in Manipur. He seems to have avoided quarrels with the other chiefs of the Lalul family over whom, however, he had great influence, and by whose people he was invariably spoken of as the "Great Chief."

8. In 1849, Laling Vhoom was the Chief next in influence and importance to Vonolel. He had driven the Thadoe Chiefs from the Rengti and Noongvai ranges, and had made a village for himself a little way south of the great bluff of Nisapwee (Peak Z). This seems to have been a larger village than even Vonolel's. He is said to have been preparing to occupy the sites from which the more northern Thadoe villagers had been driven, when he died in 1849. His death was followed by a raid, conducted by his son Mora or Moolah, against the Thadoes of Kaimong, a Chief whose village had been situated on the hill south of Bongkong, but who had some years previously taken refuge in Cachar, and settled about ten miles south of the station. He had taken with him two sets of gongs claimed by the Lushais, and it was on account of this dispute that his villages were chosen for attack. Lieutenant-Colonel Lister, Political Agent in the Khasi Hills, was directed by Government to find out and punish the perpetrators of this outrage; and some others that were committed at about the same time in Sylhet and Tipperah.

9. It is needless here to give any detailed account of Colonel Lister's operations which are described by Mr. Mackenzie in his memorandum on the North-East Frontier. It is sufficient to mention that his little force marched under the guidance of refugee Kookies along the Rengtipar range to a point a little north of its junction with the Noongvai range. From here Colonel Lister, with a portion of his force, made a rapid march eastward crossing the Rookni near its source, and surprised Mora's village. Most of the inhabitants however had time to escape, but some were killed, and the village burnt. Colonel Lister remained for some little time on the range; but the Lushais after their first fight commenced to annoy him in the way that the same clan tried to annoy us last December at Kholel. But in his case their tactics proved successful to a certain extent, for Colonel Lister, thinking his position untenable, destroyed a large quantity of stores, which were in his advance depôts, and retreated rapidly to Cachar, followed by parties of Lushais, who killed any of the coolies or guides they found straggling.

10. In spite of this, the effect of the destruction of Laling Vhoom's village, which was at that time probably the largest Kookie village in existence, was very great. Next day weather messengers came in, who stated that they had been sent by Vonolel or Barmoleus, as it was then written, his brother Lalpoong or Lalpow, Bhoota, Sookpial, and another Chief of little note, to ask for our friendship and assistance against the Ppis. Probably their more immediate, though unavowed, object was to find out whether any further operations against Mora were contemplated. They all seem to have come from Sookpial's village, and the Chief among them was a Manipuri, who had settled among the Lushais. He went back after a short stay in Cachar, and returned in December with Sookpial himself, who spent some time here. I may remark that this visit is denied by all the Kookies, and after reading all the correspondence on the subject, I think it possible that the Manipuri finding that the Superintendent of Cachar refused to give any presents, except to Sookpial in person, got some one to personate the chief. However rather friendly relations were formed by degrees with Sookpial's people; messages and presents were frequently exchanged, and when tea gardens were first opened in South Cachar, the Lushais from time to time came down and worked upon them, while traders and wood-cutters from Cachar made annual visits into their country. We had less communication with Mora's villages; but there was considerable trade with them, and occasional messages of a friendly character were interchanged.

11. But while the Lushais showed some desire to keep on good terms with the Cachar authorities, they perhaps accidentally followed a line of conduct which looked as if they suspected and feared us. Sookpial, who before 1849 had advanced north of





Chatterchoora Peak, moved his own village by degrees southward to his present position close to the Sylhoos. Mora died sometime after the destruction of his village, leaving an infant son, Vompilal, whose mother, Impanoo, eventually removed the chief villages to the site that we call "old" Kholei which is practically very much further from what was then our cultivated frontier Nisapwee. The intention of taking up the village sites abandoned by the refugee Kookies was given up; but what the Lushais called guard villages were established on points commanding the different routes from our frontier to the chief Lushai villages. All intercourse between our Kookies and the Lushais was discouraged by the Chiefs of the latter, and traders and wood-cutters were obliged to go by water to certain points fixed by the Lushais, from which they were occasionally allowed to go to the villages of the Chiefs. In this way, in course of time, the Lushais succeeded in putting between our frontier and their villages a tract of forest which was not only unexplored by us, but to a great extent unknown to any of our Kookies, except a few old men who had not been over the grounds for years. It was a mistake on our part to allow this to happen, particularly as for many years after 1849 we had in the Kookie Levy an instrument which, if properly used, would have been admirably suited to break down the barrier which the Lushais were putting up between themselves and us.

12. For some years after Colonel Lister's expedition, there were no raids on either Cachar or Sylhet. But in 1862, Sookpial made a raid on Hill Tipperah and some villages in the south of Sylhet, in which several British subjects were killed or carried off. He was instigated and assisted by Guorshailon, a Chief of the Poitoo, whose father had been transported for a similar outrage about 1845, and by two of his relatives, named Rungbhoom and Lal Hoolien. Sookpial's complicity in this raid does not seem to have been suspected until 1864, when four of the captives escaped into Cachar from his village. During the three following years many attempts were made by the Cachar officers to induce Sookpial to give up remainder of the captives, and more than once a hostile expedition was thought of. Finally, however, Sookpial gave up four of the captives, stating that of the remainder, some had been sold to tribes on the south and south-east, and some were unwilling to leave, having married in the Lushai villages.

13. In the course of these negotiations an agreement was made with the representatives of Vompilal and Sookpial, that each of these Chiefs was to receive an annual sum of Rs. 600 on his agreeing to do his utmost to preserve peace on the frontier, and to send each year certain specified articles by way of tribute. Some time after this proposal was made to the Lushais, some people, who represented themselves as sent by Vompilal, came in to say that Vompilal had informed the former Chief that he must pay a share of the tribute, the amount of which was greatly exaggerated. The messengers were informed of the real state of the case, and went away apparently satisfied. About the same time some messengers from Vompilal complained of the extension of tea gardens to the south as likely to encroach on their hunting grounds. Their real objection clearly was that the advance of our cultivated frontier sensibly narrowed the belt of seemingly impenetrable jungle between them and us. Major Stewart told them that tea cultivation would doubtless extend as far as the streams were navigable, but pointed out that the Lushais would benefit greatly thereby. The general result of these negotiations was however thought very satisfactory, but it came out afterwards that our principal agent in dealing with the Lushais—a Kookie named Manjhow—had all through grossly deceived both parties for his own purposes.

14. In the beginning of 1867, Major Stewart, who was then Deputy Commissioner, tried, without effect, to induce Sookpial to meet him at the Pollychoerra tea garden on the Dullesur. In 1867-68 the Sonai was surveyed as far as it is navigable, and an attempt was made to survey the northern part of Sookpial's country with his consent and assistance; but one of Manjhow's people, in a drunken squabble, wounded one of Sookpial's people, and the survey party was in consequence withdrawn to avoid possible complications. The uneasiness which this affair caused was somewhat allayed by the reports brought down during the rains by traders who had gone up the Dullesur and Sonai; according to them, both Sookpial and Vompilal were most anxious to remain on good terms with us. I believe that they meant to tell the truth, but subsequent events showed that their information was very incorrect. The truth is, that in spite of all these negotiations and messages and trading, payments of tribute and police allowances, we knew much less about the Lushais and what they were about in 1868, than we did ten years previously, while they were in a much more dangerous state, as far as we were concerned, than they had been at any time since Colonel Lister's expedition. I do not



think that the district officers were altogether to blame for this state of things. Doubtless we had made mistakes. The local officers did not act wisely in recommending to Government to do away with an establishment of Kookie scouts kept up since 1869 for the purpose of collecting intelligence connected with the Lushais. I think that Major Stewart was wrong in the way he treated the objection made to the advance of tea cultivation, and I am convinced that I allowed my desire to get information about the country to influence me most unfortunately when I tried to push the survey further than was safe or judicious at the time, particularly as I was unable to accompany the survey party, owing to my presence being still more required in North Cachar; but I feel that our chief fault was in not boldly and persistently calling the attention of Government to evils which we saw clearly. I think a right understanding of this question is so important that I shall go somewhat minutely into the evils alluded to.

15. Almost all the officers who have had any practical knowledge of this frontier,—Colonel Lister, Colonel McCulloch, Major Stewart and myself,—have all agreed in thinking that we should keep a constant watch over the Kookies in our territory and Manipur, and, above all things, that we should spare no trouble to get correct information about any dealings they might have with Lushais, and of all they learned of what was going on beyond the frontier. This was one of the chief objects of the Kookie levy; it was the leading principle of Colonel McCulloch's Kookie policy; and Major Stewart has often told me that both he and Colonel Verner had always felt the necessity of looking well after our own Kookies. But I remember perfectly that when I came to the district in the end of 1863, he complained to me that the Kookies were slipping out of his hands. The abolition of the establishment of Kookie scouts in 1860 had been the beginning of a series of changes, all which tended to weaken our hold over the Kookies, and lessen our means of finding out what they were about. Then the Kookie levy had been taken over from him and made over to the police, then, practically, an almost independent department, with results which I shall describe lower down; lastly, owing to the occupation of the waste lands of the district by persons actually engaged in, or far more often purposing to commence tea cultivation, and the action of Government in remitting the house tax payable by hillmen living on grants, the control of our own Kookies was passing from the official head of the district to grantees of waste lands.

16. The question of the inclusion of villages in grants has been lately discussed so fully that I shall not say more of it here; but I may in passing suggest that it may be worthwhile to consider whether we ought not to take some kind of tribute from all hillmen settled in Cachar, whether they live in grants or not. At present, owing to the cordial support we get from tea planters, we are able to a certain extent to look after the Kookies living on grants; but in 1863 the general attitude of the non-official community was markedly hostile to the district authorities, and a large number of planters were inclined to look with dislike and suspicion on any interference with Kookies settled on their gardens. Some went so far as to encourage and support their Kookies in disobeying extra judicial orders given by the Deputy Commissioner, and generally no Kookie living on a tea grant was allowed to perform any service for us, unless we had first asked for and obtained the permission of the planter. The result of all this was, that in a few years we entirely lost sight of the majority of the Kookies. In South Cachar, villages moved from garden to garden without our knowing anything of it. In spite of the discouragement of the Lushai Chiefs, there was considerable intercourse between their people and our Kookies; parties of the latter often met parties of the former in the uninhabited jungle while hunting or collecting rubber, and heard from them news of what was going on in their villages. Our Kookies occasionally went by water to the Lushai villages, and several Lushais from time to time came into Cachar and settled down in villages on tea gardens. Nothing of all this, however, ever reached our ears till after the raids of 1869. But if our relations with our own Kookies had remained what they had been for some years after 1849, we should either have got the intelligence direct from the Kookies themselves, or our scouts would have found out all about it. The case of the alleged murder of three of Sookpila's people by Kookies of a village at the time situated on one of the Kunchunpore Company's grants shows very clearly how little was then known of the doings of the Kookies living on tea gardens. Worse even than our ignorance of what was going on between Kookies and Lushais was the exclusive reliance we were ultimately forced to place on Manjhihow. As the other Kookies slipped away from us, and after the abolition of our fixed scouting establishment, we were obliged to depend upon him in all matters connected with Lushais, and I have since his death found out that messengers who had been sent by the Chiefs to complain against him have been of necessity put under his care while in the





district, while he and his people interpreted what they had to say. Besides this, the information obtained from the traders, Bengalees or Manipuris, imperfectly acquainted with the Kookie language and entirely ignorant of Kookie politics, was never sufficient to enable us to check Manjinhaw's representation; or even if they did bring down any suspicious intelligence, he with his superior knowledge was able to give it any appearance that suited him.

17. There was another result of the passing of the influence of the district authorities over our Kookies to the grantees of waste lands, the extent and importance of which I am not yet able to measure, and which it is very difficult to indicate owing to the enormous chasm between our mode of thinking and that of the people about whom I am writing. The Kookies, as I have more than once pointed out, seem to be unable to conceive any political system differing in essence from their own, and they look upon the district of Cachar, for instance, as a group of villages held together by the superior power, natural or supernatural, of the European head of it. The formation of tea gardens on unoccupied ground by Europeans would appear to them analogous to the formation of new villages by the sons of Chiefs, and they would instinctively look on the owners as rather dependent on the great central chief than subject to him. More than this they could without difficulty believe that a planter could make his garden independent, or even grow so powerful as to change places with the great Chief of the district and reduce him to dependence. Now when the planters forced the Deputy Commissioner, by some means which the Kookies could not comprehend, to relinquish his claim to tribute from hillmen settled in grants, the deduction drawn by the Kookies was, that each planter had to a certain extent made himself independent, though it was clear that as yet he was weaker than the Deputy Commissioner. Still it seemed to the Kookies that the power of the latter, which he thought very great after 1849, was decreasing, and the race is very quick indeed to take advantage of the decline of a great Chief's supremacy. Of course the Lushais would very soon learn, either during their visits to Cachar or from what they heard in other ways from our Kookies, of the imaginary change in the power of the Deputy Commissioner, and of the rise of so many apparently independent Chiefs on the frontier. It was from this point of view that I think Major Stewart's answer to the objection against the extension of tea gardens was so dangerous. The meaning the Lushais attached to it was, that he was *unable* to prevent the formation of fresh tea gardens in the southern hills, that is, that he was unable to protect the Lushais from the encroachments of planters.

18. I have several times since 1867 pointed out the mistake which I consider we made in amalgamating the Kookie levy with the police, particularly in my report C, dated 13th March 1871. I need not here repeat what I then wrote, but I must correct a too sweeping accusation of cowardice against the Kookies in the police. We had some very brave Kookie constables with us on the late expedition, and one Panek, the lad who was wounded at Kholel, distinguished himself very much. But while I gladly bear testimony to the courage and good conduct of all the constables who accompanied us, I feel bound to point out that they were completely useless for scouting, the work for which they ought to be most fitted, and for which they were expressly brought to the front.

The utter worthlessness of the police as scouts necessarily comes out very prominently in my work. It was of course my duty to get intelligence about roads, and I frequently accompanied General Bouchier and Colonel Roberts when reconnoitring. We tried in every possible way to utilize the Kookie and other constables who were with us, but could make nothing of them. Still more conspicuous was their failure when employed in an attempt to "stalk" the sharpshooters who gave us so much annoyance after our attack on Kholel. It seems to me that this is the result of the disproportionate importance attached by some police officers to drill and uniform, and their desire to give their men the set-up and finish of regular soldiers. I do not think any attempts have ever been made here to keep up and strengthen those habits of the war trail which every Kookie recruit has learned in his boyhood.

Even if it be really necessary that the police on the frontier should be highly trained soldiers, I do not think that such necessity should prevent our having a body of hillmen well and suitably armed, trained as nearly as possible in their own manner of fighting, in scouting, in tracking fugitives, in hunting out water and paths, and in all the other accomplishments of jungle warfare, with just so much military discipline as may be needed to keep them together, and as little as possible of a soldier's dress or equipment.





19. But the abolition of the Kookie levy was not the only mischief which it seems to me the introduction of the new police system into Cachar entailed. Whatever may be thought of the policy of depriving the magistrate of all control over the internal organisation of the police in other districts, I am convinced that it worked mischievously in Cachar; for while the entire management of the political work of the district was still left to the Deputy Commissioner, he was made practically powerless to regulate the machinery on which he had mainly to rely to carry out the work. I pointed out this in reporting on the state of North Cachar in 1868, and I think it desirable to state here that my opinion on the subject is still unchanged, although I hope that the recent changes in the relations of the police force to Magistrates will do away with many of the evils and difficulties to which I allude.

20. Meantime there were very important changes going on almost unperceived by us in the midst of the Lushai community. I mentioned above that Mora's widow after his death removed their chief village to the Kholel hill on the east of the Tipai; she fixed her own village, however, on the range between the Tipai and Sonai, and still claimed superiority over the villages between the Sonai and the Dullesur. When Sookpila's sons grew up however, and started villages on their own account, they found the hills west of the Dullesur too narrow for them, and pushed forward towards the Sonai, at first probably with the consent of Vonpila's mother. In 1868 Khalkom, the most energetic of Sookpila's sons, had a large village of his own, on the same range as Pent Z, but further south, and had gained considerable influence over the surrounding villages. This was looked on with dissatisfaction by Vonpila, who had lately taken over the management of villages from his mother, and married the sister of his neighbour Poiboi, who had succeeded to the villages of his father, Lalpoong. Another son of Lalpoong by a mother of inferior birth, named Lalroom, had gone further south, and managed the village of a very old woman, the widow of Lalsawong. Vonolel as he grew old seems to have lost some of his great influence, and pressed hard by the Soktes, Howlongs of Lalpitang's villages, and Pois, to have made a kind of treaty with a powerful Chief of the latter, known to us as the Pallas Chief, who agreed to assist Vonolel against all enemies on the payment of a tribute in cotton and some other articles. One of Vonolel's sons, Lenkom, had started a village about twenty miles north of the Champai Valley. Another Deowte had gone off to the west, in the direction of Bhoota's villages. Tongdong, a son of a dead brother of Vonolel, had a village in the direction of Manipur.

21. As might have been expected, all these young Chiefs and the young men of all their villages were eager for fighting, but they seem to have felt that they could not do more than defend themselves against the tribes on the south and east. There were, however, left the Poitoos of Tipperah and Sylhet, with whom Sookpila's people had a standing feud, the gardens of Cachar, and the Naga villages of Manipur. The old people, the women especially, who remembered Colonel Lister's expedition and felt that it somehow differed from one of their raids, advised them to avoid our territory; but the young warriors who had not been born in 1849, or who were infants at the time, were unable to understand their fears. They could not see any difference between what they heard of the expedition and what they saw of Kamhow's or Lalpitang's raids. Besides, they probably thought that the Cachar Chief was not so strong as he had been twenty years before, and they knew that they were much further away than Mora had been, and believed that no force from Cachar could reach them. Then Colonel McCulloch had left Manipur in the end of 1867. He was succeeded by a Civil Assistant Surgeon, quite inexperienced in frontier matters, and unable to control or even to understand the intrigues of the Manipur officials who, though they knew very little more about the Lushais than he did, were resolved that no Political Agent should again keep the entire arrangement of the Rookies in his own hands as Colonel McCulloch had done. The Lushais soon found that the firm and judicious hand which had kept them in order for nearly twenty years was withdrawn, and thought that they might with safety attack the Manipur villages.

22. In November 1868, the Naga village of Mentha, in Manipur territory, was attacked and burned by Vonpila and Poiboi, and several captives carried off. In December of the same year some of Sookpila's people encountered and killed some of Rungbloom's Poitoos in the jungles of Hill Tipperah; they afterwards took Rungbloom's village, which I think was in Sylhet, but were driven out of it by the men of a neighbouring police guard. On the 10th January 1869, the garden of Nowarbund was plundered and burned, and some of the coolies killed by Lalroom. On the 14th Deowte attacked the garden of Monierkhall, where there was a police guard, which however was unable to prevent his plundering the garden and destroying the buildings.





Early in February a great attack was made on the Kala Naga stockade, which was strongly garrisoned by Manipuri sepoys, by several Chiefs among whom Lenkom was prominent. The stockade was taken, and a Manipuri officer and several sepoys killed. Some Naga villages were attacked and destroyed about the same time.

23. We did not find out who were the actual perpetrators of each raid till long after, but we suspected Vompil and Sookpilal from the first, and an attempt was made to punish them. The original proposal was to send a small column of soldiers and police up the Dullessur, in the direction of Sookpilal, where it was, if possible, to meet another small force advancing from the south of Sylhet, along the return tracks of the raiders. Another small body was to go up the Sonai to Lushai Bazaar, and then across through Impanco's village to that of Vompilal, where it was hoped it would meet a Manipuri force working across from the point taken up by the Manipuri contingent this year.

These plans were materially altered and were not carried out successfully in their new shape.

24. The parties sent up the Dullessur were forced by the weather to turn back after having gone three marches beyond our furthest tea garden. The party from Sylhet got within sight of one of Sookpilal's villages, but unfortunately had to retire owing to want of provisions, having had some rather unintelligible dealings with Lushais and having lost two men killed,—it is not clearly shown by whom.

The Manipuri contingent were prevented by the weather from doing anything. A portion of the force which went up the Sonai got to one of Vompilal's villages and within sight of that of his mother's, the headmen of which, as well as those of Vompilal's village, came to the occupied village and offered to make submission. They declared that Vompilal had lately died; that he had taken no part in the raids; that the raid on Mentha in November had been made by Poiboi alone; and that both he and his mother had always been anxious to keep on good terms with us. We have since discovered that Vompilal was really dead; that he had not taken an active part in the raids on Cachar, but that he, with Poiboi, had committed the outrage on the Manipuri village; and that he was really hostile to us, but had been restrained by his mother who had great influence over him, and dreaded a repetition of the affair of 1849. With regard to all the other raids, the Lushais gave very accurate information, and they promised to do all in their power to induce Deowte, the principal offender, and the other Chiefs of Vompilal's family, to come to terms. They also agreed that they and the headmen of Vompilal's village would meet a Cachar officer, at some place to be appointed by him, during the next cold season, and they would try to induce the other eastern Chiefs to do likewise. They of course denied that they had any captives taken in the recent raids, but they promised to do what they could to get back those that were in the villages of other Chiefs.

