TOUR DIARY OF CAPTAIN A. E. G. DAVY, ADDITIONAL POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIFARA FRONTIER TRACT

December lst 1944 to March 30th 1945

ENCLOSURE IN INDIA
FOREIGN SECRETARY'S LETTER
No. DATE RECEIVED
52 4-7 31-7-1946
PART II
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Joythong (Height 400 feet)—To Sekemichi (Height 1,000 feet).

Distance—7½ miles.

Direction—West North-West.

(Approximate distances are to F. O. U. O. Map B33.)

It is perhaps necessary to begin this Diary with the departure arrangements on the afternoon of the 30th November. At that time a party of Aapa Tamis of Hari village, carrying Assam Rifles rations, had left independently from Joythong for Dima by a short route taking only four days. This is a realistic practice only to local tribesmen going in small parties and is expected to be impossible for any organized expedition. These Aapa Tamis had left clothes of radicum hanging in trees at selected points on the path and it is a common feature of tribal system and etiquette that such supplies are almost always accessible. It was therefore quite safe for these men to leave their ration for the return journey unnoticed in the jungle.

At the same time groups of Aapa Tamis and Duallas were given their loads with orders to proceed at once to a jungle camp some three miles from Joythong on the Western, or far, bank of the Ramgundu (Pasni) River. The reason for this was that the River crossing constituted a hurdle next. At the crossing itself there are only two dugouts and the more parties we could get across the River the day before the less time would be wasted in getting the main convoy across. This advanced party was told to proceed independently with some men of the Assam Rifles to Sekemichi, our first Camp in the hills.

At this time I was very apprehensive by lack of knowledge of Duallas and I had no idea as to how they would react. I had heard stories of their savagery, treachery and cunning and the local Tea Planters referred to them as 'pretty tough customers'. Therefore it was not outlined to take any risks but as I knew that Sekemichi was a friendly village I saw no harm in allowing this advance party to go ahead with a small escort.

Despite the fact that the night was very heavy and difficult for recollecting our load-percentage figures, we figured up at 4-50 a.m. on December the 1st and by the time we had dressed, packed and eaten a hurried breakfast the remainder of the Political Labour Corps and Aapa Tamis had arrived. To my inexperienced eye chills seemed to reign. Every porter was trying to grab what he imagined to be the lightest load and all appeared to be Novice Porters. In quite a short space of time however out of this bundle quite miraculously emerged and there was a comparative silence while the porters were busy engaged in tying up their loads, with care carrying ropes and soon the convoy of Indian porters was marshalled and set in motion for the Joythong camp. Each porter carried as much as 50 lbs. and I was shortly to see how necessary this maximum was. In the afternoon I had nearly given up the idea that we should be able to get across the half the convoy should go ahead and cross the Ramgundu and wait as the jungle camp for us. On arrival at the Joythong camp however we found that this party had again dumped their loads and were waiting for us. This again led to a period of confusion until order was again established. I only record these incidents as they serve to demonstrate that—

(a) On expeditions of this kind when employing tribal porters one must be prepared for delays and for the most simple arrangements to break down unaccountably, and

(b) Even in peaceful country one always has difficulty in controlling large convoys of tribal porters in such a manner as to make their protection possible.

As a result of these delays we did not leave Joythong until 9 a.m. 1 and the Special Officers went ahead in order to superintend the passage of the porters across the river. The path from the camp to Joythong, which is 2½ miles long, lies through dense tropical jungle. The convoy was lowing and flat and I went on ahead to see about the green, enclosing depths of these forests it was almost alarming. The river was almost dry at first but on reaching the East bank of the river turned North for nearly a mile until the ferry was reached. The river at this ferry is about 50 yards wide and the crossing is at the southern end of a high, narrow mountain gorge. At this time of the year the water is nowhere more than 5 feet deep but I was told that this peaceful, smooth stretch of water flowing through its beautiful jungle-fringed gorge is, in the rains, transformed into an impassable barrer of raging torrents. I longed for the time to try my luck with the natives for here surely was a fisherman's paradise with perfect fishing water stretching both up and down stream as far as the eye could see. However most important matters were at hand and I had gratefully put all such thoughts aside.

Once across the river the way followed an extraordinary little gully where flood water had cut a narrow, steep path through the sandstone face of the gorge. It was so narrow in places that I doubted whether the loaded porters would be able to get through with some of the more bulky loads. Once through the rocks the trail led straight up. Up and down over little water courses through dense jungle and cascades with cane, bushes and creepers of an infinite variety. The path was never level for a moment but always wound in a general westerly direction.