25. After the return of the expedition there was much discussion about the measures to be taken for the future protection of the frontier. I have not materials to enable me to describe here all the proposals made, but I shall give an outline of the views which I laid before Government. In the first place, I recommended that an expedition on a smaller scale than, but organized on similar principles to, the one of this year should be sent to attack Sookpilal in the first instance. I had then satisfied myself that Sookpilal had not been concerned in the Cachar or Manipur outrages, and that the attack on the Kookies on the Sylhet frontier was much less serious from a political point of view than the other raids; but Sookpilal was an old offender, and I feared that the results of the two attempts made to reach him would make him more insolent than ever.

I also proposed that while the military expedition was operating against Sookpilal, I should go up the Sonai with a guard sufficient for defence and make an effort to prevail on the eastern Chiefs to make a voluntary submission; and in this I hope to be aided by vigorous pressure exercised by Manipur in communication with me on the villages of Poiboi and Vompilal. If we should fail in our attempts, I proposed that the military expedition should, if it had time after bringing Sookpilal to reason, work eastward, through the villages of Deowte and Lalroom, towards Vompilal. After all the tribes had been reduced to submission, I proposed to carry out fully a policy somewhat similar to that which had been commenced after 1849, but which, as I have shown above, had not been fairly tried, and to try to obtain influence over the Lushais by inducing them to settle on the uninhabited tract between their villages and our cultivated frontier by fostering trade, by constant communications with the people and Chiefs of all the villages





and by encouraging them to serve in an irregular levy to be composed mainly of hillmen belonging to the frontier. I also proposed to lay down a boundary line between the Cachar District and the Lushai hills.

26. The Government of India refused to sanction the expedition, and I now think that this was a most fortunate circumstance. Our knowledge of the country and the real position of the villages were then so imperfect that the expedition would have had very great difficulty in even getting to Sookpial's village, and certainly the whole season would have been occupied in dealing with him. Anything done in his direction would have very little effect upon the eastern villages, who would in all probability have thought they were safe from all danger of retribution if we found it so difficult to reach Sookpial. The proposition to re-organize a Kookie levy was not accepted. This I think is to be regretted, for it might have been very useful during the late expedition. I was permitted, however, to pay a visit to the Lushai hills for the purpose of meeting as many chiefs as possible.

27. I proposed to proceed first to Lushai Bazaar on the Sonai, and to use the influence of Vonpial's people to induce the chiefs of Vonolel's family on the one side, and those of Sookpial on the other, to meet me. If I were successful with the former, I intended to make an effort to work across through their country to Manipur, and I asked the Rajah to do his utmost to help me in dealing with them, as I had found, from the statements of the Lushais who came in to see me at the end of the rains, that the eastern people still looked upon Manipur with some of the feeling with which Colonel McCulloch had tried to inspire them. I also asked the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to make an attempt to meet if he could spare time, and at all events to do all in his power to open communication with me.

28. The Deputy Commissioner was unable to make any attempt to meet me, but he sent a letter which, strange to say, made its way into Manipur through the Howlongs and Syloos. Some days after we got to Lushai Bazaar, I had a meeting with the headmen of Vonpial's villages, and with Khalkom, Sookpial's son, and some other chiefs. I found that there was no chance of opening direct communication with the chiefs of the family of Vonolel and his brothers, that it would not be safe to attempt to make my way through their hills to Manipur, and that it was more than probable that no real attempt to aid me had been made by that state. Consequently, as Sookpial had shown some anxiety to come to terms, I determined to march across to the Dullessur, in the hope of having a meeting with him. I got across to Bepari Bazaar, and made with him there a provisional settlement of the boundary.

29. It will be seen from the above that whatever may have been the value of the arrangements made with the western Lushai villages, I had entirely failed to do anything with the eastern ones, and the Lieutenant-Governor Sir William Grey, felt great uneasiness about this at the time. It was thought, however, that in forming friendly relations with the nearer portions of the tribe, especially with Sookpial, the object of most immediate importance had been to all appearance attained. I had come to the conclusion besides, that owing to the geographical position of Manipur, and the relations which had previously existed between the Lushai and that state, the Political Agent there was in a much better position than I could be to carry out the wishes of Government; and I at the same time believed that hitherto the action of the Manipur Rajah and his officials had been quite inconsistent with a loyal adhesion to the declared policy of the paramount power. Consequently, although Manipur affairs are overlooked by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, I, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal a letter, the greater part of which I shall quote, because I am still convinced that the views about Manipur are correct, although at the time I under-rated the danger to us from the eastern Lushais.

30. "The Lushais look upon the Tipai as the boundary between the clans, which are, to use their own phrase, 'the Manipuri Rajah's men' and those which are 'the Cachar Saheb's.' It is not easy to define exactly their idea of the relation indicated by this phrase; but the clans west of the Tipai certainly consider that they are in some way connected with Cachar, and those to the east, with one exception, have the same feeling about Manipur. The exception is the village of Kholel, which, though now situated on the east of the Tipai, still is considered to be one of the Cachar villages. East of Kholel, at the distance of about one day's journey, is the village of Poi-boy, son of Lalpoong. He is at present very much dissatisfied with Manipur, and according to the statement of the Lushai Dorpoong, forwarded to the Commissioner of Dacca with my





letter of the 6th, he accuses Thado subjects of the Rajah of having murdered seven of his people this year. In spite of this all the Lushais of his village whom I saw spoke of their making friends with the Rajah ultimately as a certainty, and the Chief and his headmen did not seem to wish to have anything to do with Cachar.

"In the same way whenever I spoke about Vonolel or any of his sons, except Doowte, I was told that they sent Muntries and presents into Manipur, and that they wished to be 'the Rajah's people.'

"But, while I think that Manipur is in a better position than Cachar to gain an influence over the clans east of the Tipai, it is nearly as important for the latter as it is for the former that friendly intercourse should be kept up with these villages. The Chiefs are all nearly related to those south of Cachar; they are continually intermarrying, and their people keep up a constant intercourse for trade and other purposes. The result of this close connection is, that the minds of the Cachar Lushais will be unsettled as long as Manipur continues on bad terms with the eastern clans. Dorpong, in the statement alluded to above, mentions that Poihoi had sent to ask the Kholei people to join in an attack on Manipur. It is true that they refused on that occasion, but something might happen at any time to make them change their minds. Even if they were to keep the promises they have made to me of not engaging in any quarrels with Manipur, Cachar might still suffer in the case of hostilities between the Eastern Lushais and the Rajah. For instance, the chief complaint made by the Lushais against Manipur is that some of their people were murdered by Thadoes this year, and as long as the present bad feeling exists, there will probably be many similar occurrences. Now, as a general rule, the Lushais would not find it easy to get at the Manipur Thadoes to make reprisals; but there are several Thadoe villages in Cachar, and the Lushais might be tempted to attack the people of them in revenge for the injuries done by their relatives in Manipur. Again, there are all along the frontier villages of Manipur, who are our subjects and who owe no allegiance whatever to the Rajah. But if the Lushais were to get exasperated with the Manipuri race generally, they might attack the people living in Cachar without caring whose subjects they were.

"I have long felt the importance to Cachar of a good feeling being kept up between Manipur and the clans to its south, and in 1867 I went in, with the permission of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, to confer with Colonel McCulloch, who was then Political Agent, on this subject. At that time the Lushais were apparently on very good terms with Manipur and with the Thadoes and other Kookies living in that state. Messengers were sent from time to time to the Lushai Chiefs nominally from the Rajah, but really from the Political Agent, and presents were sometimes sent down. These messengers were always Kookies, in whom Colonel McCulloch could put trust. He tells me that he "never allowed any Manipuris to mix in these affairs, fearing their inveterate habit of inventing, which would bring mischief." Occasionally, also, influential Lushais went in to see Colonel McCulloch, and I believe that when his messengers carried his silver-mounted Burmese dao to any of the nearer villages, the headmen looked upon it as the summons to appear before him, which they were bound to obey. The Manipur Kookies used at that time to shoot over the hunting grounds of the Lushais near the great salt spring called Chiboo, and when they killed anything, they left a hind leg at spring for the Lushais, who in their turn, when lucky, used to leave a leg for the Thadoes.

"All this is changed. It was at this very spring of Chiboo that, according to the Lushai story, the Thadoes this year killed Poihoi's men, four of whom were hunting and three making salt. Manipuris were sent down by the Rajah to negotiate with the Lushais. They went back saying, that they had been threatened with death; that the eastern clans had become most boastful and insolent; that they looked upon our tour among the western clans as an act of submission; that they described the presents which we gave the head men as tribute; and that they were going to attack Manipur in the middle of April. This attack, however, was never made, and the Lushais who came in to me spoke as badly of the Manipuris who had been sent to them as the Manipuris had done of them; they also said, frequently, that Poihoi, and the other Chiefs would not come to terms with Manipur until a 'good' messenger were sent to them. When I asked them what they meant by a good messenger, they said one who was honest, who meant really to settle matters, and not one merely sent to spy out the land and find out how most mischief could be done to them. I could not find out exactly what they meant, but I suspect that the messenger had talked in the usual boasting style of Manipuris about the punishment the Rajah meant to inflict on the Lushais, and of the ease with which their villages could be got and destroyed. I was rather surprised to hear the





Agent of the Manipur Rajah in Cachar talking in the same way, for the Manipuris generally think differently, and seem very anxious that both the Rajah and our Government should be friendly with the Lushais.

"I think that the change in the relations of the Lushais with Manipur may be accounted for. After very much opposition Colonel McCulloch, in the time of the present Rajah's father, got practically into his hands the entire management of all matters connected with the Kookies. Of course he always worked in the name of the Rajah and obtained his consent to every thing of importance, but he did not allow the Manipur officials to interfere in any way. The latter have always disliked the arrangement excessively, and when Colonel McCulloch retired, they at once set to work, to prevent his successor getting the same power. I believe they were successful in this. The influence exercised by Colonel McCulloch was not directly connected with his position as Political Agent, and his authority over the Kookies was not conferred on him by our Government. It was based on his great experience, on his power of conversing freely and directly with the hillmen, and on his minute knowledge of their affairs. It was impossible that his successor could be possessed of these qualifications, or that without them he could keep the exclusive management of the Kookies, and consequently the Manipur officials of the Rajah began to interfere. The result is the present unhappy condition of the frontier. The Manipur officials now see that as long as their interference is allowed to continue, the Lushais are not likely to live on friendly terms with Manipur; and as they are unwilling to be excluded from the management of frontier matters, they are doing all in their power to induce the Rajah to take hostile measures and bring the villages into subjection. For some reason or other, they think that our Government is likely to assist the Rajah in doing this, and they seem unable to understand that if we were forced to attack any of the clans, it would be those on our own border which give us trouble, and not those to the far east which are the only ones that Manipur has anything to do with.

"In my opinion the first thing to be done, in order to remedy the existing evil, is for our Government to make an arrangement with the Rajah under which the Political Agent should get, officially, the same position in Kookie matters that Colonel McCulloch made for himself. The Manipur officials of the Rajah should not be allowed to interfere unless when directed to do so by the Agent, and the Rajah should agree to pass no orders and adopt no measures affecting Kookies without first consulting the Agent. The Thadoes should not be allowed to carry on their feud with the Lushais, and occurrences like the alleged murder of the seven men at Chiboo should be carefully guarded against and severely punished.

"Trustworthy messengers might be sent down to the eastern villages not to settle any terms with the Lushais, but to induce the Chiefs, if possible, and if not the Muntries of the eastern villages, to meet the Political Agent. If they could not be induced to go into the valley of Manipur, I think it might be worthwhile to consider the advisability of the Agent going to meet them, say somewhere to the south-west of Moirang or the south of Kowpoom, or even nearer their villages.

"If in such a meeting the causes of the attacks on Manipur of last year could be found out, very much would be done. I think I have been able to discover the circumstances which led to the attacks on our territory, and I am ashamed to have to acknowledge that the latter might have been averted if we had been less ignorant of the Lushais and had taken more trouble to find out and redress their grievances. In the same way it will probably be found out that the eastern Lushais have suffered real or fancied injuries from the hillmen who are subject to Manipur. The Lushais told me that the Rajah had either fixed or promised to fix a boundary between their lands, and those which he claimed for his own hillmen. I hope that this is true. Among all the tribes on the frontier there is a very strong feeling about boundaries. Each village has its limits which are known and respected by the tribes around as long as they are at peace with it, and any attempt made, except in time of hostilities, by one clan to occupy lands belonging to another clan, would be condemned by every one. If the Rajah of Manipur were to fix a boundary for the Lushais and to tell them that it would be respected only as long as they behaved well, he would have no small security for their future good conduct. The effect of this would be still greater if the Political Agent were to go over some of this boundary with the Lushais, and if the Rajah were to give them a sunnud counter-signed by him.





"The Lushais would probably meet the Political Agent with presents, some for the Rajah and some for himself. The Rajah might be encouraged to make some return presents, and the Political Agent might be allowed to give something of small value on the part of our Government.

"When friendly intercourse had once been established, it would not be difficult for the Political Agent to find out if there were any prisoners in the villages of the Lushais, and if there were, to get them released.

"I believe the Manipur Chief would be willing to support the Political Agent in carrying out a consistently friendly policy. He knows that the Lushais are not the only, or even the most formidable of the foes on his southern frontier. Kamhow of Molbhem, the great Sokte Chief who is said to have burned Moirang this year, is much more likely to give trouble to Manipur than the Lushais are, and I have heard that the powerful and savage tribes called by the Lushais Khyreos are creeping up towards Manipur. It would be clearly to the Rajah's advantage to have in the Lushais a strong friendly tribe to break the attack of the outside tribes when they begin to press on his frontier. The selfish and ignorant Manipuris who surround him do not see this, but I think he might be made to understand it."

I do not say that the Political Agent would have been ultimately successful if he had tried vigorously to carry out the policy above indicated; but I think it almost certain that the eastern Lushai Chiefs would not have dared to make the raids of last year if he had gone down to Chiboo with a sufficiently strong guard and taken up a position there in December 1870.

31. Towards the end of 1870 information which I had previously received of the death of Vonolel was confirmed. In December I went down to Changsil, a point on the Dullessur River, where I met Sookpilal, and finally settled the boundary fixed provisionally the year previous. After I had seen Sookpilal, and just before I started to march across to the Sonai, I heard rumours that some of Vonolel's family were on their way to attack Cachar. I did not believe this at the time. But some time after I reached the Sonai, Lushais came in with intelligence that Vonolel's son, Lalboornah, had attacked the out-post at Monierkhal, garden, had killed several soldiers and police, but had eventually retired with a loss of over fifty killed. I heard also that Tangdong, Vonolel's nephew, had made an attempt to reach the Nowarbund garden; but owing to none of his people knowing anything of the country he had missed his way and came out at Nugdigram, where he got three prisoners, and that during his absence on the raid his village had been destroyed by Kamhow, and his wife and many of his people taken captives. The Lushais also told me that Lenkohn had made another attack on Manipur. Some days later news was brought that the Howlongs under Benkuia and Sangboong, sons of Lalpitang, had attacked a garden in South Hylakanday, killed a European and many natives, and taken off several prisoners, among whom was a little girl who, as I understood from the description, was European or of European extraction. My informant said that the Howlongs were even then debating about giving up this child either through Rutton Poa or Sookpilal. I also heard that the Sylhoos and Gnoorshailon's Poitoos were probably implicated in the western raids, but there was nothing more than suspicion against them. During the remainder of my stay in the hills I was employed in collecting information about the perpetrators of the raids, the exact position of their villages, and the easiest way to get at them. As I was on my way back, Khalkom, Sookpilal's son, came to meet me at Lushai Bazaar; he corroborated the above statements and promised to assist us if we undertook an expedition to punish the eastern tribes. On the 22nd, just before I started on my return, I heard that some Howlongs were on their way to attack some of the gardens of South Hylakanday.

32. On my return to the station I found that the information given me by the Lushais as to the outrages in this district was to a great extent correct, but that very little was known here about the perpetrators. Whatever had been found out, however, confirmed the statements I had heard, and left no doubt on my mind that the raids on Manipur, Monierkhal and Nugdigram had been committed by the relatives of Vonolel, and those in South Hylakanday, Sylhet and Tipperah, by Poitoos. It would be superfluous for me to give here a detailed account of these raids, but I wish to point out a difference between the character of the attacks on Nugdigram and Monierkhal and those made on Alexandrapore, Cutlecherra and Jhlnacherra, which was not sufficiently brought out in any of the reports made at the time.





33. The people at Alexandrapore were taken so completely at unawares by the Howlongs suddenly emerging from the adjoining jungle in which they were concealed, that they were unable to make the slightest attempt to defend themselves, and Mr. Winchester, who was at breakfast when the attack was made, seems to have been killed before he had time to load his weapon. The bungalow at Cutlecherra is so situated that Messrs. Bagshaw and Cooke had sufficient warning to be able to arm themselves and a few of their people, with whose assistance they not only drove the Howlongs from the garden, but forced them to set free some captive coolies whom they were carrying off. The Howlongs returned to the garden next day, but were again driven off with ease by Messrs. Bagshaw and Cooke, this time aided by nine policemen who had come up during the night. The party which attacked Jhalnacherra, said to be 120 strong, were repulsed by a patrol party of one head constable and four constables who were in the lines at the time; and the Howlongs seem to have been driven across the river, before some more police, sent to the assistance of the patrol party, arrived from the stockade, half a mile distant. The manager of Mouierkhal had received a warning of a threatened raid and had taken away his coolies before the attack was made; but he, with two more well-armed Europeans, remained in the stockade, which was held by thirty-seven soldiers and police, who were reinforced next day by Mr. Daly and thirty-nine soldiers. Lalboorah's Lushais, however, besieged the stockade for two days, keeping up such a heavy fire that, as Mr. Daly described it, a man could not show himself outside without getting a shot, and they successfully met two *sorties* made by Mr. Daly, who each time took out about twenty-six men, but was driven back with the loss of seven killed and one wounded. Five men had been wounded on the previous day.

Tangdong's party, after killing some Nagas and Bengalees whom they came upon in trying to find the path they had lost, came out on the Nuddigram road, where they met Mr. Daly's rear guard consisting of eight soldiers and a constable. The soldiers behaved most gallantly, keeping the Lushais in check long enough to allow the coolies they were escorting to get off in safety and then selling their lives dearly, for they are said by an eye-witness to have killed twenty-five of the enemy; but at length they were overpowered,—six were killed and one wounded. The Lushai got possession of thirteen muskets taken from the dead soldiers and police, and I heard in the hills that this was a matter of great exultation with them.

It will be seen from the above that the Howlongs, although they carried off great booty and many captives, had shown themselves unable to withstand any armed opposition when met with; while on the other hand, the eastern Lushais got little plunder and only three captives, but had decidedly obtained what they would consider a great triumph over our troops.

34. I have tried in the foregoing paragraphs to show clearly, but without unnecessary detail, the main facts relating to the Lushais, on which were based the advice given by me in the first instance, and the ultimate decision and action of the officer commanding the force; and I shall now quote the original proposition for the punishment of the outrages of 1871, made by me last March.

"There is now a better chance of conducting an expedition to a successful end than there has been hitherto. We now know the character of the country and that it does not oppose any insuperable obstacles; we also know generally the direction of the villages we want to get at, and the way to reach them. Above all, the information collected lately on this side and at Chittagong makes it possible to estimate the amount of opposition we are likely to meet with and to form a definite plan for an expedition. Taking all these things into consideration, I have come to the conclusion that we ought to take measures to inflict punishment next cold weather on the perpetrators of the outrages of this year; and I should propose to send one force from Cachar to the villages of Lalboorah and Tangdong and another from either Chittagong or Tipperah to the villages of the sons of Lalpitang.

"Of course, I do not presume to make any definite suggestions about the strength of the force to be sent in, its organization, or the way in which it should be conducted. There are, however, some points upon which the knowledge I have gained in the hills may be useful.

"If an expedition should be decided on, it is of the utmost importance that preparations should be commenced as early as possible. Supplies, carriage, &c., should be collected at Cachar during the rains and sent by the Barak to Tipai Mookh before the 1st of November, or at all events, within a week after the cessation of the rains. I have





assumed that Tipai Mookh would be adopted as the starting point, because it is nearer to Lalboorah's village than any other place that can be reached by water. The river up to it has been surveyed and is navigable for boats of 200 maunds up to the very end of the rains; and although there are some shoals which impede the navigation in the dry season, still, even then, it is every way superior to either the Sonai or the Dullessur. From Tipai Mookh there are paths leading to the villages; but I am inclined to think that a little higher up the Barak there are better paths leading from a place at which some Manipuri traders have established a market.

"Between Tipai Mookh and Lalboorah's village are the great villages of Kholei (Vompil's) and Sellam (Poiboi's). It is almost certain that the former would side with us, and more than probable that the latter would follow its example; but it would be advisable to have a strong guard near but not in each. This would ensure the fidelity of the people, and when they found that we had no intention of injuring them, their women and children would probably return to the villages from their hiding places in the jungle. Of course, if these people should prove friendly, the utmost care should be taken to protect them from any kind of injury or annoyance.

"Lalboorah's village would probably be found deserted, perhaps burnt. The force should, however, establish itself there and send out parties to get possession of the grain in the jooms, to make prisoners any women and children they could find and disperse parties of armed men they could get intelligence of. The clan, on finding that the force did not mean to hurry back to the plains in the usual manner, would probably take to offensive measures. It is not likely that they would venture to attack the main body or any of the scouring parties, but it would almost certainly attempt to interrupt communications and cut off supplies. Besides attacking weak parties coming up from the rear, they would probably take the paths leading from the base to the main body. They would, however, soon be tired of this and attempt to negotiate. The surrender of the Chiefs concerned in the raids should be insisted on as a preliminary step. They would give themselves up if promised their lives and liberty on complying with our demands. A very heavy fine of elephant's tusks, metnas, gongs, and amber necklaces should be imposed upon them, and they should be compelled with their people to assist in making a good path to the place in which a junction with the Chittagong force should be effected.