It is interesting to try and compare this country with the hill paths in other parts of India. The great difference, of course, which I at once noticed from all other areas I had known was the ever present jungle and the fact that the local tribesmen seemed to pay no attention whatever to the contours of the land. In 1929 from Lebeng near Darjeeling I had climbed round the hills on the Nepal border. In 1934 and 1935 I had, from Raxmahal, climbed notorious hills on the North West Frontier Province such as Shandiz, and had, on numerous occasions, seen huge landslides and from Lidhua, Tribals Sar and the hills around the Shrawanag Nari. In Baluchistan in 1927 I had climbed parts of Mardas and in 1939 parts of the Tadgh-I-Selaham, but never in my experience have I encountered country such as that met with on the path from Joythong to Sekemichi. Gradually mean nothing whatever to these local tribesmen and invariably the path lead straight up and straight down every hill and valley. The result was that in order to reach Sekemichi, which is at an elevation of 8,000 feet from Joythong an ascent of 3,000 feet had to be climbed up and descended some 4,000 feet and claw ones way up, and slide down, immeasurable interweaving ridges. Never did I realise when flying over the country, that each wrinkle and shadow, appearing from the air to be a mere crease in the green coverlet of forest, was on the ground an hour's sweat and struggle. On
this first day we progressed at the rate of 1 m. P. H. and I consider that good progress. I marvelled at the ability of the porters, some of them mere boys, to carry their 50 lb. loads over such country.

Geologically the country in these foothills is interesting. It is all very new and is apparently of the Jurassic period. Limestones are everywhere evident, giving rise to white cliffs and interesting caves. The higher grounds are covered with a dense growth of pine and fir, the latter giving way to chestnut woods at lower altitudes. The river valley here is quite narrow and the river very clear. The porters showed us numerous old log huts and told us they were the homes of the local tribes. The landscape is picturesque and it is difficult to believe that this is the tropics.

The porters were very good and we covered about 30 miles today. We camped near a small river and had a fine view of the surrounding country. The porters were very much impressed with the scenery and were keen to continue on. The food was good, consisting of rice and vegetables, and the porters were very happy.

In the evening we set up our camp and had a good night's rest. The stars were very bright and we could see the Milky Way clearly. The porters were very quiet and we heard them chattering in their native tongue.

Day 2

We continued our journey and reached the village of Lichi. The porters were very excited to see the village and were keen to explore. The village was quite small and consisted of several huts made of bamboo and thatch. The porters were very friendly and welcomed us with open arms.

We decided to stay in the village for the night and have a good rest. The porters were very happy and were keen to continue on the next day. The food was good and the porters were very satisfied.

Day 3

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Day 4

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and cooler summer feeding grounds, returning to the plains in the early winter. Soon we began to catch glimpses of the river flowing down a series of cuttings on its way to the plains. The gradient of the stream but seemed to be very steep. At length we came to the river itself and looked for a while before we could cross it. Not having found a ford or ferry, we continued upstream, against the high cliff, my thoughts turned irretrievably to Hydro-electric power. Here before me was unlimited power running to waste, and my imagination turned to the day when the waters of the Panjir could be harnessed to provide cheap electricity for industries in the 'North Beach'. A hydroelectric power station on the Panjir could be a landmark for North-Western India in the Brakingspan. Rice mills, paper mills, saw mills and indeed any large industrial uses for the extraction of timber from the forest region, all these could be established if only the money and the initiative were there. If the Central Government is to be asked to expend large sums of money upon the control and administration of these tribal areas, it must be without fear of certain revenues from the area. I consider that the Panjir is a very suitable river for the development of a local hydro-electric scheme and suggest that the area below Pase be inspected by experts in due course. The gradient on the river bed is, in places, so steep that it would not be necessary to take off high heads. People are sufficiently hungry to complain of the amount of water used to drive the turbines. This, I consider, would be a better and less expensive arrangement than the construction of a barrage, for in these rivers, flowing through dense jungle areas, there is always the problem of the diversion and disposal of the large quantities of water which are washed down every heavy rain. These would constitute a perpetual menace to the safety of the fabric of any barrage.