"The latter expedition should, *mutatis mutandis*, proceed on the same principles as that from Cachar. In returning, both forces should be accompanied by the Chiefs and headmen of the offending villages. This would prevent any attempts at annoyance on the way back.

"In the foregoing remarks I have assumed that the force would not meet any resistance in its advance, but that the supports would require to be very strong in order to provide against annoyance after the villages had been occupied. From what I know of the Lushais and their ideas about fighting, I think that this is the most probable course of events. But there may be opposition; other clans may make common cause with those against whom our force would be directed; and these last might elect to stockade and defend their villages. In either case a strong force would be necessary, and, above all things, it should be thoroughly organized and equipped. It would be well, too, to post strong parties on Chatterchoora, Rengtipahar, and Bongkong, and to get the Rajah of Manipur to send a large force to some point south of Moirang. This measure would prevent Kamhow from giving any aid to the Lushais even if he were willing, which seems unlikely."

It must be borne in mind that the proposals for dealing with Lalboorah after our arrival at Chamfai were made on the supposition that we should meet with no opposition from the people of Kholei or Sellam; that we should consequently be able to march on Lalboorah as quickly as our transport would allow us; and above all, that we should have no hand-to-hand fighting with any of the Lushais. The choice of Tipai Mookh as a starting point was contingent on the force being directed against the Chiefs of Vonolet's family.

85: In July 1871 the Governor General in Council decided on sending an expedition into the Lushai country. The main force was to consist of two columns, one starting from Chittagong and one from Cachar; but there was to be a contingent supplied by the Rajah of Manipur. The Government of India in adopting these measures did not allude to the proof produced by me of the guilt of the Eastern Lushais; indeed, it was expressly stated that the most prominent offenders came from the country of the Howlongs and Sylas, and no indication was given of the portions of the Lushai tribe





against whom the Cachar force was intended to act. In the end of September I saw a letter from the Quarter Master General, in which it was mentioned that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was inclined to recommend that the point of departure of the Cachar column should be Tipai Mookh as recommended by me, but it was *not* stated in the letter that the attack was to be directed against the eastern Chiefs, and some circumstances had occurred since I had made the recommendation in March, which I thought ought to be taken into consideration. One of these was the arrival in Manipur of some Lushais, who said that they had been sent by some of the Chiefs of Vonolei's family to seek the friendship of the Manipur authorities, and permission to settle in the south of that State, and to ask the Political Agent to visit their villages during the ensuing cold season. About the same time some messengers came down from Sookpilal, who said that that Chief was anxious that we should attack the Syloos from the direction of the Cutlecherra range, and promised that he would assist us in every possible way. It then became a question for consideration whether we ought not to make a junction with the Chittagong force south of Sookpilal's country our first object, and let Manipur attempt to settle the eastern villages, particularly as the Political Agent was then opposed to my idea of the desirability of the Manipur troops working in the direction of Chiboo, and was anxious to take a route south of the Kowpoom Valley, which I thought would bring the contingent into dangerous proximity to a column advancing from Tipai Mookh.

36. I therefore asked to have the question of the point of departure re-opened. The matter was referred for final decision to Brigadier-General Bouchier, who had been selected to command the expedition, and I went up to Shillong to give him personally all the information I could. After a very careful consideration the Brigadier-General came to the conclusion, in which I fully concurred, that we ought to adhere to the Tipai Mookh route.

37. As I have not had hitherto an opportunity of explaining the reasons for this decision, I shall here go into them at some length. It may seem at first sight that we should have obtained some great advantages if we had taken the western route. In the first place, we knew much more about the hills north of Bepari Bazaar and Nisapwi than we did of the country east of the Tipai. Besides this, on the east side there is no water communication further south than Tipai Mookh, while the Sonai and Dallesar are navigable for very small boats as far as PUNCHUNKAI and Bepari Bazaar respectively. Then, if Sookpilal could have been relied on, the assistance that we should have got from him and his people would have been extremely valuable. Lastly, we should have had a fair chance of meeting the Chittagong column in the Syloo country. But it seemed to us that these advantages would be wholly or to a great extent neutralized if we could not put implicit confidence, not merely in Sookpilal's friendly feelings toward us, but in his belief that we were able to protect him afterwards from the vengeance of the rest of the Lushais. The route proposed by Sookpilal's messengers had not been explored, and was less known to me than that from Tipai Mookh; besides which it did not admit of our making use of water carriage south of Julnacherra. If we had taken either the route along the Bengti or that along the Noongvai range, we should have been obliged to establish the dépôt at Bepari Bazar very much earlier in the season than was necessary at Tipai Mookh, on account of the impossibility of taking large boats up the Dullesar during the cold weather, and, unless Sookpilal could have been depended on to protect the boats going up as well as the dépôt, a considerable portion of the force must have been employed in the jungles at the most unhealthy period of the year. Then, although we knew the country as far as Sookpilal's villages, we had not the slightest information about the hills beyond. None of our people had ever been in them, and all I knew about the position of the Howlong or the Syloo villages had been learned from Sookpilal's people; we should have been therefore entirely in his hands after we got outside the limits of my personal knowledge; and if the southern people could by any means have induced him not to guide us against them, we might have found it almost impossible to communicate with the Chittagong force. Besides this we believed that the villages of the Howlong Chiefs, who were known to be the worst offenders on the Chittagong side, are situated considerably to the east of the Syloos, and thought that the right column would have operated chiefly against them, in which case I considered that we should have had nearly as good a chance of effecting a junction from the east as from the west. It appeared to us therefore that the advantages of the western route were not in themselves so great as to counterbalance the risk of the surrounding Chiefs being able to induce Sookpilal by threats or promises to withhold his assistance, particularly as we knew that he was very much afraid of the Howlongs, and that all the Lushais disbelieved in our





ability to reach the more distant villages. On the other hand, although both General Bouchier and I thought that it would not be safe to allow the success of the expedition to depend in the slightest degree on Sookpila's assistance, we at the same time saw no reason to suspect his friendliness, and considered that an armed visitation of his country was not essential to attain the objects desired by Government.

The rumours of his complicity in last year's raids had been shown to be unfounded. Information brought down by some Cacharies of the Ainakhall Poonjee, who went up to his villages during the rains, made it almost certain that he had none of the captives, and the conduct of his people towards me while in the hills last year showed that he at least desired that we should think him friendly. Then he knows perfectly well that we can reach him at any time, and we calculated that after we had reduced to submission his more powerful neighbours he would not be likely to give trouble.

38. Our position with regard to the family of Vonolel was quite different. These Chiefs had made no direct overtures to us, and there was nothing really tangible in the message sent to Manipur, which was besides taken in by men of no account from small villages dependent on Poiboy. These men did indeed make over to the Rajah one of the muskets taken from our soldiers in the raids, but the fact of this being sent to the Manipur Chief instead of to us was extremely unsatisfactory. Then we knew that Vonolel's people had both in 1869 and 1871 obtained signal advantages over our fighting men and those of Manipur; that in 1869 Lenkom had taken the Kala-Nagas' stockade, though held by a Manipuri force, which, I believe, was superior in number to the attacking party; that Deowte, in the same year, had plundered and burnt Monierkhal in spite of the efforts of the police guard there, and that in 1871 Lalboorah and Tangdong had killed and plundered the bodies of several of our soldiers and police, besides driving before them a European officer and his men. Besides this we knew that they were the remotest and the least accessible of all the Lushais from either this side or that of Chittagong. It seemed to us very unlikely that they, secure in their distant fastnesses, and confident that they were more than a match for our troops in jungle fighting, would be induced to make a voluntary submission by the terror inspired by our punishment of nearer and less warlike tribes than their own. General Bouchier considered, and I fully agreed with him, that the only way in which we could force these people to submit, and to recognize that they must behave properly in future, was to show them that we could reach them, and that we had the power of crushing any opposition they could make to our occupation of their country. I think that the result of the expedition showed that we were right, but I must confess that I for my part did not venture to expect that the Lushais would give us such an opportunity of showing them what our troops can do as they did on the 25th January at Keongnoong.

39. Strong advanced guards were posted on the ranges mentioned in paragraph 34 to provide against any possible wavering on the part of Sookpila, and the Brigadier-General requested the Manipur Political Agent to advise the Rajah to post guards along his south frontier and to advance a small force to Tseklapee, a point south of Moirang, so as to be in readiness to take up a position at Chiboo when the time for such a measure arrived. At the outset there was some reason to hope that we should be able to induce the people of the villages of Lalhi and Poiboy to separate themselves from those of Lenkom, Lalboorah, and Tangdong, and that we might induce them to be friendly or even neutral, in which case it was General Bouchier's intention to advance to Chamfai with as little delay as possible, and to make that place his head-quarters until he had attained the objects of the expedition.

40. But even before we started we found that this would not be so easy as I had hoped, and that it was possible that we should have to fight every village south of Tipai Mookh. In November eight Lushais came in, who represented themselves as sent by Poiboy and the headmen of Kholel to ask for our friendship, to deny that Poiboy had anything to do with the raids, and to offer to bring in Vonolel's sons to make submission to us at Tipai Mookh. In my letter of the 2nd December, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, I mentioned my suspicions about the reality of these assurances, and that I was inclined to think that Poiboy would consider our advance from Tipai Mookh a hostile measure. I had known one of the men, whose name was Dezpong, since 1869, when he belonged to Vonpila's village, but he said that he had since left it and gone over to Poiboy, and we afterwards found out that all the men came from Kholel, Chipowee, and Tingreedoong, two villages dependent on Poiboy, but on this side of the great Moothien range. By degrees we learned from these people that the Lushais believed that we





should not be able to advance beyond Tipai Mookh for some time at least, and that they thought it probable that they might induce us to make some terms with them there and then to return. We also gathered from them that at the time they left, the tribe had not definitely decided on its general course of action in the event of our going beyond Tipai Mookh, but that if we should by any chance succeed in getting as far as the great range of Moothilen or Lengtene,—a very unlikely event all the Lushais thought,—and attempt to cross it, it was to be defended with the entire strength of the tribe. In consequence of what I heard from these people I advised General Bouchier on political grounds to advance at once to the Kholei village, as mentioned in my diary for the 14th December. But before describing the political results of this move, I shall attempt to give a slight sketch of the country in which the force operated.

41. An examination of the map which accompanies this report will show that between Luckipore and the Voombhong Hill, on which what for convenience sake we call the new Kholei villages are situated, our route never got out of the uninhabited and uncultivated jungle mentioned in paragraph 11, except when it passed through the Mainadhur and Bhubondhur tea gardens, themselves specks in an ocean of forest. The Barak from Tipai Mookh to Luckipore flows between ranges of high hills which send down innumerable spurs to the edge of the river. The path that did duty for a road was carried over these spurs sometimes on the Manipur side of the river, sometimes on the Cachar side, but always through a country in the highest degree difficult and repulsive. Between Tipai Mookh and the Voombhong range the route was easier and far pleasanter. We ascended gradually a spur of the Senbong range, which is, I think, itself a spur of the great ridge overlooking the Valley of Kowpoom. On our way we passed the sites of villages which had been deserted in consequence of the aggressions of the Lushais, and not occupied by the latter through fear of us. We found exquisitely fragrant limes growing near these sites, and walnut trees, which may have been planted by the former inhabitants of the hills. From the Senbong range, the highest point of which is probably under five thousand feet, we descended to the Tipai, which flows between it and the Voombhong range—a wide mass of hill with sloping sides, from much of which the luxuriant forests had been lately cleared for the villages, and joom cultivation of the Lushais. Of course we had to cross the Tipai to get to these villages, but our route onwards still lay within the curve made by that river in its way to the Barak. After crossing Parbachung, which is merely a spur of the real Kholei range, we had to ascend the latter, which is, I believe, the continuation of the Kowpoom Hill. Its average height is much greater than that of Senbong, and the highest point on it reached by the survey party was 5,450 feet. The range ends abruptly a little to the south of this peak, round the base of which the Tipai flows. Further south are more, and probably higher hills, some of which belong to Poi-boy, some to Vompilal; still further south is Bhoota's country. On the wide sloping side of this peak is the site of Vompilal's village, which is now broken up into the Voombhong group. North of this were the two smaller guard villages of Daidoo and Pachowee, some of the households of which have moved west to Voombhong; but probably more east to Poi-boy's villages. The Tipai flows between the Kholei range and the hills to the east, which may be described as a cluster of spurs thrown out towards the south by a great block of hill. On the northern slopes of this block is the Tingreedoong village; that of Chipowee is situated on the first of the spurs crossed by us. We gave the name of Gnowpa to the next spur, which runs far to the south, where it meets a spur of the high Rengtung or Moothilen range. Along the ridge of Gnowpa are the sites of many villages now deserted. Poi-boy's people have, however, again begun to occupy this range, and his mother is about to remove her village to a point upon it.

42. After leaving these hills we came on a great range to which I have more than once alluded. I do not know any general name for it, and I do not think there is any; but we used the name of one of three high peaks on it—Soorthlong, Moothilen, and Langteng, to describe it. It is very steep and rocky, and the highest point on it must be 7,000 feet high. Koongnoong, the village at which we halted after the fight of the 25th January, was 5,500 feet. To the east of this range we could see several lower ranges between us and Chiboo, which was pointed out to our north-east. On these hills were many villages, all dependent on Poi-boy, but some of which have since moved to Manipur. To the north-east was Taikoong, the village destroyed on the 26th January. The country to the east and south of Koongnoong differs very much in character from that of the west of Moothilen. The general levels are higher, the climate is colder and pleasanter, there is much less forest, and the flora is of a decidedly different character, pines and rhododendrons replacing as typical varieties bamboos and the great family of ficus. The hills too are more rocky and the soil far less fertile, or at least less suited to grow rice and





other products which flourish in the hills to the west. Between Koonnoong and Sellam, to the north-east of the latter, were two villages, but our route did not pass through them, as we took a more direct road. On our way we met with the first of those curious moor-like patches of flat grassy land of which we found so many afterwards. The next we came to was the valley of the Dinkai between Sellam and Tulcheng, a large village chiefly inhabited by Pois.

43. After we left the latter place we crossed the water-shed which separates the streams flowing into the Barak and with it into the Brahmaputra, from those falling into the Taow, which I think must be the Koladyuc. From this water-shed we got into the flat valley of the Tooeetow, which flows eastward into the Taow between two great peaks, which we used to call Lalboorah's gates, but the real names of which are Dithlong and Moorthlong. We ascended the latter of these, crossing it at the height of 6,700 feet; at this point was situated the village of Engow, composed entirely of Soktes of Kamhow's tribe. Not far from this is a village of Pois, but I was unable to find out from them anything to identify them with any family known by name to us. From Engow's village there was a pretty gradual descent to the Chamfai Valley. This is the largest of all the flats we actually met; but I think, judging from the little I could see of the valley of the Taow, that the latter is larger still. East of the Taow, but at a long distance, is a very high range of hills, beyond which the Lushais say there is a valley inhabited by Burmese. They mean the Shans inhabiting the southern part of the Kobo Valley, who are governed, I think, by a *Woongye* of their own race living at Khambat, about 60 miles due east of Sellam, or possibly at Kendat, some miles further east; but before getting to these high distant hills it would be necessary to cross many ranges inhabited by Lushais under Tangdeng and Lenkom and by the various families of Kookies that look on the Soki Chief Kamhow as their head. I was unable to make out much about the country to the south and west of us. It seemed to me unusually confused and broken, but I dare say that when the observations of Captain Badgely and those of the survey party with the right column are placed together, a very tolerable reconnaissance may be made out. We saw one or two villages which were said to belong to Lalboorah, and further west, as we were told, are the villages of Lalroom and Bhoota,\* with the latter of whom the Manipur or Cachar authorities have not yet had any relations.

44. I fear that the foregoing sketch may seem meagre and imperfect, perhaps unintelligible; but I hope it will be remembered that the direct distance from Luckipore to Chamfai is 94 miles; that all the country between consists of hills ranging from two hundred to about seven thousand feet high, and to a great extent covered with dense forests; that the actual length of our route was 167 miles; and that the difficulties of this route are so great and continuous, that even after the road was made Chamfai was twenty-four marches from Silchar and fifteen from Tipai Mookh. When these circumstances are taken into consideration, I think it will be seen that it is almost impossible to give within the limits of a report like this an adequate account of a tract of country so great in extent and so diversified in natural features, or of a route full of difficulties so numerous and so varied in character. I wish very much that Captain Badgely or Lieutenant Leech and Woodthorpe, two very accomplished engineer officers who accompanied his survey party, could be induced to write an account of the country. They are very much better fitted for such a work than I am, and if they would consent to do it, I should be very happy to help them in any way I could. I may here remark that Lieutenant Woodthorpe has very kindly compiled the map which accompanies this report, and which I think will be found to contain much useful information not to be found elsewhere.

45. The General with a small part of the force marched from Tipai Mookh on the 16th; I accompanied him and took with me Dorpong and the other Lushais who had come to Silchar in November and who now agreed to guide us to Kholei. We did not see any other Lushais till the 18th, when we met a number of men from Kholei, from whose manner and talk we learned that we should very likely have to fight Poiboy, and perhaps the Kholei people as well. That evening Dorpong and six more out of the eight Lushais said they wanted to leave us and go to their own village, as their families would suffer if any collision were to occur while they were with us. The remaining Lushai had determined to return with us to Cachar, and was of course considered a traitor by his comrades. The loss of these men was likely to be very embarrassing to us, and we were

\* Since my arrival in Calcutta, I have heard by telegraph from the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar that Bhoota has resolved to solicit our friendship.





naturally annoyed at their breach of faith, but General Bouchier had determined not to attempt to detain any one who joined us voluntarily if he should afterwards wish to leave us, and so we let the men go. It was most fortunate that we did so. It is probable that all or most of them fought against us at Kholel, but it was Dorpong who, on the 20th December, risked his life to bring us information of the intention of the Kholel people to submit, and from that time till we returned to Tipai Mookh he never ceased to work for us. In this connection I may quote a passage in a letter to me from General Bouchier: "Another man I think deserving of reward is Dorpong, a Lushai of the Lushais; but be he what he may, in his peculiar manner he rendered us immense service and faithfully warned us that we should be attacked." But it is certain that if General Bouchier had attempted to keep this man on the 18th December, he would not have been able to write in those terms of him at the end of the expedition. The policy begun in this instance was followed throughout. Lushais from all the villages with which we were not actually fighting at the time were always encouraged to come into camp, and they were allowed to leave when they liked, of course subject to the restriction that they could not pass the sentries after night-fall without permission from the officer commanding. I am convinced that much of the success of our column was owing to the consistent way in which General Bouchier carried out this policy. It may be thought at first sight that it enabled the Lushais to get information about us which they otherwise could not have got, and which ought to have been concealed from them. This danger was carefully considered by the General, and he came to the conclusion that ordinarily it would be advantageous to let the Lushais know as much as possible about our strength and movements, and that if at any time operations requiring secrecy were in preparation, there would be no difficulty in preventing the Lushais who might be with us from leaving the camp. It is worthy of remark that the almost unrestricted intercourse which we kept up with the Lushais could not have been maintained but for the perfect discipline and order of the head-quarters camp, and the good conduct of all the men we had with us. What seemed to me most admirable in this discipline and order was that it was kept up with no apparent effort. No soldier ever appeared to commit an offence, and there appeared to be no punishments. The conduct of the coolies with us was nearly as good as that of the soldiers.

46. On the 22nd we crossed the Tipai after some altercation with Lushais whom we met at the stream. They were told that we meant to visit their village, but that we did not mean them any injury, as we were going against Vonpil's people. Next day, while we were ascending the hill towards the village, our advanced party was fired upon, and that day was spent in skirmishes with the Lushais and in burning villages and grain. We encamped for the night in a village where we remained until the 26th, annoyed night and day by the Lushai sharpshooters, who kept firing into the village under cover of the surrounding jungle. On the 26th we returned to the Tooebhoon, and in my diary for that day I have mentioned how admirably the manoeuvre was effected. During the two following days the Lushais, themselves completely protected by the dense jungle, gave us much trouble by firing upon coolies and working parties. An attack was also made on the elephants when out for fodder near Tipai Mookh, in which several mahouts were killed and some elephants wounded. It must be remembered that all this time we had no means of communicating with the Lushais, of learning what they were about or aiming at, or of letting them know our wishes and intentions. This made my position as civil officer a very trying one. On the 29th General Bouchier again ascended the Voombong hill to hunt for more villages. At first there was some firing between our troops and the Lushais concealed in the jungle; but half way up the hill we met Dorpong and some other Lushais who said that the people of Kholel wanted to make submission, as Poi-boy had told them he could not help them. From that time there was no more fighting with the Kholel people, although they were not informed that their submission would be accepted for some days after.

47. I shall now try to give the Lushai side of the Kholel affair as far as I could learn it from themselves. Of course many of their statements were not to be trusted, and I have to depend on conjecture for several points on which they could not be induced to give me any information, but I think that the following account is on the main correct. The people of all that are left of Vonpil's villages have been for some time, as I have more than once reported, divided into two factions, one of which adheres to Impanoo, Vonpil's mother, who lives at Dollong, and the other to his widow, who lives at Kholel, and claims to manage the whole community in the name of her son Lahli. The younger widow is the sister of Poi-boy, who of course supports her in her disputes with her mother-in-law. The latter has in consequence sought the assistance of Sook-pil's son, Knaikom, who has moved his village across the Sonai to the same ridge as that





on which Dollong is situated. When it was found that the expedition was really advancing in the direction of Kholel, and the headmen of all Vompil's villages had to decide on the course they were to adopt with regard to us, it was found that the adherents of Impanoo were anxious to make at least a pretence of being friends with us, and to help us to get away towards the east, or at all events not to hinder us in any way; while the other party were eager to oppose our advance. There were two reasons for this difference of opinion. The adherents of Impanoo are generally the older people of the different villages, many of them witnesses of the destruction of Mora's village, which they did not wish to have repeated; while the minds of the younger members of the community, who mainly formed the other party, naturally dwell chiefly on the fact that in 1849 the force had to hurry out of the country.

Then again if the Kholel people were to oppose us unsuccessfully there was danger of our next attacking the rest of Vompil's villages, which all lay to the west, in which case both Impanoo and Khalkom would have suffered; while it was equally the interest of Poiboy that the force should be opposed before getting as far as his country. The two parties do not seem to have come to any decision, but probably there was a tacit compromise that if we did not attempt to visit the Voombong villages, we should not be opposed, and that in this case the Kholel people would keep in outwardly friendly terms with us unless we met with some disaster ahead, or had to return unsuccessfully, when they might fall upon us with perfect safety. Of course it would have been impossible for us to accept such a situation. It was almost a necessity to make every village behind safe before taking a step in advance. From the position of the new Kholel group of villages, it could have done us more injury than any other, and we could not make sure of this group without visiting it and leaving a party in a position to command all the villages. Of course after matters had been brought to a crisis by the attack on our advance guard on the 23rd, both parties were forced to join and do their utmost to get rid of us, and they were helped by people from Poiboy's villages of Tingreedoong, Chipowee, and perhaps some others. After the General had taken up his position in the village they tried to make it untenable and to force him to retire, as they think they forced Colonel Lister to hurry out of the country by similar measures in 1849, and they thought they had succeeded when we returned to the Tooweebhoom on the 26th, leaving several villages and much grain untouched. The owners thought that they were now quite safe, and began to re-occupy their houses which they had deserted and bring back their families from Tingreedoong, Chipowee, Dollong, and other villages, where they had been sent for safety. At the same time they commenced to harass our communications as they did in Colonel Lister's case.

48. On the morning of the 29th they had no idea of giving in, but when they saw General Bouchier marching towards their villages again, instead of hurrying back to Tipai Mookh, as they expected, they were seized with a sudden panic. The owners of property which had escaped the previous destruction, and who had congratulated themselves that they were safe, could not bring themselves to run the same risk a second time; a village council was hastily held, in which they clamoured for instant submission. In this they were supported by the people present from the western villages, who saw that their turn must come next, and Poiboy's people and the people whose villages had been already destroyed had to yield very reluctantly, as I was afterwards told by one of the latter. After they had decided to submit there was a difficulty about letting us know that they had done so, for they knew that it was almost certain that any Lushai seen in the jungle would be taken for one of the sharpshooters who were annoying us, and shot down before he could make the friendliness of his intentions understood; but Dorpong undertook the risk and came to meet us waving a red cloth, which I had given him. One of the soldiers of the advanced guard was just about to fire at him when Captain Butter, General Bouchier's aide-de-camp, who was most fortunately in front at the time, recognised Dorpong and told the man not to fire. From that day we never had the slightest difficulty in communicating with the Lushais. The terms imposed on the village of Kholel were designedly lenient. Our great object was to get to Chamfai as quickly as possible, and General Bouchier considered that to enable him to do this the safety of his communications was essential. The headmen agreed to make themselves responsible for the safety of our communications between Tipai Mookh and the Tooweebhoom, and they gave three of their number to remain with us as hostages until our return from Chamfai.

These men behaved admirably all through the remainder of the expedition, and did us excellent service more than once. We knew that there were no captive British subjects in the village, but I found out afterwards that there were two Naga women who





had been taken prisoners when the village of Mentha in Manipur was destroyed in 1869. One of these was given up while we were in the country and accompanied me back. She is now with her relatives, who have come into Cachar. Another was brought down to Tipai Mookh after I had left, but as she showed a disinclination to come farther unless some of the Lushais accompanied her, which they were unwilling to do, Colonel Nuthall, the officer commanding there, did not like to force her or the Lushais in the matter, and allowed her to return on her promising to come down with the next set of Lushais visiting Cachar. I think Colonel Nuthall exercised a wise discretion particularly as cholera had made its appearance between Tipai Mookh and Cachar. On my way back I arranged with the Kholel headmen that they are to meet me or some other officer next cold season at any place that may be appointed, and have promised to get up a fair for them at Tipai Mookh.

49. There was a rumour that Kholkom was wounded at Kholel. I could not find out the truth of it. He was certainly very ill at one time, and no one seemed able to explain his disease. It is quite possible that he may have taken part in some of the fighting at Kholel, and more than probable that people from his village and that of Impanoo did; but there is equal reason to believe that he did not at the outset wish the Kholel people to oppose us, and that his party were eager to submit on the 29th. Indeed, I have heard from the people of Lalboorah and Poiboy that Kholkom had the principal share in bringing about the submission, and they spoke very bitterly on the subject. They also accused him of having induced us to attack them to save himself, and I have heard them say that as soon as we had left the country, all the eastern villages would unite and take vengeance on him. This, however, was before the affair at Koongnoong and the subsequent disintegration of the eastern villages. Kholkom is now stronger than the entire family of Vonolel. But it will be more convenient for me to treat this subject lower down, when I attempt an estimate of our relations with Sookpilal.

50. Our next political object after having settled the Kholel difficulty was to come to such terms with the people of Tingreedoong and Chipowee that we could rely on their not giving us trouble in the rear in the event, which now seemed probable, of Poiboy's joining the sons of Vonolel, and opposing us when we attempted to cross the Lengtung which we should have had to do if we had taken the route we then contemplated. But we were not able to leave the Toeebhoom till the 6th January, although the road ahead had been pushed on a considerable way previous to that date. On the 10th and three following days 225 Thadoo Kookies, the inhabitants of a village formerly subject to Vonolel, arrived at Cheebo, to which place the Manipuri contingent had advanced. The people of this village, it seems, had taken advantage of the confusion into which the Lushais had been thrown, by the events at Kholel and our threatened advance, to make their escape and take refuge with the Manipuris. There were afterwards more than one exodus of a similar kind, the causes and probable effects of which I shall discuss lower down.

At the same time, although the south-eastern Lushais were getting very uneasy, I am sure that they still believed we should be unable to reach Chamfai; and our own hill men, as well as the Lushais with us, were equally incredulous, particularly when they saw us forced to halt on the Kholel ridge from the 8th to the 17th January, waiting for supplies. However, we did get to Chipowee on the 18th. On the road the Lushais made an impudent attempt to palm off on us a personated Poiboy, a very common trick of theirs, and when we found out the cheat and showed our anger, there seemed to be some danger of a collision. This however was avoided, to my great satisfaction, for a fight at Chipowee, unless it were a real trial of strength between us and all the south-eastern villages, would only have delayed us without doing any good. In the course of a few days, during which we halted at Chipowee, we made very satisfactory arrangements with that village and Tingreedoong, the people agreeing to guarantee the safety of our communications between the Toeebhoom and Chipowee, and sending with us men of each village as hostages. Among these was the headman of Tingreedoong, whom I suspected of being an arrant old schemer, but I thought that if I had him with us, I might be able to turn his intrigues against us to our advantage. The Chipowee Chief, who was comparatively trustworthy, remained near the Officer Commanding the station as a kind of hostage. These arrangements were very successful; and I may here mention that from the time of our agreement with the Kholel people there was never the slightest attempt made to disturb our line of communications—not even when the south-eastern villages were making their great effort to force us back from Moothelen,—an effort which was mainly directed to the destruction of our means of transport.





The Chipewee people gave up to us two Naga women who had been taken away from Manipur many years ago. One of them could only speak Lushai, and both refused to leave the village. We kept them with us in camp apart from the Lushais for some time, and did all in our power to induce them to accompany us willingly, but all our efforts failed, and we did not think ourselves justified in forcing them to be rescued; so they were allowed to remain with the Lushais. On our way back several families of Kookies belonging to the village joined us and accompanied us into Cachar, but this subject can be fully treated more conveniently in connection with the exodus of Kookies into Manipur.

51. We left Chipewee on the 22nd. Our original intention was to follow the Ghowpa ridge from No. 11 (Bhomong) as far south as a point due west of Sellam, and then to cross the Lengting by a very steep and difficult ghaat. I have marked this route approximately in blue on the map. It was the one which the Lushais expected us to take, and they had stockaded many strong points on it, and here all the villagers had resolved on making a great stand. For some time previous to our arrival at Bohmong, the information which we received about the intended defence of the Lengting had been getting more and more definite, and we had heard that it was the intention of the Chiefs, if they should succeed in turning our force back, to lose no opportunity of harassing us on our retreat and not to cease pursuing us till we reached the cultivated part of the Cachar District; while I was given to understand that if we succeeded in crossing the Lengting in spite of all the efforts of the Lushais, no further opposition would be offered to our advance on Chantfai. When, however, we got to Bohmong, General Bouchier decided to cross the great range by Soorthlong or Moothelen, and so avoid the very rocky and difficult Lengting. But of course in taking this route it was not his object to avoid any opposition that the Lushais were prepared to make, and it was most undesirable that they should think so. Consequently, immediately on the change of route being decided on, I made it known to the headman of Tingreedoong, who was with us, and told him that he should go ahead of us in the morning with Dorpong and inform Poiboy that he must give up any Manipuri captives that might be in his villages, and come in person to make submission to us. Shortly after dinner the Tingreedoong headman asked to be allowed to send away two young Lushais who were with us to warn the villagers ahead that we are going in their direction. Dorpong gave me to understand that these lads were sent to recall the men stationed on the Lengting. This the General did not think was at all to be objected to, so the lads were allowed to go. Next morning the headman of Tingreedoong and Dorpong were sent on. That evening Colonel Roberts met them on the top of Soorthlong coming from the village of Taikoong. They told him that the surrounding villages were full of armed men. That night there was held at Koongnoong a great Council of all the Chiefs of the families of Vonolel and his brother Lalpoong, and their headmen. At this meeting the Lushai plan of operations for the following day was settled, which really was a very well-designed one, and if it could have been carried out successfully, would have been a tremendous blow to us. The Lushai force were to be divided into two parties, one of which was to attack our main body while marching along a very rocky stream flowing between precipitous hills, covered with, I think, the thickest jungle we had met since we left Kholel, and was then to retire slowly up the hill disputing every difficult bit. In the meantime the other party was to steal down the bed of the stream and attack the coolies, who, they thought, would be left unprotected during the pursuit of the party retreating up the hill. They thought that if they could kill a large number of our coolies, the remainder would get so terrified that they would run off into the jungle, whence we should never recover them, and that the force would be starved out of the country. Dorpong, who, with the headman of Tingreedoong, came back to camp on the morning of the 25th, gave me private information of this scheme, chiefly, I think, to spite the old Tingreedoong headman, with whom he had a quarrel, which of course we carefully fostered. The idea of attacking the coolies had probably been originated by the headman, who had more than once been overheard to use expressions implying that he saw that our weak point was the enormous line of coolies that followed the main body. I need not dwell at length on the complete failure of this attempt. In my diary for the day I quoted General Bouchier's description of the fight. I may add, however, that I under-estimated the Lushai loss. Judging from accounts which I got afterwards, I think that there must have been more than sixty killed and wounded. I have heard the names of thirty-two who were killed.

52. This affair at Koongnoong, and the destruction of Taikoong on the following day, made all further resistance impossible. Some of the Chiefs, indeed, would have liked to try once more, but they could not get their people to support them. The Lushais saw





clearly that they had been completely beaten in what they had themselves chosen as a trial of strength, and they frankly accepted the situation. The Chiefs too probably saw that resistance would be unavailing, but they saw also that in any case they were in danger of utter ruin, for after the 25th January entire villages deserted them and went off to Manipur, Kamhow, the Pois, and Sockpial. On the 13th February 373 Sates, with twenty-eight muskets, arrived at Manipur; and on the 14th and 18th, 392 Thadoe and other Kookies. On the 4th or 5th March, 962 men, women, and children, with forty-four muskets, left some of the eastern villages under the escort of a party of Kamhow's people. On the 14th March the whole of Bohmong's village, 672 people with seventy muskets, joined the Manipuris. I have got all these numbers from the Manipur Political Agent, so that they are absolutely correct. Of course I cannot give equally accurate particulars of the numbers of those who succeeded in reaching Kamhow or the Pois or Sockpial, but I know that they were very great. It will easily be understood that the Chiefs, seeing themselves in such a position, might think that they had nothing more to lose and become reckless in consequence.

53. The Tingreodoong headman had been made very useful to us, but I thought it just as well not to let his conduct go unpunished, so I took the opportunity of his leaving the camp without permission on the day Talkoong was destroyed to inflict a heavy fine on him. It was paid at once, and I did not find him out in any more intrigues. General Bouchier and I also thought it advisable to inflict a fine on Poiboi's villages, which was paid before we reached Sallam. We were also very anxious to get Poiboi into the camp; but we found it impossible to get over his dread of us. He followed us to Toolcheng, and evidently made a great effort to summon up courage to meet us there, but he could not do it. Possibly this may have been in some measure owing to my refusing to swear on water poured out of a gun that he should come to no harm. His headman said that if I were to do so they thought he might pluck up courage enough to come in; but I have a strong conviction of the impolicy of a European officer submitting to take oaths prescribed by hillmen, and neither General Bouchier nor I thought a meeting with Poiboi of importance sufficient to warrant me in making a concession of which I so thoroughly disapproved. Ultimately on our return General Bouchier, at the solicitation of the people of the village, dispensed with Poiboi's personal appearance on condition that three of his headmen accompanied us to Tipai Mukh. One old woman belonging to Manipur was given up at this village, and a little coolie child, who had been purchased by Lalboorah from the Howlongs and sent to me in lieu of a little Bengali girl whom I was very anxious to recover, but who, it was said, had died. We cannot find out anything about the identity of the coolie child. The old woman died on the way into Cachar.

Since my return I have heard that some of Poiboi's headmen were going into Manipur towards the end of last month, and that it was the intention of the Political Agent to advise the Rajah to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Poiboi, and to protect him from the encroachment of Kamhow. I hope the Political Agent will succeed in effecting this, for all I have learned during the expedition has strengthened the opinion I had previously formed that the eastern Lushais and the tribes bordering on them can be best managed through Manipur.

There can be little doubt that if the Manipuris had tried to fight the men whom we met at Keongnoong, they would have been utterly worsted; but now that the Lushais have been well beaten and require support rather than further weakening, Manipur can help them, and I do not see how we can. But we cannot depend on the interference of Manipur being beneficial, unless the Political Agent have complete control over the relations of that state with all the Kookie tribe, and unless each Political Agent remain in Manipur for a longer time than Dr. Brown and General Nuthall have done; for the effect of such constant changes must be to lessen the effective control of the European officers over the intriguing Manipur officials. It is essential too that the Political Agent should be brought into much closer relations with the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar than he has been hitherto.

55. Our relations with the people of Sallam, Toolcheng, and Lenkom's villages were in the highest degree satisfactory to the end. The people were clearly anxious to be on friendly terms with us, and always ready to give us any assistance we called for. Of course there was necessarily a difference in the case of Lalboorah's own people. We had always put forward Vonolel's own village as the one which we considered had committed the greatest offences against us, and had all through declared that the immediate object of the expedition was to inflict punishment on that village and force it to give up the





muskets it had taken from our troops. All through our advance we had been getting information which left no doubt that the view we took about Chumfai was right. The Lushais all considered that this village gave the signal for every raid, even for those conducted by the Chiefs of independent villages. The headmen confessed this to me, and they acknowledged that all the guns and uniforms taken in 1871 had been brought to Chumfai in the first instance and then distributed among other villages.

Immediately on our arrival the village of Chumfai itself was destroyed. The villages of Vonole's widow was spared on the people giving up two of our muskets and ten of their own in lieu of the remainder, some of which they said they had sent to different Poi Chiefs, and some to other Lushai villages, and they had to pay a fine, which, however, was somewhat limited in consequence of our discovering that the effects of the expedition had already weakened the tribes beyond what we considered desirable. They had also to give three of their headmen to accompany the force as hostages to Tipai Mukh. It was impossible for people towards whom we took such an attitude to be on very familiar terms with us, and we had to leave too soon after the payment of the fine to allow a feeling of confidence in the good faith of our assurances of forgiveness to grow up. However, the headmen of this village, and some of those of Lenkom's who accompanied us to Tipai Mukh, seemed to have very friendly feelings towards us when we parted on the 7th of March, the day before I left Tipai Mukh on my way to Cachar.

56. I have already alluded to the swarms of Kookies who during the expedition took refuge in the Manipur territory. The total number who passed over from the Lushais was 2,549 up to the 23rd March, and they took in with them 156 muskets. As my estimate of the advantages of this exodus differs very much from that of the Political Agent, I append to this report two letters from him to General Bouchier on the subject, and my remarks on them. I mentioned in a previous paragraph that a number (in all 54) of Thadoes and Waiphies accompanied our force on its return from Chipowee. A brief account of the antecedents of these Thadoes, and the reasons they assign for so many Kookies now leaving the Lushai villages, may help to illustrate the accounts I have elsewhere given of the composition of the Lushai communities.

These Thadoes say that some thirty years ago they belonged to a powerful village under a Chief of their own family, whom they call Mongpilal, and occupied various sites on the hills around the Tipai, but in course of time the Poitoo of Lalchokla's family began to press hard upon them, and at length their Chief took refuge with Toosoong, the Head Chief of all the Thadoes, who was much more powerful than the Poitoo Chiefs. But while some of Mongpilal's Thadoes accompanied their Chief to Toosoong's village many more took refuge with the Lushai Chiefs, who were then getting powerful, and who soon after drove the Poitoo westward to the Chatterchoora range. Some time after this when Toosoong, who was father of Koodingmang, the Chief who massacred a Cutcha Naga village last year, was driven to take refuge in Manipur, Mongpilal and the people who had accompanied him to Toosoong's village again formed a separate village under the protection of the Lushais, moving about from place to place, until this year, when they left for Manipur. But those of his people who had originally taken refuge among the Lushais remained in the villages of the latter, sometimes living in the villages of Lalpoong, sometimes in those of Mora, until three years ago, when they went to Chipowee. The reasons these people give for the desertion of so many of the people once subject to the Lushai Chiefs are, that the hills have been over-joomed, and no more land fit for cultivation left; that for the last four years, since the younger Chiefs have been able to do what they like, there has been nothing but raiding; and that they are tired of it; lastly, that while their Chiefs were engaged in making raids on Manipur and Cachar, in the course of which the lives of many of their people were lost, Kamhow and other Chiefs were getting more daring in their aggressions on their villages, while the result of the expedition has destroyed whatever faith they had left in the power of the Lushai Chiefs. The Manipur Chief means I believe to settle the people that have taken refuge with him in hills to the south of the Manipur valley, and in the north-eastern portion of the tract marked "uncultivated and uninhabited" in the map. I think that it would have been much better if they had remained under the Lushai Chiefs and settled in that portion of the same tract which lies south of the Cachar boundary, and which is much better suited for cultivation than the more eastern hills. It is quite probable that Kamhow and the Pois will still continue their attacks on these Kookies, and the Manipur State will probably have to take measures for their protection. But it is probable that these people will not be satisfied with the restrictions and burdens of the Manipur supremacy, and that they will follow Kodingmang into the Naga Hills, where





they would be a constant source of trouble both to us and Manipur. There can be no doubt that the villages to the east have of late been pressed hard by Kamhow and others—so hard, that the people have taken to stockading, which they never do unless when they feel themselves weak; but it is to be feared that unless the Political Agent can direct the Manipur policy into a better course than it has followed of late, the Kookies who have this year moved into the Rajah's jurisdiction will not be much less exposed to attacks in future than they had been while living under the Lushai Chiefs.

57. It will be understood from the foregoing paragraphs that I do not now attach so much importance as before to the eastern villages or to our relations with them. On the other hand I think one result of the expedition may, and probably will be, to increase the strength of the villages belonging to Sookpial and his sons, and the influence of that family of Chiefs; in short, to put them in a position in which they will have more ability to help us than they have had hitherto, while at the same time the fright they have all got will make them very anxious to be on good terms with us. But I cannot speak positively of the ultimate effects of the expedition upon Sookpial's power until I know more than I do at present of the dealings of the Chittagong force with the Lalpitang Howlongs. These have been for some years back his chief foes, and although his people boasted a good deal last year about all he was going to do in forcing them to give up the captives, I know that they have very lately dispossessed him of his chief salt springs; and Rowa was no doubt telling the truth when he said that Sookpial had told him to advise an attack on Sangboong and Benkuia, as mentioned in paragraph 4 of Mr. McWilliam's letter No. 132 of the 30th January. Sookpial knew very well that the Howlongs would attack him hereafter if they felt themselves strong enough, just as the eastern Chiefs were determined to attack his son Khalkom. The facts related in that report shew that Sookpial was then really anxious to be on good terms with us; his kindness to the women, his sending them down, and even his attempt to make them tell lies about his having redeemed them and recovered Mary Winchester. We have not heard from him since, but some of our people are with him, and a man of his is still here. Another—Row—unfortunately died of cholera some time ago. The Kookies here are quite satisfied that Sookpial is no longer to be feared by them, and they are very anxious to move down their villages far south of the existing outposts. The Kookies who came in from Chipowee, who probably know the state of feeling among the Lushais, assure me that there is no danger in this, and are themselves going to set up a village between Kolosheep and Chatterchoora.