We arrived at Pase at about 3.30 p.m. and found the small camp site already prepared. Though the present camp is small there is ample room a little further up the hillside for an extension. In the camp at Pase on a long afternoon I climbed the hill quite beside the river just below a gorge. As Pase also the path crosses the river and the Dasolu of Porto and Sehke have constructed an ingenius camp and bamboo suspension bridge of a much more advanced design than any I have seen pictures of in the Aboor and Mokham country. Here there was a good solid floor of bamboo and strong handrails on either side. At the bridge site the river was narrower and the banks are high and apparently solid and if necessary this would appear to be a good site for a bridge when the road is constructed.

It is the intention eventually to construct a road as a main artery of communication for administrative and economic purposes, but in these hills there is, judging from the map, two possibilities. The first, making the Dasolu and the old Administrative centre, would be to take the road from Pase across the river and then strike North to the Duskar valley to Pasi and the Magiri river (marked Psang in Sq.42 on the map) and on to Mai to the Aboor country. The second, and possibly more useful, would be to cross the river to the Pase river junction to the Kiyi river (marked Kiyi on the map), and thence the Pasi and the direction the road will eventually take is quite certain that one will be necessary for we are to be in any position to profit by the result of these explorations and to enforce our claims to the territory north of the McMahon Line as there must be tangible and visible evidence to back up our claims. If, as I most sincerely hope, the remaining section of the McMahon Line is fixed, it will be in a position to maintain that they are in fact possession of the country and will ensure upon whose evidence, other than a line drawn in Delhi on a map, the Government of India can produce to support their contention that the country they claim is, in fact, part of British India. Taking the above view, it is most likely that the road administration is to be extended into this area some good and central line of communication will be essential for the further we advance Northwards towards the McMahon Line the longer and more difficult will become our L of C, and our program, dependent upon proper transport, will become correspondingly more slow and uncertain. If we are to continue to depend upon supplies then supplies not only will be impossible for some weeks, for any advanced and main Headquarters between the cost of maintaining the lines will be increasing, even higher the further we advance. In fact the construction of a good road will probably prove to be a saving in the long run. A road will eventually have to be built and therefore the capital has to be invested. The annual cost of maintaining it will probably be offset by the saving on the transport budget. Another subject of the preventable fact that the Government of India will expect some return for the expenditure incurred in this area. There are magnificent forests in this area which properly managed would yield a return but for any advance at this nature a road would be essential.

This evening at Pase a large concourse of Dasolu came to discuss matters with us. The most interesting case I heard was that of a man who had been captured by a bushman but entertaining slave of Likha. After capture he had been taken back to Likha where he had immediately been sold to a rich man of the village, the price being three annas. The slave had captured the man as a valuable user. The rich man had purchased him as a good speculator in the belief that the market would rise and rise and that when the time came to ransom the captive he could demand a far higher price. In fact it was the Dasolu equivalent of a gamble on the Stock Exchange! This interested me very much as it demonstrated that, as Likha is a very rich, slave raiding had no economic basis and was not the result of poverty but was carried out as a purely social event. An even more interesting case was that the captured man had been voluntarily released without the payment of any ransom as, it was told me, the Likha people had heard that the scenes were coming and wished to remove any incriminating evidence. Against this we were regaled with bloodcurdling stories of the tortures which the Likha people had broadcast of what was going on in the territory to visit their area. They had collected large quantities of poison for their arrows and when we came they were going to cut us up into small pieces and throw us into the river. All this was told us with a wealth of detail and dramatic gesture but we did not pay much serious attention to these stories.
little difficulty in crossing a patch a little higher up the hillside and this will, I presume, be the last the road will eventually take. As soon as we reached the junction of the Panauti and Phasagi Rivers, the path keeping to the east of both streams. This point, I believe, was the highest up we came upon the really upper plain of country that I visited during my trip and I found that the grassland was considerably above the present level of the two river valleys. I believe that with very little work other than the removal of hedgerows and the burning of grass the place could be made into a lovely garden for light phases. A few trees on the swale would have to be cut to give a clear approach to the ground. For dropping raionns on a column it would be an ideal site. In the summer year this would be the place at which I would establish my regular distribution centre for distributing raionns to the various places which might be established in these hills. Immediately south of the gap through the path led steeply up the hill and from thence onwards to the camp led up and down a series of spurs until toward the terraced rice fields of Pei Village. The steep hillside on the west side of the rice land we passed on the way from the river valley. It had been a long and tiring march from Pei and it was dark before the last porters arrived. As dusk fell it began to drizzle but despite the fatigue the porters had seen built themselves transport shelter and before long the darkness was illuminated by a ring of cherry fires.

December 5th
Pei (3,000 feet approx.)—Hong (5,000 feet).
Distance—9 Miles.

Direction—North.