58. One result of the expedition will be to make Poiboi unable to give any further support to his sister's party in Vompil's villages; and as both parties are thoroughly frightened, and feel that their villages are absolutely in our power, Khalkom can only hope to retain any influence in them through our acquiescence. The unanimous adhesion of Vompil's people would probably make the family of Sookpial a match for any of the tribes that border on their villages, for it would eventually give them complete control of all the villages west of the Moothillen range; consequently we may reckon confidently that Khalkom's interests will co-operate with his fears in making him desire to stand well with us. On our return his two chief Mantries accompanied us from Pachowee to Tipai Mukh, and I expect that he or one of his brothers will come in to visit Silchar at no distant date, as soon as the dread which Rowa's death is likely to cause them has had time to pass away.

59. In the accompanying map an attempt has been made to lay down approximately the western limits of Sookpial's territory, but it is little more than a guess. He says himself that he has no influence west of the range on which Chatterchoora is situated, but we do not accurately know what direction the ridge takes south of that peak. The country to the west of Sookpial's territory is nominally subject to the Tipperah Chief, but the eastern boundary of the territory of the latter is very uncertain. According to Pemberton and all the earlier maps, Independent Tipperah, as it was then called, extended as far as Tipai Mukh. But some years ago the name of Hill Tipperah was in some mysterious way substituted for the older name and all the hills between the south of Cachar and the Chittagong Hill Tracts seem to have been at about the same time silently included in the Cachar district. The boundary between Cachar and Hill Tipperah shewn in the maps of that period is the same as the line I have assumed to be the western boundary of Sookpial's territory, but in the maps published lately a "supposed water-shed and boundary" is laid down west of the supposed course of the Lungai, a little stream flowing into the Sylhet district. I should think that the best geographical boundary between Hill Tipperah and the Lushai Hills would be the continuation of the water-shed that divides Sylhet from Cachar. I





cannot say what amount of authority the Tipperah Chief actually has over the Kookies living in the hills west of Sookpial. That he has some is generally acknowledged; but I should think that it can be little more than nominal. These Kookies belong chiefly to the Dorlong and Poitoo families, the former of whom seem to have settled chiefly towards the south, while the Poitooes are more in the direction of Sylhet. Both families formerly occupied some of the hills in which our column worked, and both were driven westwards by other families, among whom the Lushais were prominent. The Poitooes of Lalchokla's village have been already mentioned in connection with the Thadoes, who accompanied us from Chipowee. This is the Lalchokla who was transported in 1845. But even the above meagre bits of information must not be taken as all absolutely correct. I know very little about the Dorlongs, except what I have heard incidentally from Lushais. I have told all I know of the Poitooes in paragraphs 19, 20, and 21 of my Report C, dated 13th March 1871. It is probable that the civil and survey officers with the right column have collected some information about the south-eastern part of Hill Tipperah, and that the Political Agent's report for last year will add much to our knowledge of the country and its inhabitants.

60. I should prefer to delay my final report on the defensive and protective measures to be adopted on the Cachar side, and the means to be taken to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes until I have had an opportunity of learning all that is known about the Tipperah Kookies mentioned above, as well as about the present and probable future position of the Howlongs and Syloos. I should like also to get some information about the relations of the authorities of British Burma with the tribes on the Koladyne before submitting the report asked for in the correspondence forwarded to me with your No. 57 of the 20th March. I have long had a conviction, which has steadily deepened as my experience in frontier matters has increased, of the impolicy and uselessness of attempting to deal in detail with the Kookie difficulty. We cannot hope for success, or even for safety, if we allow ourselves to be misled by what really are accidents of political geography, and treat the relations of each district or dependent state with the Kookies on its border as a separate question, in dealing with which measures can be taken without any reference to any of the others, even though the measures may be based on principles diametrically opposite, perhaps hostile, to those adopted elsewhere, and may possibly have a most injurious effect on the relations between some other district or state and the tribes without. Looking simply to the interests of Cachar, and if I could with safety leave out of sight the considerations which must influence our treatment of the parts of the question in which other districts are concerned, I should at once submit a detailed scheme based on the principles which I have advocated consistently during the last four years. But I feel that such a scheme could only be a provisional one, and that I might have hereafter to alter all the details possibly even to modify some of the principles, after I had learned all that there is to be known about the Tipperah Kookies, the Syloos, the Howlongs, the Shindoos, and the geography of the tracts which they inhabit.

61. The proposal to keep up the road to Chipowee, on which you called for a report in your No. 64 of the 9th April, is a good instance of the impossibility of dealing with the subject of our future Kookie policy entirely from a Cachar point of view. The expediency of keeping up the road depends entirely on the decision that may be come to on the advisability, firstly, of making a road between Cachar and Chittagong; and secondly, of taking such road through the Chumfai Valley. For, if the road to Chittagong should not be decided on, there would be no possible advantage in keeping up a road as far as Chipowee, unless, indeed, it were contemplated to retain there permanently the European officer and force which would have to be stationed there during the construction of the road. If any other line should be adopted for a road between Cachar and Chittagong, there would obviously be even less advantage in keeping up a road to Chipowee. Now, it is impossible for me to come to a conclusion, either on the desirability of making the road to Chittagong, or of taking such road through the Chumfai Valley, without knowing the exact character of the results obtained by the right column, and the geography of the country in which it operated. Of course, the question of the practicability and expense of completing and keeping up the road as far as Chipowee can be treated independently of the above considerations; but previous to doing so, I wish to point out that the road in its present state is not more than a fair-weather path. The bridges put up by us, even if still standing, will be carried away during the rains, and much of the road will become impassable, and next cold weather will be scarcely better than the original track. If the road is to be kept up, it would be absolutely necessary at the outset to do so much additional earthwork as would be sufficient to keep the road





from falling altogether to ruin during the rainy season, and to put up substantial timber bridges strong enough to withstand the floods, and, as a rule, not requiring renewal more than once in three years.

If the road to Chipowee be undertaken, it will probably be found necessary to divide it into four sections, for each of which separate estimates and specifications would have to be framed. The first of these sections would be from Luckipore to Mynadur tea garden; the second would be from Mynadur to Tipai Mukh; the third from Tipai Mukh to the Tooweebhoom; and the last from the Tooweebhoom to Chipowee.

62. I have got two estimates for the section between Luckipore and Mynadur, one from the Executive Engineer and the other from the Superintendent of Local Roads, both of whom know the present track, and are therefore in a position to state what would be required to make it passable throughout the year. The Executive Engineer estimated for a slightly improved road, six feet wide, with rough timber bridges; the whole to cost Rs. 28,850 at the outset, and to be kept up with an annual outlay of about Rs. 5,000, not including the cost of replacing the bridges every third year. The Superintendent of Local Roads proposes to make the road 8 feet wide, and considerably improved in gradient, with less substantial bridges than those proposed by the Executive Engineer. The cost, as estimated by the Superintendent, would be Rs. 29,943, and the annual expense, including the amount necessary to replace worn out bridges, would be Rs. 6,544. Both these estimates are framed on the assumption that we could get the work done at rates scarcely exceeding those current in the district. But I think it likely that we should have to pay much higher rates, as the people employed would have to camp in the unhealthy and hated forest, while they would have to carry with them sufficient supplies to last while employed on the work. The rates would have to be still higher between Mynadur and Tipai Mukh. Indeed, I doubt very much whether this part could be done with the labour available in the district, which needs some rest after the tremendous strain of the last few months. The Superintendent of Local Roads has however framed an estimate, which he has sent in to me, on the supposition that the work might be done at rates slightly in advance of those now current in the district. The estimate amounts to Rs. 33,022 for the construction of the road, and Rs. 8,350 for its maintenance. If imported labour were employed, this estimate would be very much exceeded. I should add that to the estimated cost of making the road there should be added the expenses connected with a guard of at least fifty police required to give confidence to the people working south of Mynadur. Exclusive of this item, the entire cost of completing the road from Luckipore to Tipai Mukh would, if the estimate of the Superintendent of Local Roads be correct, be about Rs. 65,000, and the cost of keeping it in repair nearly Rs. 16,000 a year, and I have not the slightest doubt that in reality the work would be found to cost much more than double these estimates. But this portion of the road would be practically unused. For even after all this money had been spent upon it, the road would still be a bad one, scarcely fit to be called a bridle track, and would not at any season of the year bear competition with the river.

63. The third section of the road would be less difficult, and would require very few bridges; but one of these, that over the Tipai, would be very expensive. The cost of the work done on this portion of the road would, of course, be in proportion to the distance from Tipai Mukh, and a larger guard than that required on the second section would be needed. On the other hand, this portion of the road would be constantly used at all seasons of the year by Lushais coming down to Tipai Mukh to trade. Indeed, I think that it would be practicable to induce the Lushais to keep up this portion of the road, and this would be far the cheapest and best way of maintaining it. I may add that, whatever might be the decision on the subject of the Chittagong road, I should recommend that this bit between Tipai Mukh and Voombong should be kept open if the Lushais could be prevailed on to undertake the work. Of course, if it were not to form part of a continuous road between the two districts, there would be no need for the bridge over the Tipai at the mouth of that stream. I think it very doubtful whether the road to Chittagong should adopt our route between the top of Sengbong marked in the map No. 6, and Pachowee marked No. 9. It is even possible that it ought not to pass through Chipowee. It must be remembered that from the time we got to Sengbong, and had from time to time to make a choice between two or more routes, our choice was necessarily guided by military and political considerations. We had to descend to the Tooweebhoom near its junction with the Tipai in order to get at the Voombong villages. After we had settled with them, we had to go to Pachowee on the great ridge before being able to decide on the line to be taken in dealing with Chipowee, and Tingridong. When we decided





on going to Chipowee, we had to give up an alternative route to the Gnowpa range which seemed much easier. Now, we might have descended from Sengbong to the Toocetoo much nearer its source, consequently at a higher level, and have got to the top of the Kholer ridge, at a point much further north than Pachowee, thereby avoiding the crossing of the steep Parbachung range. We might then have crossed the Tipai near Tingridoo at a comparatively high level, and got round to the Gnowpa range, without having to make the descent to and ascent from the Saireemloowee. It is probable that the Chittagong road would take this line, which I think would be found shorter as well as more practicable, and far less costly than the one we took. Of course it might turn out on exploring the alternative line that there are difficulties in it of which I have no suspicion at present, but I do not think this likely from what I have heard from the Lushais and what I have myself seen of the country. Finally, we could scarcely hope to gain any political advantages in compensation for the probable physical disadvantages of our route. The people of Chipowee say that they do not intend to remain on the present site of their village much longer, and they talk of settling on Sengbong, while, under any circumstances, the bit of our road between Sengbong and the Toocetoo might be kept up.

64. Before concluding this report I wish to put on record my testimony to the very great assistance we received from Mr. McWilliam, the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, who was before as well as during the progress of the expedition indefatigable in collecting coolies and boats, in searching for routes, and generally in attempting to carry out the wishes of the military authorities. But in addition to this he had very hard work in complying with my demands. I had undertaken to supply food to the police who accompanied the column, and to the local coolies whom I was able to induce to serve with it. There were more than five hundred of the latter for whom, as well as for great numbers of boatmen and others, Mr. McWilliam had to provide sufficient supplies from the district resources, and to forward them to Tipai Mukh. He had also to provide carriage, &c., for the advanced outposts on the south frontier. All this was a tremendous strain on a district so small as Cachar, and Mr. McWilliam deserves very high credit for the way in which all demands were met, as well as for his success in distributing the pressure so as not to let it fall with undue weight on any class in the district. His efforts were well seconded by Baboo Ram Rutton Endo, his collectorate nazir, a most useful and deserving public servant, who seems in the present case to have performed the almost impossible task of at once satisfying his superiors and the people of the district. In this connection I may call attention to the good spirit showed by Mr. Harlow, Manager of the Eastern Bengal Company, who once, when asked to supply thirty coolies to carry on food to one of the outposts, sent fifty, and offered to give one hundred twice a month if required. I regret to say that there was very heavy mortality among the hill coolies locally employed, notwithstanding the unceasing care of Dr. Buckle and the medical officers under him, especially Drs. Nicholson, Harvey and Monteath. I am deeply grateful to all these gentlemen for their unremitting and self-sacrificing kindness and attention, to myself and all my people throughout the expedition.

65. Almost all the persons employed under me did well on the whole, but I can only mention here Baboo Hurri Churn Surmah, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude for the service he did me throughout the expedition. Some passages in a letter from the Brigadier-General commanding the column corroborate so strongly my own opinion of the Baboo, that I must do myself the pleasure of quoting them here. General Bourchier says—"I look upon it that Hurri Thakoor deserves especial notice. He was, as it appeared to me, indefatigable when even in very bad health, and he certainly was devoted to the interests of the column. One of the most difficult parts of your duty was, so to speak, sifting the wheat from the chaff, and discriminating between reports palpably false and others likely to be correct, while you had no means of obtaining information except through Lushais whose aim would naturally be to mislead. From what you have told me I feel sure in this department the assistance Hurri Thakoor gave you was invaluable. I look upon it that a man of his stamp should be liberally rewarded, and I am sure it is the very best policy to bind such men to our interests. He always seemed to me to be of a stamp we so seldom meet among natives, possessing firmness, self-possession, no cringing, in fact a most gentlemanly demeanour." I can add little to this emphatic testimony to the worth of Baboo Hurri Churn. But I may remark that his usefulness was not confined to helping me to collect information. His assistance was invaluable in every department of my work, especially in the management of my coolies and the often difficult task of making the Lushais clearly understand the nature and meaning of the terms imposed upon them. I am very anxious that he should be





permanently relieved from his present appointment of tahsildar of Hailakandy, and put into such a position that I could make use of his services in hill work exclusively. He has, I may add, one qualification for such work in a rare degree. He seems absolutely devoid of physical fear. I have had the opportunity of seeing him more than once under fire, and each time he was as calm and self-possessed as if he had been in his tahsil catcherry.

### III.—REPORT OF THE POLITICAL OFFICER WITH THE RIGHT COLUMN OF THE LUSHAI EXPEDITION.

*From CAPTAIN T. H. LEWIN, Civil Officer, Right Column Lushai Expedition, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 22, dated Chittagong, the 26th March 1872.*

In compliance with the directions contained in the concluding portion of paragraph 3, Proceedings of the Government of India, Foreign Department, Political, No. 1645P., dated Simla, the 4th August 1871, forwarded under cover of your letter No. 5244, dated 19th October 1871, I have the honour to submit, as required, the final report on the operations of the right column, Lushai Expedition, in as far as relates to the political aspects of the campaign.

2. The object of the expedition against the Lushais, which has just been concluded, was not solely that of retaliation; for although punishment was, if possible, to be meted out to the guilty participants in the late raids on Cachar, a still more important end to be gained was the deliverance of British subjects carried away into captivity; while paramount to both these considerations was the necessity for conducting our operations with a view to establishing permanently the security of our frontier.

3. At the very commencement of operations in November last year, difficulties of some importance were encountered at the outset; the knowledge we possessed of the Lushais, of their language and customs, was very imperfect; and throughout the whole of the Chittagong frontier line but six men were found capable of acting as interpreters. The information possessed by the civil authorities as to the identity of the actual perpetrators of the raids was vague and incomplete, and our knowledge of the paths and local difficulties before us next to nothing. Never perhaps has an English force advanced into an enemy's country with less knowledge of what was before it, or with more uncertainty as to obtaining in any way the desired information.

4. The causes of this not unforeseen dilemma are easily appreciable. The local officers had no communication with the Lushais save once a year, when some few hundreds of them came to the annual *mela* held at Kassalong. The head-quarters of the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were from nine to twelve days' journey from the nearest Howlong and Syloo villages; no direct trade was carried on by our own tribes with the Lushais, save such desultory traffic as occurred at Kassalong; the Lushais themselves were strongly opposed to any of our people entering their territory, from the not unfounded idea that new diseases would be introduced among them by closer intercourse with us; and lastly, our ally Rutton Poosa reaped considerable advantages from being the sole intermediary between us and the other tribes; and therefore, by every means in his power, either of indirect opposition or passive resistance, sought to limit our knowledge of and dealings with the Lushai tribes in general.

5. At the commencement of operations, indeed it was a moot question whether the Chief Rutton Poosa would not succeed altogether from his friendly alliance with us and espouse the cause of his friends and relatives, the Howlongs. I had been informed that this course had been strongly urged upon him by his brother-in-law Vandoola, the principal Chief of the Southern Howlong tribes, while it was known to me also that the Syloos, with whom Rutton Poosa was not on good terms, had sent him intimidating messages as to results likely to be incurred by him if he assisted us in any way.

6. Eventually, however, he chose his course and cast in his lot with us, his determination doubtless being somewhat influenced by the imposing display of force that soon began to assemble close to his village at Demagiri, and from that time forth until the close of the expedition he served us loyally and faithfully, accompanying the force personally, with a contingent of his own villagers, during the operations against the





Syloos, and afterwards himself going out among the Howlong villages to urge upon them the desirability of submission. It was indirectly owing to Rutton Poea that Mary Winchester was given up, and I attribute it directly to his influence that, in our subsequent advance upon both the Northern and Southern Howlongs, we were met with confidence by the Chiefs, and a basis laid upon which terms could be imposed and our future relations regulated.

7. It must, however, be remembered that by his loyal co-operation with us, the Chief Rutton Poea has drawn down upon himself the undying resentment of the Syloos, who assert, with some show of reason, that it was he who showed us the way to their country; while even the Howlongs cannot but attribute their humiliation to his agency, and will certainly bear him no good will for the part he has taken in the matter. Indeed one of Saipooca's headmen, in my presence (ignorant that I understood him), charged the Chief with treachery in having brought the English forces to their village contrary to his pledged word.

8. Rutton Poea was fully aware of the danger and delicacy of his position, for, before our advance from Demagiri, he formally represented his difficulties to the General, and it was not until I had assured him (with General Brownlow's concurrence) that at the close of the operations a guard should be left for his protection, that he became wholly and individually our friend.

9. The first advance of the force and head-quarters from its base at Demagiri was made against the Syloo tribe on the 9th December 1871. It was determined that our first movement should be directed against the Syloos for the following reasons: (1) It was the most direct road to Sangbunga's and Benkai's, the only two Howlong Chiefs who were positively known to have been concerned in the Cachar raids, and in whose possession was Mary Winchester. (2) There was strong presumptive evidence that the Syloos themselves had been concerned in the same raids. (3) Rutton Poea was not on good terms with the Syloos, and would cordially co-operate in any movement against them, while his aid would probably have been but half-hearted had we in the first place determined to attack his own brother-in-law Saipoia, who was the nearest of the Howlongs. (4) The route in question was better known, it presented greater facilities for the carriage of supplies, and, from a military point of view, was considered the most eligible for advance.

10. It was of course necessary, before carrying fire and sword through the Syloo country, to endeavour to open communication with them and invite their submission. To attain this end I had relied on two means, viz., the intermediarism of a Chief of the Syloos, one Lemsiloung, who was an old acquaintance of mine, and over whom I believed I had considerable influence; and that of one of Rutton Poea's subsidiary Chiefs, by name Lengoor, who had married the daughter of Savoonga, the head Chief of the Syloo tribe. Some days before our advance Lemsiloung had come in to me, but he had scarcely been a few hours in camp when he was seized by an unaccountable panic, and, starting up, fled naked into the jungles to re-appear no more.

11. On arriving before the nearest Syloo village therefore (that of Vanlola) on the 12th December, I sent Lengoor forward alone to the village, telling him clearly why we had come and what we wanted—to communicate with the inhabitants. He was absent only a short time and returned in some trepidation to inform me that no less than five of the Syloo Chiefs were assembled there with their men, and that they were determined to oppose our advance; he had, he said, faithfully delivered my message, but they had only abused him in return, and he seemed to think he had had a narrow escape for his life; nor on any subsequent occasion could threats, promises or cajolements move Lengoor to serve a second time as our emissary. Within a short time of his return, I was myself fired upon by an ambush close to camp, and the Syloos having thus refused to treat, and thrown down the gauntlet of defiance, there was nothing left but to resort to sterner and more easily understood arguments. The village was therefore attacked and taken on the 14th of December.

12. From this date up to the 25th January 1872 the military operations of the force were continuous. Blow after blow was dealt in quick succession to the leaders of the tribe, and wherever any stand was attempted, our attacks were equally rapid and decisive.

13. From time to time the enemy would from a distance call out to us, sometimes at night to our sentries, at other times to parties of our men out foraging, to the effect that they wished us to discontinue our destroying course, and that their Chiefs were coming in to make terms with us. To such messages a friendly reply was always given, but the parleyers were at the same time distinctly given to understand that our progress could





only be stayed by the appearance of the Chiefs themselves and their speedy compliance with our demands. No Chiefs, however, came; neither did the Syloos, whenever occasion offered, desist from attempts to shoot our men. Under these circumstances the General, much against his will, had no option but to continue his course to the end.

14. Meantime I had sent emissaries of my own, accompanied by some of Rutton Poea's men, to the Chief Benkuia, to demand his submission and the release of Mary Winchester. My messengers were obliged to make a long detour by the rear, as we were fast approaching Benkuia's country, and if they had gone by the front, they saw great risk of being shot from an ambush as spies or enemies before they could have had time to give any explanation of their errand. The Chief Benkuia, whose village was now in sight on a distant hill, had had ample opportunity of marking the steady progress of the column in his direction, annotated, as it was, by burning villages; and on my messengers reaching him, he at once gave up Mary Winchester, reserving, however, all question as to submission or the release of the other captives in his possession. This he did evidently under the impression that Mary Winchester was the main cause of our invasion, and believing that having recovered her, we should not think it worthwhile to advance any farther. He was known, moreover, to have expressed his disbelief in our ability to penetrate so far into the country as his village.

15. We had now reached the village of the Chief Savoonga, and the punishment of the Syloo tribe was complete. The Chief (Rutton Poea) who had accompanied us thus far had, on being pressed with regard to the Howlongs, oracularly replied that upon our arriving at the Tlong Doon (the Dullessur River) he would 'open his mouth in council,' (he also was apparently at one time doubtful of our ability to reach the spot): and we had now reached the appointed place. It was arranged therefore that I, accompanied by the Chief, should advance with a small escort and open communication with the nearest Howlong village.

16. On the 13th January therefore I started with the Chief and made direct for the nearest village to the east. On approaching the place we saw people moving about and hailed them; they responded, enquiring our business. But as soon as they learned who and what we were, they incontinently fired their houses, while the men armed themselves and showed every intention of offering resistance. The Chief, Rutton Poea, seemed much disconcerted at these unexpectedly hostile demonstrations, and strongly urged upon me that under the circumstances it would be unwise to proceed any further, as he said that undoubtedly the whole border land of the Howlongs was now filled with fugitive Syloos, and if by any accident we were brought into collision with the tribes in the Howlong country, or with any of the fugitives, who had sought shelter with them, his future good offices as a mediator would be of no avail, and war once declared we should have no option but to commence a fresh campaign against the Howlongs, with a strong probability of being unable to recover a single captive. On consideration I deemed the Chief's reasons valid, and accordingly returned to camp, where, after consultation with the General, it was agreed to send Rutton Poea round by the south, and thus attempt to open communication with the Howlong tribes. The next day, therefore, the Chief departed on his errand, accompanied by Subadar Mahomed Azim of the police, whom I thought it wise to attach to him as a species of moderator or impeller as occasion might require.

17. A variety of causes combined now to keep us inactive for some days, chief among which was the unaccountable delay in the carrying out of Rutton Poea's mission to the south; but as the event showed, his efforts were well directed and the time not mis-spent. Having at length received intimation of the return of Rutton Poea, and after in vain waiting for the appearance of Chiefs or emissaries from the front, the General determined to advance, and accordingly on the 12th February the force crossed the Tlong Doong and entered the Howlong country.

18. I had instructed Rutton Poea, before his departure for the south, to inform all the Howlong tribes that a white flag was universal sign of a desire for peace, and that any persons bearing such a flag would be respected and allowed safe conduct through our lines. On crossing the Tlong the first thing we encountered was a white flag, which the Howlongs had hung in mid-stream as a token of their desire for peace; and on the day following I was successful in opening communication with them through the medium of some men of Rutton Poea's whom I had retained with me. After this everything went smoothly, Chief after Chief came in, all telling the same story of their desire to submit and make peace. Example was contagious; for even the Syloos, who had lost everything they had in the world, and were past further injury at our hands, made their submission in a body.





19. The names of the different Chiefs, and the dates on which they delivered up the captives in their possession and made their peace with Government, have been from time to time reported in the diaries which I have periodically submitted. The terms insisted upon were alike with all. They were briefly the surrender of all captives; an engagement on their part (ratified in the most solemn and binding manner which Lushai custom prescribes) to live for the future on terms of peace and amity with all British subjects from Manipur to Arracan, (including Hill Tipperah), with free right of access to our people throughout their whole country. I append a list of the Chiefs who have submitted to the British arms during this expedition.

20. I did not think it right to insist upon the giving of hostages for their future good behaviour.—1st, as we had no means of ascertaining whether the persons they might offer in pledge were of sufficient social importance to be accepted; 2nd, hostages could not be kept in durance, and these hillmen, wild as hawks, would certainly never voluntarily submit to expatriation; 3rd, any hostages so taken would run great risk of illness and death if removed from the comparatively healthy hill country to the miasmatic terai of the Hill Tracts, and any such death would be sure to give rise to future complications.

21. Neither did I recommend to the General that any punishment should be inflicted upon Sangbunga and Benkuia, although they were known to have been concerned in the raids, for the simple reason that we were not in a position to inflict any. The grain and valuables of these Chiefs had been all removed and placed in safety. We were fully able, it is true, to march through the length and breadth of their country, but beyond the loss of an empty village or two, which they would themselves burn, we could have inflicted no punishment upon them; while, on the other hand, we should not have recovered a single captive, nor obtained the submission of any one Chief.

22. My ideas on this subject were fully justified by after results. The submission of the brothers Sangbunga and Benkuia, who were the first Chiefs to come in, led, I believe, to the subsequent arrangements which were entered into with the whole of the great Howlong and Syloo tribes. When it was seen that two great Chiefs had personally made terms and given up their captives; when it was found that the terms imposed were neither unjust nor oppressive, that the persons of the Chiefs had been respected, and that no treachery on our part was intended, it became then simply a matter of time and distance as to what Chiefs could first come in.

23. The Syloos, on being questioned as to their reasons for having opposed us, and for not having made peace before so much calamity had befallen them, replied that they had been afraid, not knowing our customs of warfare, and being only too well acquainted with our weapons. They said that the first collision at Belkai had been brought on by certain hot-headed young Chiefs, and that the main body of the tribe had nothing to do with it, but that after war had once begun they were powerless to stop it, having, they said, no peace-maker.

24. Operations in the Northern Howlong and Syloo countries being thus successfully terminated, the General then turned his attention to the south, the submission of the tribes there being all that was now required to render the work of the expedition complete. No difficulty was expected in this quarter owing to the intimate relationship existing between Rutton Poen and several of the leading Chiefs. The course of events having been fully detailed in my diaries, it will be sufficient for me to say here that our expectations were fully realized, and after a short expedition, lasting some ten days, the whole of the southern Chiefs made their submission on the same terms as had been previously imposed on the northern tribes.

25. I have the honor to annex a nominal roll of the captives who have been released from durance by the right column, Lushai Expedition. A noteworthy fact is apparent from the perusal of this list. It had originally been supposed that the raids made by these tribes along the whole line of frontier from Arracan to Cachar were attributable, not to any one section or tribe, but to bands of unruly spirits, drawn by inclination and at hazard from different villages, attracted by the desire for plunder or the love of adventure to the leadership of some favorite Chief. Such, however, would seem not to be the case, as the list shows that the captives recovered were, without exception, carried off from such part of British territory as was most contiguous to the villages of the tribe in whose possession they were found. Thus the raids on the northern Hill Tracts and Arracan are attributable to the Southern Howlongs and the Shindoos; the outrages on Cachar to the Northern Howlongs and to the tribes of Poiboi and Lalbura, with which latter the left column have been dealing: while the incursions upon Hill





Tipperah and the northern Hill Tracts are clearly traceable to the tribes of Rutton Pooa and the Syloo, whose tribal *habitat* is contemporaneous with those parts of British territory.

26. I also append some depositions taken from the captives given up by the Chiefs Sangbunga and Benkuia, from which it will be seen that the Cachar raids were committed in concert with other Chiefs to the north. In connection with this circumstance it is deserving of mention that not a single Cachar captive has been recovered or heard of south of the villages belonging to Sangbunga and his brother.

27. A remarkable circumstance transpired with reference to the people held in captivity by the Lushais, viz., that all unite in describing the treatment they received as kind in the extreme. In no case has it been ascertained that any violence had been offered to a female captive, while, as the list shows, many of them have actually married, and becoming incorporated with the tribe, decline positively to be released. The captives given up by the Southern Howlongs had to be brought forcibly into the camp, and clung to their Lushai friends, weeping piteously and entreating that they might not be made over to us. Among the number of these suppliants was the wife and grown up daughter of one of my own interpreters, and he was much disturbed by such an inopportune exhibition of unnatural feeling, ascribing it to Kookie magic. Magic, it is true, but I imagine that it was the white magic of kindness and human sympathy.

28. In addition to the captives actually released, some 250 persons, residents of the Hill Tracts, who had been compelled by menaces and fear of danger to leave our territory and seek the protection of Lushai Chiefs, have taken the opportunity offered by the presence of our troops to return to their old haunts, casting off as it were the Kookie yoke. A considerable number of the Syloo tribe, and one entire Howlong village, have also expressed a wish to settle under my protection in the event of "my village," as they phrased it, being built on the Sirthay Tlang. The principal Chiefs also, in the event of such a contingency, have promised to visit me, and they also asked that, for the greater convenience of trade, a bazaar might be established at Demagiree, alleging that the present market at Kassalong was situated at an inconveniently long distance from their villages.

29. The political results of the campaign have in my opinion been great and manifold, fully justifying the magnitude of the expedition and affording every reason to hope that the permanent pacification of the frontier may be attained. The Lushai tribes have been forced to recognize the existence of a superior power, able alike both to reward and punish; a firm and secure basis has been laid for our future relations with them, whether commercial or political; their whole country is open to us, and I believe that any European could now walk unarmed from one end to the other. The severe lesson that this year has taught them cannot, at any rate for some time, be forgotten, and a wise future policy on our part will render these tribes as innocuous and peaceful as are now the once troublesome inhabitants of the Khasi and Jynteah Hills, or to carry the simile nearer home, our own Chittagong hill tribes. We have gained the entire confidence and allegiance of Rutton Pooa, and we have but to stretch out our hands to obtain in like manner the obedience and subserviency of the other tribes. We have, in short, sown the seed, and it would be a poor husbandman who should omit to reap the harvest.

30. The line of policy which Government has hitherto been induced to follow, viz., the establishment of a line of defence coincident with that of effective jurisdiction, is doubtless a wise and necessary measure on such a frontier as the north-west, where the tribes are pre-eminently warlike and audacious, and where the establishment of a Government officer or soldiers beyond reach of support would be almost equivalent to their destruction; but among the tribes on this frontier such policy would be out of place. The circumstances, the people, the country, their social habits and character, are all different, and our mode of dealing with them should, I think, be different also. Conciliation with these tribes is worse than useless; it merely invites aggression, unless we are in a position to punish as well as reward.

31. I have, in the letters in the foot note, previously discussed at some length the future policy which, in my opinion, should be pursued on this frontier. I have now

1. Letter No. 6, from Civil Officer, Right Column, Lushai Expedition, to Brigadier-General Brownlow, C.B., Commanding, dated 22nd December 1871. Copy forwarded to Bengal Government under memorandum No. 6A, dated 22nd December 1871, from Civil Officer.

2. Letter No. 13, from the Civil Officer, Right Column, Lushai Expedition, to Brigadier-General Brownlow, C.B., Commanding, dated 27th January 1872. Copy forwarded to the Bengal Government under cover of Civil Officer's letter No. 15, dated 31st January 1872.





merely to add that subsequent events have in no way modified, but have, on the contrary, rather strengthened the views therein expressed.

32. In all matters connected with these tribes it should be remembered that they are not a nation but a segregation of villages, a collection of small separate republics having no coherence; we are not dealing with the fagot, but the severed bundle of sticks. The Chief Saipoiya, in conversation with me, himself said that in any future action of Government against them it was hoped that discrimination might be used, and that many might not suffer on account of one. He went on to say—"All our Chiefs are now your sworn friends; if any one of them does wrong, you should punish him; and if he has broken his oath of friendship and is in fault, no one of us will assist him against you."

33. It would I think be a grave error to retire to our former position; we have put forth our foot, and where we have planted it, it should remain. No permanent pacification of this frontier can be hoped for save by bringing these people into closer intercourse with us, by encouraging trade, and by permitting the Government representative to exercise a near and direct influence upon them. None of these ends can be gained so long as our nearest bazaar is nine to twelve days' journey from their villages, and while the frontier officer's intercourse with these tribes is limited to the yearly *mela*, to which comparatively but few Kookies resort, and those only from interested motives. The *mela* is a legitimate means to a good end, but it utterly fails of its purpose on account of its distance from the homes of the people whom we wish to attract. The prime cause of every human fair or festival is amusement; the excuse may be religion or fat oxen, or what not; but from the Roman clamour of *panem et circenses* to the festival of Juggernaut, or the baths of Greenwich fair, the main reason for the gathering is novelty and destruction. What the children wish to see, will bring the parents in train; where the maidens go, thither are the young men gathered together, but our so-called *mela* at Kassalong attracted none of the Lushais save a few middle-aged men-of-war sent in by their Chiefs, who, leaving their weapons a few miles from Kassalong in the jungle, came in with a motley following to carry away a congeries of articles, which, for some unknown reason or by a providential interposition, fell to their share every year in much the same way as did their harvest, save that this latter crop was not sown nor reaped with toil.

34. Mention has been made from time to time in previous correspondence of the desirability of raising a Kookie levy for the defence of the frontier. I cannot but think this would be a mistake. The frontier force should be as different from the Kookies as possible, for like does not fear like, and the border tribes have learnt a wholesome reverence for the black coats and short rifles of that splendid regiment the 2nd Goorkhas; and for the present at least it would be most inexpedient to instruct these people in any way as to the force of discipline and coherence, it being the want of these very qualities which gives us our greatest advantage over them.

35. It has also been urged that another way of dealing with these people would be to strengthen the hands of some particular Chief, and so consolidate them under one head; but surely it is first necessary to have a more intimate acquaintance with both Chief and people ere any such choice could be made. Indeed, I am disposed to think that such a plan, although possessing many advantages among an ambitious race whose Chief was struggling with Chief for pre-eminence, would fail in practice among these tribes where such a spirit, if it exists at all, is found only in a very modified degree. We are at any rate only just emerging from the utter darkness of ignorance as to all that concerns these tribes, and any such plan can well afford to lie by until perfected knowledge should bring it to maturity. Too much importance, however, cannot be attached to the fostering and encouragement of trade with these people, but all commerce should, I think, for the present, be restricted to certain recognized centres and be subjected to careful supervision.

36. I cannot conclude this report without mentioning how greatly my work has been facilitated by the courtesy and kindness of Brigadier-General Brownlow, Commanding, and his staff. To the advice of the former is due almost entirely whatever political success our expedition has obtained; but although acting in the strictest subordination to him, he consistently assigned me the most prominent place in all negotiations with the Chiefs, and by every means in his power exalted my position in their eyes and added to my influence over them. I regard my association with him in the expedition as most fortunate.

37. Finally, I would beg to bring prominently to the notice of Government the services of Subadar Mahomed Azim of the Hill Tract Police who, by his knowledge of the language and a large experience among the Lushais, combined with an untiring and





fearless zeal, has done much to aid the attainment of the objects which we had in view. His long acquaintance with Rutton Poa, had given him considerable influence with the Chief, and it is to this circumstance, combined with the Subadar's personal exertions, that the entire and speedy submission of the Southern Howlongs is mainly attributable. I would respectfully submit that the Subadar's services render him worthy of some special mark of favor at the hands of Government.

38. At the close of the expedition, a guard of 100 men (police) was left at Rutton Poa's village for his protection. Pending the final orders of Government on the subject, and to mark his sense of the chief's loyal co-operation and valuable assistance, the General presented him with Rs. 1,000 as an instant token of appreciation. Such also among Rutton Poa's own immediate followers who had rendered special service, or had suffered loss by our occupation of the country, received minor rewards. With these exceptions no gifts or rewards whatever were given to any Chief or Lushai in the country we have just vacated.

#### IV.—SELECTION OF CORRESPONDENCE SUBSEQUENT TO THE LUSHAI EXPEDITION.

*From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, No. 3713, dated Calcutta, the 18th June 1872.*

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1207, dated 22nd ultimo, relative to the proposals for the defence of the frontier bordering on the Cachar and Chittagong Districts, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a report\* on the subject from Mr. Edgar, the Civil Officer with Left Column, Lushai Expeditionary Force, together with a copy of the map therewith received. This report brings out plainly the great want in the results of the expedition which the Lieutenant-Governor has always extremely regretted, namely, that it has not given us a knowledge of the country between Cachar and Chittagong. His Honor very strongly recommends that we should take advantage of the effects of the expedition, and our consequent relations with the tribes, to send a survey party to explore this country next cold season. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks we should require the Syloos to give the party a free passage to the northern line of exploration of the Chittagong expedition of the past season, and then by arrangement with Sookpilal and the Rajah of Tipperah, survey towards Cachar, leaving Bhoota and his country alone, as recommended by Mr. Edgar, unless a specially favourable opportunity should present itself of entering into amicable relations with him and with his consent. In this way we can to a great extent fill up the hiatus at present left between the explorations of the two columns.

2. Till we know the country, it is, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, impossible to form any definite plan as regards either advanced posts or roads. It is, however, undoubtedly very very desirable to open up, if possible, a line of communication between Demagiri and Bepari Bazar.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Mr. Edgar, that it would not be possible to keep up the route by Chamfai without a military occupation of the country. Such an occupation would no doubt be the only complete protection, and any inner line adopted will leave open to the Lushais a route to Cachar. Still, adverting to the financial difficulties, and to the considerations so well put by Mr. Edgar in his paragraphs 6 to 8, it is probable that the Government may not be willing to undertake such an occupation. In that case the Lieutenant-Governor thinks it extremely desirable that an inner line defining the Tipperah boundary should be laid down, cleared, and, in some sense, occupied in concert with the Rajah of Tipperah. This line should be carried along the Jhalnucherra and Hachik ranges, and thence to the Sorphuel peak, which seems to have been already fixed as a sort of trijunction point of the Chittagong, Hill Tipperah and Lushai countries, and was so exhibited in the maps made before the recent expedition.

\* Dated 5th instant.





4. The Lieutenant-Governor would put our frontier post on the best point on the Jhainacherra range or in advance of it, if a more favourable site be found, and would require the Tipperah Rajah to keep the line of his own frontier.

5. From the Sorphuel peak the Tipperah boundary runs south-west by a zig-zag line, which seems to be already pretty well defined. It would remain to explore the best line from the Sorphuel peak to the head-waters of the Sahjuck and our Sirthay Klang post, which line would form the boundary between Lushai and northern portion of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong.

6. The Lieutenant-Governor entirely agrees in the propriety of rendering the trade from the Cachar District to the various frontier posts as good as possible, and hopes that either money or military labor may be given for the purpose of developing the necessary arrangements and communications.

7. The above will show His Honor's views as regards the Cachar side of the question and so far sufficiently answers the call for opinion on the Commander-in-Chief's views contained in your letter No. 1207 of 22nd ultimo.

8. As regards the Chittagong side, the Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to agree with General Brownlow, but will write more fully when the opinions of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, which have been called for, are submitted.

9. The Government of India will also, he says, no doubt observe that the proposed line south of Sirthay will be connected with the Burma frontier, and the opinion of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma will be necessary before a confident conclusion can be arrived at.

*From J. W. EDGAR, Esq., Civil Officer with Left Column, Lushai Expeditionary Force, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Alipore, the 5th June 1872.*

In continuation of my No. 548 of the 3rd April, to the address of the Commissioner of Dacca, I have the honor to submit a further report on the measures which I think should be taken for the protection of the Cachar frontier and to improve our relations with hillmen to the south and east.

2. I beg, at the same time, to forward a map compiled from the surveys made by the parties who accompanied the columns during the recent expedition, with some rough additions, which I hope will help to make this report intelligible. The southern limit of the Cachar village cultivation is shown by a green line drawn from west to east, and extended into the Manipure hills, where it shows approximately the southern limit of the joom cultivation of hillmen subject to the Rajah and living between the Manipur Valley and Cachar. South of this line and north of that marked "limit of Lushai village distribution," is a confused mass of broken and irregular hill ranges ranging from 60 to 4,000 feet in height and covered with dense jungle, of swampy cane-brakes, and of streams with steep high banks and muddy beds for the greater portion of their course. This tract is uncultivated and uninhabited, except where clearances have been made for tea cultivation, which I have marked with red crosses. They are all situated on low hills, and are mere specks in the great forests that surround them. These gardens and the gardens and villages lying along the cultivated frontier to their north, are alone exposed to the attacks of the hillmen, who have never been known to advance far beyond the protection afforded to them by the forests. I have marked roughly in red the area so exposed. It will be seen that the operations of the left column were carried on to the south-east of this area, that those of the right column were south of it, and that a line drawn due north from the proposed outpost on the Sirthay Thlong would almost coincide with its south-western corner. These facts must be kept well in view when considering the proposals made for connecting the Cachar defences with those of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is worth remarking, too, that the south boundary of the Cachar District runs through the middle of the uninhabited tract.

3. In my successive visits to the uninhabited tract south of Cachar and Manipur, I have become acquainted with five routes from the cultivated frontier to more or less distant points of the hills. One of these, that taken by the left column, I have described in my report of the 3rd April. Of the others, two are by water,—one up the Dullessur to Repari Bazar, and one up the Sonai to a point a few miles south of Lushai Hat. Both of these are only practicable for very small boats during the cold season, and





difficult even for them. One of the remaining routes was that taken by Colonel Lister in 1849. In spite of some very steep ascents and descents, it is fairly good as far as a point a few miles to the north-west of Peak Z of the great trigonometrical survey, where it breaks off into a cluster of difficult spurs, one of which is supposed to join on to the range to the east, while others go down to the river. Another route is from the lately occupied post of Bong-Bong along the ridge of the Noongvai or Parsongai range. This is perhaps the easiest of the land routes, as far at least as a point some miles south of Peak Z. I have not explored further than this point; but I have always understood that the range continues unbroken as far as the Howlong country. This, however, is not corroborated by anything I have yet seen in the papers of the Chittagong survey. I had hoped that Captain Tanner's diary would throw some light on the subject; but there is some delay in its publication, and I feel that I cannot any longer put off the submission of this report.