The night's rain did not amount to much and we awoke— to a cold, clear day and left camp at 7.30 A.M. Almost at once we crossed the Phasagi river by a temporary bridge and followed the valley through the Pei. The path turned north up a high, windy ridge commanding magnificent views of the valley, hills out beyond the town and, then down steeply to Mai village, a cluster of about half a dozen houses perched on the extreme eastern edge of the Pei river system. Just before we reached the village we came upon a further patch of rice paddies, down went the Special Officer's wife. It seems therefore that the difficult situation of a few days ago has now been overcome largely through her efforts. I have been struck at the number of streams which have their source high up in these hills and I feel that if Anglican Nuns or Sikkim instructors were brought into this area a great deal more could be achieved in the way of increased cultivation.

From Mai the route ran along and up a high ridge running north-east until the jungle swam was again reached. After crossing several small streams running through steep sided and heavily forested valleys we crossed the Riban stream which forms the south-eastern boundary of the Apsa Tanu hunting grounds and almost at once came upon the first pool area (Plates Lxlii), the backwater of the Apsa Tanu. The first large area of water that we saw was entirely surrounded by beautiful forest and the large trees seemed to dominate the scene. I had made a tape measure with me so that I could have measured the girth of some of these trees which towered above the surrounding jungle high though it was. Being on the jungle on the northern boundary of the Apsa Tanu country such had been allowed to grow unchecked and I mean, I imagine, have been of considerable size.

Quite suddenly we emerged from the gloom of the jungle and there before me lay the Apsa Tanu valley so utterly different to anything I had seen before on the way up that it came as a shock. Two thought at once flashed through my mind, one, I am afraid, slightly irrelevant. The first was how clearly this valley resembled parts of the West of India. The brown, rounded, rock-topped hills covered with bracken and aspen grass and the black earth of the nearly ploughed in the valley bottom and out on the hills where the burnet had collected in pockets of rock or vegetable clay, all reminded me strongly of Connemara. Now, I believe, was this resemblance purely incidental. I think that the whole curious cup-and-flame formation of the Apsy Tanu country with the flat bottomed valleys branching up into the hills is galactic in origin, and that at one period was covered with water by the action of a glacier. After the melting of the ice cap, possibly caused by the subsequent subsidence of the whole Himalaya range, the coastal margin of the old glacier, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hong, dammed up the Kalé river. The whole Apsa Tanu system of branching valleys then became a lake which, as in the case of the West of Ireland, would account for the abundance of sedimentary clays and the black earth of the bog-beds. Whatever the reason the Apsa Tanu country is quite unlike anything I have seen before in the Himalayas, and I am sure practically every Hill Station between Kashmir and Sikkim.

The other, and more irrelevant, reaction on seeing the country for the first time was what a perfect country it would be for a golf course! Standing there on the southern tip of the whole country I could visualise, in the area in front of me, the green fairways and tests.

It was already getting cold when we arrived at our camp site beside the Kalé river which more clearly resembled an Irish trout stream than anything I had ever seen in India. Away to the North I could see the rice fields, a golden patchwork carpet in the evening light, and the tawny hills turning purple in the setting sun. Thin veils of mist lay over the valleys and soon the whole country was shrouded under a cobweb of cloud.

December 6th
Hong (5,000 feet) — Ditra (3,200 feet).
Distance—7 ½ Miles.

Direction—North.

We left camp at 8 a.m. and started out on the last leg of our journey to Dira. It was a perfect winter day, fields casting moving patterns of shadow across the hills. The country was incredibly beautiful and at every turn I found fresh surprises awaiting me. Soon after leaving camp we crossed the Kalé river by means of a bridge made from a roughly hewn log of a single gigantic pine. For some way the path followed the river which flowed through little copse of mixed pine, oak and alder with berberis flowering in its autumn cladding in the undergrowth. I was once struck with the quaintness of the Apsa Tanu husbandry. Without any ploughs and with even less a rarity these treelike
contrive to maintain their fields with a niceness and skill which far exceeds anything I have so far seen in Assam and are clearly both careful and expert farmers. The bunds between the rice fields are all carefully managed and the many watercourses and irrigation channels flow through carefully managed and well-drained areas. Fields accessible to cattle are fenced with fences made of bamboo or palm.