4. The hills between Colonel Lister's route and the Chatter Choor or Hachik range are very broken and confused almost as far south as I have seen them from high points on the more eastern ranges. The low ranges between the Gootur and the Dullesur, however, seem to get higher towards the south, and the Rar-ek has the appearance of a definite ridge near Sookpila's villages. This agrees with the description given by Captain Tanner in his memorandum to General Brownlow. Captain Tanner also describes a range, which he calls the Too Rang running between the Footur and the Hachik or Lyseral range. I think that this must disappear somewhere north of his most advanced point on it, for we have no knowledge whatever of it on the Cachar side, and the spurs thrown out from the Hachik towards the east seem to run down to the river. The Hachik is a very well defined ridge, at least on the Cachar side, and it was along this that the Howlongs came last year. It is possible that the Too Rang may be connected with the Hachik by a spur, and that the route may leave the latter for the former range somewhere south of latitude  $24^{\circ}$ ; but it is certain that the recognized land route from Cachar to the western villages of Sookpila and the eastern villages of Hill Tipperah lies at first along the Hachik, which is held to be the boundary. Mr. Power, the Political Agent of Hill Tipperah, says in his letter of the 4th April,—"The territory over which the Rajah has a *bona fide* nominal control is bounded on the east by a range of hill running southward from Chatter Choor to Sorphuel peak, and from thence in a zig-zag line to Surdaing. On the east of this line, the Lushai land commences, and on the west there is much uninhabited and unexplored jungle." This coincides with all that I have been able to learn about the Tipperah boundary.

5. Before examining any of the proposals made with regard to our future dealings with the Lushais, I shall attempt to estimate our present position and the probable results of the expedition by the light of Colonel Lister's expedition of 1849. Previous to that year there had been a succession of cruel raids on villages that were really within the Cachar District; but we seem to have made no attempt to punish them until the Kookies destroyed a village situated in what was then forest, a few miles from Silchar. The expedition that followed seems to us a failure, and I certainly should not advise a repetition of it; but its rapidity, secrecy and boldness, made such an impression on the Lushais, that Cachar was free from raids for twenty years afterwards, although the line of village cultivation kept steadily advancing during the whole time; and for the last ten years of it tea gardens were opened out in the forest thirty-five miles south of the most advanced of Colonel Lister's frontier outposts. That this freedom from attack during so many years was the direct result of the expedition, there can be no doubt. The Lushais acknowledge it; the Kookies hostile to the Lushais firmly believe it. It was mainly by a skilful use of the terror it produced that Colonel McCulloch was able to induce Voulei to enter into those relations with him which gave Manipur twenty years' rest from raids.

6. Now, there can be no doubt that the late expedition must have a much greater effect than that of 1849, inasmuch as it was beyond comparison more successful, covered a vastly greater extent of country, inflicted very much severer punishment, remained in the hills for more weeks than Colonel Lister did days, and did not retire until it had accomplished all that at the outset had been announced as its object. Again, Colonel Lister's expedition was directed against a single Chief, the villages of whose descendant were reduced to submission by General Bouchier before the end of December, while the recent expedition may be said to have disposed of every Chief at all likely to give trouble on our side. The villages of the perpetrators of the Cachar outrages of 1869, of those at Monierkhal and Nudigram in 1871, and of the Manipur outrage of both years, have





been reduced to comparative insignificance. It is probable that the same result has followed the operations of General Brownlow among the Syloos.

7. General Bouchier seems to think that Sookpial and his sons did not feel our power during the expedition; but he seems to be unaware of the present state of our political relations with those Chiefs, which are precisely the same as those formed by us with the eastern villages after the submission of the latter to the military force and the payment of the fines imposed on them; while the headmen of Khalkom's villages, who accompanied us as hostage to Tipai Mookh, were men of rather a superior position to those brought from the villages of Poiboy and Lalboorah. General Bouchier's mistake seems to have arisen from his supposing that Rutton Singh, a Hindoostani who accompanied the headmen as interpreter, was the leader of the party. This was not altogether an unaccountable mistake, for the Hindoostani must have taken the most prominent part in any dealings with the military officers when I was not present.

8. I had at first some doubts about the completeness of the submission of the Howlongs, particularly as none of the Cachari captives taken from the Anwarkhal village seem to have been given up by Sangbunga and Benkuia, with whom we know they had been; but after carefully studying all the papers, I have come to the conclusion that the fright they have got is not likely to be soon forgotten by them, and I think it probable that the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts will be able to recover the captives next cold weather by putting a little pressure on the villages. On the whole, I think that there is very little danger of our being troubled by the Lushais of this generation at least, and I am convinced that if we use judiciously the opportunity now offered, we may prevent the possibility of such danger recurring in the future. But in the propositions which I am now about to examine, it seems to be assumed that there is nearly as much danger of attacks as there was before the expedition, and I shall for the present accept this assumption for the purpose of my argument, though I firmly believe it to be untrue.

9. General Brownlow, in his letter to the Quarter-Master General of the 1st May, proposes to establish a line of communication protected by strong outposts from Talukmi, in the Arracan Hill Tracts, to a point on the Sirthay range, which I have marked in red and blue on the map, and to extend this line along the Too Rang range to Gootur Mookh, where he would have an advanced outpost from Cachar. I do not venture to make any remarks on so much of the proposition as refers to the line between Talukmi and the post on the Sirthay range; but there are serious objections, both geographical and political, to the proposed, or to any similar, line in the direction of Gootur Mookh. In the first place it is more than probable, as I have mentioned above, that the range gets completely broken up before it reaches the point indicated by General Brownlow, and certainly when that point was reached, there would be no practicable land communication with Cachar. Again, the proposed post would be in the heart of the uninhabited and uncultivated tract, more than thirty miles, as the crow flies, from the nearest Lushai village, about thirty-six from the most advanced tea garden, and nigh eighty from the nearest point on the limit of Cachar village cultivation. It is superfluous to point out that such a post, situated as it were in the air, could not be of the slightest use in protecting Cachar.

10. If in order to get out of the unhealthy low hills, the post were put further west on the Hachik or Lysoral range, and the patrolled road carried along the range as far as practicable, the measure might serve to protect Hill Tipperah from the incursions of the Lushais; but it would be of as little use to Cachar as a post near Gootur Mookh. More than this, it can be shown that on the assumption that we are still in imminent danger of attack from the Lushais, such a fortified line of communication as that proposed, extending from the south-western corner of Cachar, protecting the frontiers of Tipperah, Chittagong and Arracan, and in a manner pressing on the Lushais to its east, would have a tendency to direct attacks towards all the frontier of Cachar lying to the east of the line of defence, and, therefore, unprotected by it. But apart from considerations connected with Cachar, it seems to me very doubtful policy to undertake the protection of the Rajah of Tipperah's frontier, and to take from him all incentive to watch and restrain his Kookies in their dealings with the Lushais on the other side of the fortified line of communications. It must be understood, however, that while opposed to adopting the Hachik range as a line of defence, I am inclined to think it likely to turn out the easiest land route between Cachar and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and the construction of a road along it by the Tipperah Chief.

11. General Bouchier proposes to adopt our late route as far as Pachowee, then to strike across towards the west, crossing the Sonai at Lushai Hât, and striking the Dullessur at Bepari Bazar, from which place he would take the road through Lajeeka's





village to Demagiri. I should here remark that the map on which this route has been traced by General Bouchier is inaccurate, consequently the road, as shown, runs over non-existent hill ranges in a line that is in reality, quite impracticable. Probably the line the road, if made, would have to take would be that taken by Mr. Burland and myself last year, in which case the section between Dollong and Bepari Bazar would nearly coincide with the green line which marks the limit of Lushai village distributed. I have not the slightest idea what course it would take between Bepari Bazar and Laljeeka's village. Although General Bouchier does not contemplate keeping troops or police in the Lushai Hills, still I am of opinion that to make his proposed road of the slightest use as a protective measure, two strong posts at least,—one at Pachuee and one on the Noongvai range, would be needed. This would virtually amount to a permanent occupation of the country. In my letter to General Bouchier of the 20th April, I mentioned the difficulties of the portion of route known to me; I have certainly not over-estimated these difficulties. I may point out, in addition, that the road between Bepari Bazar and Pachuee would not be except by our patrol parties for people passing to and fro between Cachar and Chittagong would certainly make use of the water route as far as Bepari Bazar in preference to making the enormous detour by Pachuee.

12. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief recommends that General Bouchier's proposal for a cross road be adopted as well as General Brownlow's for connecting Demagiri with Bepari Bazar; also that the existing path from Tipai Mookh to Chumpai should be maintained. If the latter recommendation were adopted, it seems to me that it would be much better to make the cross road from Demagiri to Chumpai than from Demagiri to Pachuee. The distance would be very much less, the difficulties would, in all probability, not be so great; while a large force stationed on the hills over the Chumpai Valley would keep in check the Suktis, the Howlongs, and the Shindus. I need scarcely say that such measures would be opposed to the policy which I have long advocated; but if any kind of permanent occupation be decided on, this, I think, is the form it should take.

13. It seems to me that all attempts to maintain roads of the kind contemplated by the military authorities must involve what is virtually a permanent occupation of the country, and that it is such occupation that in former cases has made roads valuable agents in pacifying similar tracts. The pacification of the Khasi Hills, for instance, was not effected by the construction of a road so much as by the occupation of a commanding position by a force sufficiently strong to overawe all the Chiefs. Of course, the above remarks do not apply to roads made with the consent and aid of the hillmen through their own hills, still less to roads carried along our own acknowledged frontier or that of an ally, like that proposed between Sirthay Thlang and Talukmi, or on which I should recommend the Tipperah Chief to make on his eastern boundary.

14. Whatever may be the decision on the question of the roads, I hope that early measures may be taken to organize some means of transport for the military to be employed in Cachar next cold season. The offer of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to employ military labour in making the roads, would so far relieve the pressure on the civil population of the district; but food and baggage for the troops so employed would have to be carried, and it is absolutely impossible that the resources of the district can bear the strain which, if the recommendations of His Excellency were adopted, would possibly be even greater than it was during the recent expedition. If a road were to be made along the boundary of the Tipperah Chief, I have little doubt that he could be induced to assist, even if he were not in a position to undertake the whole work. But even this assistance would be only partial, and there would be still much labour required for transport, &c., which I should not think the Cachar District is in a state to give. I earnestly solicit attention to the remarks on this subject contained in the 4th paragraph of my letter to General Bouchier, No. 544 of the 20th April.

15. Measures, should I think, be taken next cold season if possible to define the Tipperah boundary. It will be seen from the 16th paragraph of Mr. Power's letter of the 4th April, that the Chief or some of his people wished to advance the boundary to the "range of hills west of Bepari Bazar." This is not very intelligible; but I think that it may have meant the assertion of supremacy over Sookpila's villages between the Gootur and the Dullessur. I think that, under present circumstances, the boundary should be a well-defined range of succession of ranges west of the Gootur, and that we should take Chatter Choor as a starting point and follow the Hachik as far as that range continues to afford a definite and practicable line. This boundary should be actually laid down and surveyed, and the survey party engaged on the work should take the





opportunity of completing the survey of the country drained by the Gootur and Dullessur. The definition and survey of this boundary would incidentally open up direct land communication between Cachar and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and as I have before remarked, the Rajah would probably find it advantageous to keep the line open.

16. I do not think, however, that it would be the best line of communication between Cachar and Chittagong for purposes of trade and the like. Any such route must, to be of any practical value, avail itself of the water communication to Bapari Bazar; that is to the most southern point at which the Dullessur is navigable. Captain Tanner conjectures this point to be in latitude  $23^{\circ} 30'$ . I believe to be about  $23^{\circ} 42'$ . In either case I believe that the construction of a road from Demagiri to it would have the effect of turning the produce of the Northern Syloo and Howlong Hills towards Cachar, for the dépôt of our traders on the Dullessur would be nearer to Laljeeka or Lalhoorah than Demagiri, and any trade that depends entirely on human carriage must go to the nearest point where water communication is to be had. At present, owing, as I understand, to the difficulty of the country between the Syloos and Howlongs and Bepari Bazar, very little of their produce comes down to us; but if this difficulty were removed by the construction of a good road, our Cachar traders' dealings with the Lushais would, doubtless, be greatly extended. Of course, I can give no opinion on the practicability of making such a road, or upon the political effects it might be expected to have on the Syloos, and Howlongs; while the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts is in a position to give an opinion on both subjects.

17. I should not advise any attempt to survey the country to the south-east of Peak Z for the present. The most important Chief in that direction is Bhoota, with whom we have had no direct communication hitherto; but who has lately sent in through Sookpial to say that he wishes to form friendly relations with us. It would be just as well not to run the risk of frightening him by too much hurry at first; but we should make every possible effort to get into direct communication with him and with the minor Chiefs in that direction. In the course of time, when we had thoroughly established friendly intercourse, a survey officer could accompany the Political Officer in one of the annual visits of the latter and complete the portion now left unsurveyed.

18. I am not in favor of an attempt to get up a big central fair at present, but should encourage, and to a certain extent regulate, the marts which have been for years back established on points of the Barak, the Senai, the Dullessur and the Gootur. These small marts are the natural channels in which our Cachar trade with the Lushais runs, and I am altogether averse to any attempt to divert its course by artificial means. The mart at Tipai Mookh on the Barak will probably in time become larger and more important than the other three; but that should not be any reason for our discouraging the latter so long as the Lushais wish for them.

19. I think that the posts mentioned by General Bouchier in his 19th paragraph should be kept up, with the exception of that on the Rengti Pahar, of the utility of which I am somewhat doubtful. The point was taken up last cold weather on my strong recommendation. I then wished for its occupation not so much for purposes of defence,—for I do not believe that it in reality defends anything,—but as a kind of check upon Sookpial, who I expected would look on it as a possible base of operations, from which at any moment another column might advance on his villages in case he showed a disposition to aid the villages we were about to attack. The measure had all the success I expected or hoped from it; but a repetition of it this year might be crying “well” once too often.

20. I quite agree with the Brigadier General in thinking that the tracks between the outposts should be kept open; but I think it is still more important to connect these outposts by thoroughly good roads with the head-quarters at Silchar. I own that I am surprised that so little stress has been laid upon this point by the military authorities. I believe that Government is aware how hard Mr. McWilliam and I have worked on the Cachar roads, and that we have been tolerably successful within the cultivated portion of the district; but beyond it we have found the difficulty of getting labor almost insuperable, and the sections of our roads nearest the outposts in the forests are not in a satisfactory state. But now, as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has proposed to make use of military labor for road-making, the sections of roads connecting the outposts with the cultivated portion might be completed. I have roughly shown with blue crosses on the map the section which I propose should be constructed by the troops during the cold





season. The first is from a point near the bifurcation of the Khatia Khall and the Dullessur through Cutlecherra to Jhuinacherra; I would connect both places directly with the post on the Chatter Choora. The main district road from Silchar to Hylakandy through Chota Jalingha should have a branch from the last named place to the outposts at Laharbund, or to Kolasib, if that post be maintained. The road between Nagdigram and Monierkhall should be completed and continued across the Bhoobuns to Mynadur.

In all cases, the roads should be thoroughly and well constructed for use in all weathers, and should be substantially bridged. Mere cold weather tracks can be of no permanent value. The bridges could be probably made by the soldiers under the direction of a few sappers, if the latter could be spared. If the troops employed in the construction of the roads above enumerated should have finished their works before the rains, they might be employed in making a road to Kaimong, a point on the Noongvai range south of Bong Bong, where I would place an advanced outpost instead of Kola Sib, if any such post were thought necessary or advisable.

21. In conclusion, I shall enumerate the leading points of the policy in dealing with the Lushais which I have advocated in this and previous letters, particularly in my report C of the 15th March 1871 :—

1st.—The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar, acting always in concert with the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and with the Political Agents at Manipur and Tipperah, should aim at being in constant personal communication with Lushais.

2nd.—He should do all in his power to induce them to settle on their portion of the uninhabited tract.

3rd.—He should encourage trade at the marts chosen by the Lushais.

4th.—Efforts should be made to induce their young men to spend a few years in a rough levy, which should be composed exclusively of hill men belonging to the frontier.

5th.—We should endeavour to put within reach of the people means of getting elementary instruction, particularly in handicrafts, for which they show great aptitude.

6th.—We should keep ourselves well acquainted with the movements of all our own Kookies wherever they may be, and, as far as possible, regulate their relations with the Lushais.

7th.—We should connect all our outposts by roads, in the first instance, with the head-quarters at Silchar, and afterwards with one another.

These recommendations may not seem of a very ambitious character; but they agree in the main with the policy devised by Colonel Lister, one of the ablest officers who has ever been on the frontier. That policy, as I have shown in a previous report, was not carried out in its entirety, and was eventually dropped; but it certainly was successful as far as it was applied.

22. In addition to the foregoing general recommendations, I have proposed that the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah be defined and surveyed during next cold weather, if possible; that an attempt should be made to survey the country drained by the Dullessur and Gootar; that, if found practicable, a permanent tract should be kept open by the Tipperah Chief along his boundary from the south-west corner of Cachar to the north-east corner of the Chittagong Hill Tracts; and that the Deputy Commissioner of the Hill Tracts be consulted on the advisability of his making a road from Demagiri to Bepari Bazar, with a view to facilitate trade between the Howlongs and Syloos and the people of Cachar. I have not made any proposition for my own action during the cold weather; for until I know generally the measures likely to be adopted by Government, it will be impossible for me to lay out definite plans. In any case, I should like to meet, if possible, in the Lushai country the two Political Agents and the Hill Tracts Deputy Commissioner.





*From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the Judicial Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—No. 4270, dated Calcutta, the 18th July 1872.*

In continuation of paragraph 8 of my letter No. 3713, dated 18th ultimo, I am now directed to submit, for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, reports\* by the Commissioner of Chittagong and Captain Lewin upon the defence of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It will be seen that both these officers are practically in accord with Brigadier-General Brownlow, and approve, with slight modifications, the measures proposed by him in his letter of the 1st May to the Quarter Master General. Briefly, these measures may be said to consist in the abandonment of the present small isolated posts which, lying among broken hills and dense jungles, are useful neither for protection nor defence, and the occupation of a permanent line of defence further to the east, where the open and continuous summit of the Oheepoom range affords healthy sites for two or more strong posts and facilities for regular patrol.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor is decidedly of opinion that the plan of taking the Oheepoom as our line of frontier to the east should be tried. The anticipations entertained as to the effect of this step may be a little sanguine, our knowledge of the country being at best imperfect, but there is much to be said in its favour, even one season's exploration ought to furnish the means towards coming to a conclusion as to the practical merits of the scheme proposed.

3. Both Mr. Hankey and Captain Lewin in discussing the question have, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, gone too far, and entered into matters not necessarily involved in the proposal now before Government. His Honor has no idea of keeping up a Deputy and Assistant Commissioner solely as frontier agents, still less of forming a Chittagong district, a hill tracts district, and a frontier district. The work of the present hill tracts district is not from any point of view heavy, and the Lieutenant-Governor simply proposes that the Deputy Commissioner of that district should also occupy himself with the frontier operations generally, control the frontier posts, and establish relations with the frontier tribes. His Honor will not therefore here enter into any question of re-distributing the administrative staff of the hill tracts, or propose any additions thereto. As regards number, that staff is in his opinion sufficiently strong for all the work before it. Captain Lewin has at present four European officers at his disposal including police officers. These have, however, been withdrawn from other districts to meet the demands of the hill tracts, and no sanction has yet been given to the appointment of others in their place. For this there is, however, a really pressing need. Assam being in fact at present seriously under-handed. The Lieutenant-Governor would therefore ask that sanction may be given to the addition of two Assistant Commissionerships on account of the hill tracts; that is to say, that he may be permitted to appoint two of the officers now employed there, Lieutenant Gordon and Mr. Knyvet, to be Assistant Commissioners in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, one for frontier work and one for civil work, their places being supplied for for work in other districts.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor would also again press for the appointment of a European medical man to the hill tracts district. The grounds for this application were set forth in the letter from this office, No. 259, dated 18th January last, in reply to which your letter No. 365G. of the 24th February called for certain information as to the number of the frontier force usually at head quarters and the distribution of the rest of the force. The question was allowed to lie over, as it was then nearly certain that radical changes in the scheme of frontier defence would very shortly be proposed. Under the plan now submitted for sanction it will be seen that the greater part of a force of 500 men will be stationed in advanced positions cut off during the most unhealthy time of the year from easy intercourse with head-quarters, and in circumstances where a European surgeon is almost a necessity. The great success which has attended the work of the medical officer, Mr. Cooper, in the Naga Hills, induces the Lieutenant-Governor to believe that there too the presence of a medical officer with the frontier force might be utilized and made a most effectual means of establishing friendly relations with the frontier tribes. He hopes that the Government of India will favourably consider the request of the local officers for such an appointment.

\* No. 387, dated the 21st June 1872, with enclosures.





5. Of Captain Lewin's proposed plan of carrying out the occupation of the Ocheepoom, the Lieutenant-Governor generally approves. It will be seen that instead of two posts, of 100 men each, south of Sirthay Klang, as suggested by General Brownlow, he proposes one strong post of 200 men with a smaller intermediate outpost of 40 men. This is matter of detail, and it seems advisable to lay down no rigid orders on such a question beforehand. It is, however, most important that the authorities of British Burma should make a point of opening up communications with the most southerly of our posts on the Ocheepoom, and complete the system of patrols on which the success of the whole plan depends.

6. It will not, His Honor thinks, be really necessary to make any very radical change in the constitution of the frontier force. There are at present 242 hillmen in its ranks. With proper drill and good officers there seems no reason to doubt its being generally fit enough for the work it will have to do. At the same time it will not bear any reduction, and for this reason the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that the dak establishment of 32 runners may be separately sanctioned.

7. Captain Lewin's proposal to establish a bazar at Demagiri is very important and has His Honor's entire support. I am to ask sanction to the advance of Rs. 3,000 necessary to enable Captain Lewin to get up and establish there in November next a sufficient number of traders, and to the appointment of a native officer on Rs. 50 per mensem to superintend the bazar, &c. Inquires will be made from the Chief Commissioner of British Burma as to the way in which the Arracan Hill Tracts bazar is managed.

8. The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that the Government of India will now find itself in possession of sufficient information on which to pass early orders, that all arrangements may be put early in train for any measures to be undertaken during the ensuing cold season.

*From C. U. ARCHERSON, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 1883 P., dated Simla, the 4th September 1872.*

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letters noted below on the subject of the defence of the Eastern Frontier of Bengal, and, in reply, communicate the following observations and instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council.

2. The general policy of the Government of India on the question of the frontier defence and the friendly communications to be maintained by the officers of the Frontier District with the Lushai tribes, has been explained at considerable length in my letters marginally noted; and as the Lieutenant-Governor has been informed in my letter No. 558 P., dated 8th March 1872, it is the desire of the Government of India that the policy prescribed should in all its main features be adhered to. In the Resolution of the Government of India, No. 1453 P., dated 11th July 1871, His Excellency in Council desired that advantage should be taken of the Lushai Expedition to procure all the information necessary for a decision as the best means of protecting the frontier and the line of posts to be established on the Chittagong border. The information now submitted is of great value in the consideration of the subject, and although final orders cannot be passed until more is known of the country between Cachar and Chittagong, His Excellency in Council is now in a position to give such instructions as, it is hoped, will lead to a definite settlement of the question by the end of the ensuing cold season.

3. His Excellency in Council concurs in the objections taken by the Lieutenant-Governor in paragraph 3 of your letter to the Government of India in the Military Department, No. 3713, dated 18th June, to open out and keep up the road through

No. 3927, dated 25th June 1872.  
No. 3834, dated 15th June 1872.  
No. 4017, dated 1st July 1872.  
No. 4270, dated 15th July 1872.  
No. 2196 P., dated 12th December 1870.  
No. 430, dated 1st March 1871.  
No. 170, dated 11th April 1871.





Chunfai to Chittagong. Nor does he consider advisable to attempt to construct and maintain the road through Chippoi and Bepari Bazar, advocated by Brigadier General Brownlow. Apart from other objections which might be urged, the physical difficulties and the great expense which the construction and maintenance of such roads would involve prevent His Excellency in Council from taking either project into favourable consideration. At the same time His Excellency in Council considers it advisable that the District Officers in Cachar should give every encouragement of the Lushais themselves to maintain a passable road of their own to Tepai Mookh, at which point they can obtain easy water-carriage to Cachar, and where, if a mart be eventually established, they will meet the traders from British districts.

4. As regards the defence of the southern boundary of Cachar, there is a unanimity of opinion that the present posts should be maintained, or new posts selected in better situations, and that the posts at Mondirkhal, Doarband, Julnacherra, and Chutterchoora, or such other posts as may be established in their place, should be connected by cleared paths, and have communications opened out by roads to the rear connecting them with supports in the settled districts. I am to forward, for His Honor's information, a memorandum dated 30th July, from Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, which may prove of much use in determining the sites for the posts on the Cachar Frontier, and the strength in which they should be held. It is necessary for the effective protection of the frontier that the posts should be placed on commanding positions and not in the valleys. When a final determination has been come to by the local authorities as to the most advantageous positions for the posts, His Excellency in Council would wish a definite report to be submitted. The posts, when occupied, should be connected and supported by roads in the manner suggested, and His Excellency in Council will be prepared to take into favourable consideration estimates for their construction, either by military labour or otherwise, as recommended by the Lieutenant-Governor. The line of defence in this quarter, running, as it does, at right angles to the mountain ridges and drainage of the country, presents many difficulties, which should receive very careful consideration.

5. His Excellency in Council agrees with the Lieutenant-Governor that opportunity should be taken in the ensuing cold season to have a careful and accurate survey made of the whole country between Cachar and Chittagong, embracing also the country to the south of Peak Z. His Excellency in Council does not think the reasons advanced by Mr. Edgar in paragraph 17 of his letter of 5th June 1872, are sufficient for excluding the portion of country south of Peak Z from the survey. On the contrary, he considers it necessary that as complete a knowledge as possible should be obtained of the whole country between the eastern frontier of Hill Tipperah and the range on which that peak is situated, and between Cachar in the north and Chittagong in the south. His Honor is requested to report specially what measures should be taken, either through the District Officers or otherwise, to secure the safety of the survey party which the Survey Department will be instructed to arrange for, in direct communication with the Bengal Government. It will probably be desirable hereafter more fully to explore and survey Hill Tipperah; but this is a matter which may be left for future consideration.

6. Subject to such results as the exploration to be undertaken in the cold season may produce, His Excellency in Council agrees with the Lieutenant-Governor that the eastern boundary of Tipperah should be defined. Probably, as suggested, the best line will be along the Julnacherra and Huchik ranges to the Sorghuel Peak. This line appears to correspond with what Mr. Edgar describes to be the actual limits of Tipperah; and if it prove otherwise suitable for purposes of defence, there will be an advantage in adopting that line rather than the Rai Jan and Towrang range, as proposed by Colonel Brownlow. Mr. Edgar states that it is doubtful whether the latter range runs on to Cachar, and from paragraph 20 of Captain Tanner's memorandum, enclosed in his letter of 30th March 1872, to the address of General Brownlow, it would appear to pass through a forest country, and to leave Sookpila's villages to the west of, and within the line of defence. The precise line, however, which it may be necessary to adopt, cannot be definitely settled till the result of the further exploration is known.

7. Whatever may be the eastern boundary laid down for Hill Tipperah, His Excellency in Council considers, as you have been already informed in my letter No. 17C, dated 11th April 1871, that the responsibility for the defence of Tipperah must, in the first instance, rest with the Rajah, under the guidance and advice of the Political Agent. For this purpose it may be advisable that the Rajah should be required to entertain a small body of picket and drilled men, who should be located in such posts on the frontier as may be selected by Government, and whose supervision, distribution, duties, and efficiency it should be the duty of the Political Agent to see to.





8. From the Sorphul Peak, the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to run the defence line by the best ridge that the survey may discover along the Sirthay Klang, and on to the British Burma frontier, joining the advanced post in Arrakan at Tulukme. From Captain Tanner's memorandum, already referred to, it appears that the best line will either be the Oheepoom ranges or the Saichul range to the west of the Oheepoom. Both appear to join a few miles north of the Burma frontier, which they cut at a place called Keekradong. The most southern post proposed by General Brownlow on the Oheepoom is 40 miles from Tulukme. In connection with this matter, I am to convey the desire of His Excellency in Council that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor should communicate directly with the Chief Commissioner of British Burma in regard to the connection of the Chittagong frontier with that of Arrakan, as well as on the subject of your letter No. 4017, dated 1st July, and that the Government of India may thereafter be furnished with a definite report as to the ridge on which the posts should be established from Sorphul Peak southward, the points at which the posts should be located, and the strength in which they should be held. Till this report is received, His Excellency in Council will reserve his opinion on the question put forward in paragraph 5 of your letter No. 4271, dated 18th July, viz., whether the ridge should be held by two or more strong posts, or by one strong post with smaller guards on either flank. I am, however, to draw attention to the views of Government already expressed in my letter No. 2166P., dated 12th December 1870, and to state that whatever be the line of frontier defence eventually adopted, the line of posts must not be beyond the limits of our actual jurisdiction, and no advanced posts must be thrown out without the previous sanction of the Government of India. Should the boundary through the Sirthay Klang be adopted, it will be matter for special report how this will affect our relations with Rutton Poosa, and whether he is willing that his possessions, west of the ridge, should be under British jurisdiction. For the present I am to remind you that the post near Rutton Poosa's village has only been temporarily sanctioned.\*

9. When the frontier line is once defined, the instructions already issued sufficiently provide for the duties of the civil officers beyond it. These are to leave the tribes as far as possible to manage their own affairs, to cultivate trade and friendly intercourse with them, to endeavour to establish personal influence over the Chiefs, and to maintain such vigilance along the line of defence as to deter the tribes from committing raids, or to cut off the parties that may attempt them. In carrying out this policy, His Excellency in Council thinks it will be best to maintain the existing marts described by Mr. Edgar in paragraph 18 of his letter of 5th June. Opportunity might, however, be taken to run a road from Demagiri to Bepari Bazar, which will give two outlets to Lushai trade,—one by water to Cachar, and one by land to Chittagong. The road should be a mere trade route, over which no attempt should be made to exercise any jurisdiction, and which, when constructed, the Deputy Commissioner of the Chittagong Hills endeavour to get the Lushais themselves to keep up.

10. I am here to invite attention to the views expressed by General Brownlow in paragraph 11 of his letter of 1st May 1872, regarding personnel of the frontier police, and the advantage of employing Goorkhas. His Excellency in Council considers this a matter of primary importance. In the event of a recurrence of raids, the first skirmish may be of the utmost consequence, and no other considerations should be allowed to interfere with the fighting efficiency of the force. His Excellency in Council observes that the Commissioner of Chittagong has expressed himself strongly in favour of Brigadier Brownlow's recommendation in this respect.

11. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor will, I am to observe, doubtless adopt such measures as may seem desirable, with reference to Mr. Edgar's remarks as to the supply of labour in Cachar.

12. Lastly, I am to state that His Excellency in Council agrees with the views of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, as expressed in the 3rd paragraph of your letter No. 4270, dated 18th July, viz., that there is no necessity to enlarge the establishment of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the manner proposed by Captain Lewin and Mr. Hankey. Regarding the proposals (1) to appoint Lieutenant Gordon and Mr. Knyvett to be Assistant Commissioners in the Hill Tracts, their places in their districts being filled up, (2) to appoint a European Medical Officer to the Chittagong Tracts, and (3) to grant

\* See letter No. 556P., dated 8th March 1873.





Captain Lewin an advance of Rs. 3,000 to establish a bazar at Demagiri in November next, and to appoint a Native officer on Rs. 50 a month to superintend that bazar, a separate communication will shortly be addressed to you.

*From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department,—No. 3149, dated Calcutta, the 19th August 1873.*

I am directed to forward, for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, the papers noted below\* containing the reports of the officers who were, in accordance with the orders contained in paragraphs 6 and 6 of your letter No. 1883P., dated 4th September last, charged with the duty of exploring the eastern frontier of Hill Tipperah and the country lying between Western Cachar and Chittagong.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor is sure that the Government of India, on a perusal of these reports, will concur with him in awarding very high praise to both Captain Badgley and Mr. Power for the manner in which they executed their difficult and toilsome task. Captain Badgley's numerous and energetic services of a similar kind are well known, and the Lieutenant-Governor only hopes that the Bengal Government may have more of them. In this instance, the success of the expedition was largely due to Mr. Power, the Political Agent of Tipperah, who spared no personal trouble of any kind to enable Captain Badgley to accomplish his survey, and accepted a responsibility in a difficult situation from which he extricated himself most successfully.

3. We have at last succeeded in carrying our explorations across the unknown tract between Cachar and Chittagong, and completed what was wanting in the results of the Lushai expedition. The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that we shall not lose ground in future, but increase our communications with, and means of transit through, that part of the Lushai tract that intervenes between our own districts of Cachar and Chittagong.

4. It will be seen that it has now been clearly ascertained that the western part of Hill Tipperah is quite uninhabited, and that there are no unknown tribes living there who could have committed the raids from which Sylhet and West Cachar have in former years suffered. We have to guard against raids by tribes that we now fairly know. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with all the officers whose opinions he has had, that we cannot expect the Rajah of Tipperah to organise an efficient frontier defence, and that it would not be much use if he could, so long as the country is uninhabited. It is shown conclusively in the reports that a chain of posts along the Hachik or Jampai, i.e., on the eastern frontier of Hill Tipperah, could only be kept up at an enormous expense which that State certainly could not support, and which would be almost certainly useless if established.

5. The conclusion which His Honour has been led to form by a careful review of all the data before him is, that our proper course is to hold a certain control over these Western Lushais, and by encouraging communication and familiarity—to do in fact what Captain Butler is doing so successfully among the Angami Nagas. How this can, he believes, be done, the Lieutenant-Governor will now proceed to explain.

6. It is shown by Captain Badgley and Mr. Power that Sookpilal, the most powerful Chief of the Western Lushais, and since the expedition probably the most powerful Chief in the Lushai Hills, has been moving back his villages from the Cachar side, and has brought himself within one day's march of the village of Laljeeka, a Syloo Chief well known in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Laljeeka's village, during all last cold weather, a guard of our Hill Tracts Police was stationed at the special request of the Syloos, who entirely supported it while it remained there. Nothing would, it is believed, be more agreeable to the Syloo Chiefs, whose sole aim since the expedition has been to cultivate intimate relations with us, than the establishment of a post in their midst. A reference to the report by the Commissioner of Chittagong, No. 393, dated 9th May, forwarded with my letter No. 3150 of this day's date, will show precisely how matters stand on the Chittagong side of the Lushai tract. The country where the post would be is high and healthy, is inhabited by a friendly tribe, and is in communication with the strong post of Sirthay, which must, it is certain, be the centre of our system of defence, and our chief means of influencing the Chittagong Lushais.

\* From the Political Agent, Hill Tipperah, No. 61, dated the 26th May 1873.

From the Surveyor General of India, No. 400F, dated the 10th July 1873, with annexures and maps.





7. The Lieutenant-Governor has already, in my letter to the Military Department, No. 1755, dated 7th May, forwarded to you with my endorsement No. 1756 of that date, suggested that the establishment of a post at or near Laljeeka's village would be a desirable measure. He believes that it is of little use to be content with assuming an attitude of suspicion and *quasi*-hostility by establishing a mere chain of defensive posts, and keeping the tribes outside these. It is, His Honour thinks, better to place ourselves at once in communication with those whom we seek to influence. He does not propose to govern them or control them directly, but to take up a safe position near them with their own consent, and to bring the political influence of our officers directly to bear on them as we have done in the Naga Hills. In my letter of this day's date on the southern defence line, the Lieutenant-Governor has alluded to the healthiness of these upper ranges as compared with the posts at present occupied by us at Rungamattoo and elsewhere. A copy of Captain Lewin's letter No. 615, dated 21st July, bearing upon this subject, is attached for ready reference. In the cold weather whatever unhealthiness has been experienced in this new country has been attributable solely to want of proper covering and comfort—wants that can very easily be supplied. The late expedition tested the climate well during that season, and Captain Lewin's present report is demonstrative that in the rains up to late in July even Demagiri, which is to some extent shut in, is much healthier than our ordinary Hill Tracts District, while Sirthay and the higher ranges towards Laljeeka's are in every way desirable and remarkably well-suited as a station for troops. While the police at Rungamattoo were almost to a man down with fever, Dr. Murphy, the Civil Surgeon, reports that at Demagiri the hospital was almost empty. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that it would be desirable to have some troops in Chittagong as a military support to the frontier police, and if this were granted, it is a question whether they should not be sent at once to occupy an advanced post such as is above suggested on these high and healthy ranges of the Sylcoo country.

8. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that we may probably bring Sookpial's tribe to terms of greater familiarity as we have the Sylcoos. In all likelihood it is only suspicion that keeps him back, and if we have a post not in his territory but near it, we shall soon break the ice and learn the easiest through routes to Bopari Bazar. For the present we may be content with the one post proposed, and trust to pacific influence to establish a trade and post route from Chittagong to Bopari Bazar, and thence to Cachar.

9. It is not likely that with an outpost only a day's march from his villages, Sookpial would venture upon any hostile movement towards Cachar or Sylhet. If the trade at Bopari Bazar, by which he mainly profits, develops fairly, it will be his interest to prevent any such movement. For the present the Lieutenant-Governor does not propose to place any guard at Bopari Bazar. He would rather let the trade stand on its own merits as it were. But His Honour would maintain for the present the line of posts and roads along the Cachar and Sylhet frontier as already settled by the local civil and military authorities, and referred to in the correspondence ending with my letter No. 1755, dated 7th May last, already quoted. It would be premature to withdraw these, as the planters, coolies and people have not yet recovered complete confidence, and are still liable to apprehensions. Hill Tipperah also may perhaps be able to strengthen the Sylhet portion of the line, and to cover British Tipperah by establishing proper posts on the verge of its own cultivation. This is a point on which Mr. Power must report.

10. The eastern frontier of Tipperah should, however, be now defined as the Government of India has repeatedly desired. In some maps the Jampai range, and in some the Hachik-Chutterchoora range, has been put down as the limit, and the question has hitherto been considered to be, which of these two ridges should be accepted as the boundary. Hill Tipperah was formally demarcated up to the Jampai; but east of the Jampai, a general geographical line was loosely run down on the map as the boundary between British territory and the wild country to the south. At that time nothing was known of the Lushais; and the line running north and south between them and Tipperah could in no wise be affected by the general east and west line above mentioned. As it is clear that the country on the border, especially to the west of it, is uninhabited and not in the actual possession of any one, we may in settling the details be guided by geographical and political convenience, though we may hope that this country may again be inhabited as it once was. Captain Badgley shows in paragraph 23 of his report that in these tracts a river is by far the best, and a hill range the worst form of boundary, as the tops of the ranges generally come to be occupied by villages and cultivation, while the river sides are not occupied. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with this view, which indeed he has had occasion to express on several occasions in dealing with these





eastern frontier countries; and he would take for the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, neither the Jampai nor the Hachik-Chutterchoora range, but the Lungai River, which runs between them, and is described by Captain Badgley as "a clear stream with a sandy bed and good current." After being carried up the Lungai to its sources in the Betteing Sib Peak, the line would run across by the watershed to the peak of Delajuri, and thence follow the recognised southern border of Hill Tipperah by Surdaing to the Penny. Mr. Cheunell will probably be able to give a clear definition of the line from Betteing Sib. But the Lieutenant-Governor would ask the Government of India's approval of the general direction indicated.

*From A. MACKENZIE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department,—No. 3150, dated Calcutta, the 19th August 1873.*

I am now directed to forward, for the purpose of being laid before His Excellency the Governor General in Council, copies of the papers noted below\* having reference to the question of the survey and defence of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Frontier, and to submit for consideration the following remarks of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

2. In my separate letter No. 3149 of this day's date, the Lieutenant-Governor has, in connection with the reports of Messrs. Badgley and Power, set out with sufficient fulness the measures that he would adopt with respect to the Syloo country and the tract lying between Cachar and the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, and has also suggested what seems to him the best mode of defining the Hill Tipperah boundary, and providing for the defence of Cachar and Sylhet. The present letter will therefore be confined to a discussion of the best line of defence against the Howlongs and Shindoos, lying to the east of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, the posts which it is necessary to occupy, and the force which must be provided for these posts.

3. The Lieutenant-Governor has just had the advantage of discussing all these matters personally with Mr. Hankey, the Commissioner, who has himself inspected the present frontier arrangements, and with Colonel Graham, who was formerly in charge of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and whose experience on this and other frontiers enables him to give valuable advice.

4. During the past cold season, while Captain Lewin, with Mr. Cooke as Surveyor, were exploring the Oheepoom and Saichal ranges to the south, a body of the frontier police force was establishing itself in the post at Sirthay, provisionally sanctioned by the Government of India after the expedition, a large force being at Demagiri, the highest point to which the river is navigated, and near Sirthay, and a smaller body in advance in the Syloo country. The good effect of this measure has been, as Mr. Hankey shows in his letter of the 9th May, very marked and gratifying. Notwithstanding the interruption caused by his southern journey, Captain Lewin has been able to establish the most intimate relations with the Syloos, to relieve their distress, to convert them, in short, into a friendly and subservient clan, who look to our officers for orders even as to the ranges they may fill. They have supported entirely at their own expense a guard of fifty men lent them at their own request, as a protection in their present disabled state from attacks by remoter tribes. More has been learnt of the frontier tribes and their relations, and more influence has been gained in these few months than in a long course of years previously. The Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt whatever that under any policy that may be adopted, having for its basis the principle of influencing the tribes by direct association while preserving an attitude of defence and preparedness, the maintenance of this post at Sirthay, or somewhere beyond it on the higher ranges, is essential.

5. His Honour has, in the letter of to-day's date above quoted, stated his own conviction that the only way to secure the safety of Cachar and Sylhet, and he would now add to cover the north of Chittagong, is to place a strong post well in advance of Demagiri at some such place as that (Laljeeka's village) where we have had a guard all

\* Pol. Proceedings of this Government for July 1873, Nos. 22 to 24.  
From Officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, Nos. 622, dated 28th July 1873, with enclosures.  
Memorandum from Officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, dated 7th August 1873, with annexure.  
From the Surveyor General of India, No. 409F., dated 15th July 1873, with annexures and maps.