It is a remarkable thing that whereas there are a fair number of cattle in the Apa Tani country which have been carried as cattle from the plains by parties of Coolie labourers, or which have been brought from the valley, none of them are used either for their milk or for ploughing. Cattle in this country seem to thrive and look very healthy. In this ideal sheep country I looked in vain for flocks of sheep but apparently they are unknown. They would certainly thrive on the short, fine grass of the open hillsides. On either side of the path as we progressed could be seen the carefully tended bamboo and tea gardens and the plough and manure and the copice kept clear of undergrowth. Nowhere else in India have I seen such a natural aptitude for forestry.

The Apa Tani villages are quite unlike the struggling, individual Dafei settlements. The isolated Dafei long-gone packed up on its own with its granaries clustered around it is nowhere seen. Instead are compact villages situated on some patch of higher ground with the houses packed tightly together and the granaries and rice nurseries on the outskirts. It seems that the Apa Tana are a far more gregarious and sociable people than are the Dafes. It may of course be that remains of mutual defence have brought about this difference in the urban social structure of the two peoples. But whatever may be the reason, it seemed to me that the Apa Tana have reached a higher state of civilization than their more warlike neighbours, the Dafes. As we approached Muddang Tage village another curious feature of the local agricultural economy struck me. There were no docks and greeves. In that corner, the whole problem of agricultural and pastoral husbandry seems to be of secondary importance. We were carefully instructed not to use our sexual organs through the presence of a new medium, into the existing Apa Tani weaving industry. Fruit and vegetable growing could probably absorb certain others. It will be desirable, however, if possible, to demonstrate to those areas in which we extend our control that closely following upon Government control arrive certain definite economic advantages. If this can be shown a great step in the right direction will have been taken and our task will have become correspondingly easier. From our experiences gained on the North West Frontier of India I think we should have learned that control by means of economic penetration and subsequent interdependence is preferable to an economic vacuum followed by the necessity of military occupation. Even the town of the Dafes' wife and parent is a matter of importance. We saw the Dafes' caravan being conducted to the camp at Datta. The camp is a charming spot near Datta village. In front is a small clump of ancient and enormous pines and I notice that the larger trees are used for the provision of pine torches. The pine stands appears to be even richer in turpentine than the Pino langely of the Kumaon Hills where there can be seen no similar trees. Datta town is the centre for the Psalms of the Amis. Riders, quarters for the Staff and a trade depot for the sale of trade goods and the trade of rice. Arriving into a go and prepared camp was a great luxury and though it raised a hunt we arrived safely. The Dafes and the Apa Tana have open hearts inside their houses, a square room behind being let into the floor of the building. All the houses, including our own, are built on piles and though this keeps out the damp it lets in the draught. Not our unusual arrival occasioned the greatest excitement and were we the object of the greatest interest to the crowds of tribesmen who thronged our camp where an atmosphere of friendliness and inquisitive interest prevailed.

Looking back on the whole route we followed from Jowong to Datta I am of the opinion that it will only be in the initial few-hill stages that difficulties will be encountered in the task of road construction. Once the Passar valley in the neighbourhood of Lechi is reached the route, apart from the problem of laying a bridge in the river, is clear of the difficulties I have foreseen. The only practicable path into the interior from the town of from what can be seen of the general lie of the land, I am of the opinion that this is the line which should be followed.

Opinions have been expressed that it will be unwise to build a motor road into the interior, and that by relying on existing air routes and railway we can make our communications with the interior which we shall be modernising our methods and not only will Government be spared much expense but it will be possible to 'roll off' the area and prevent the ingress of Mahrans and the like and so save the Dafes from exploitation and contamination by western civilization. These are the familiar arguments of that school of thought who oppose the development, save in a very limited sense, and exploitation of aboriginals and primitive peoples. No one with any experience of administration of such peoples will wish to argue on the necessity of saving them from the curse of exploitation. In the past it has been an unfortunate fact that, with the tide, the extreme fringe of the so-called Western civilization, in this and many other Eastern countries, has often been comprised largely of scum. And it has been this undesirable element which has been the first to carry the bunched and contaminated torch of Western materialism to the less highly developed peoples of these lands. The country liquor and drug vendor, the petty Aus and ragamuffin moneylender, and even the minor Government official, all these have had a black record in their dealings and contacts with the aboriginal.

Is complete segregation the answer? It is, to my mind, a highly debatable point whether we, the Government of India of the day, are justified in following an 'indianization' policy toward those as yet untouchable by all that is good and all that is bad in our Western Civilization. If this processions of our politicians are to be believed the day is not far distant when India will become the arbiter of its own destiny. What then will be the fate of the 'primitive'? Will not be them, in all probability, become the prey of much that is bad in this Anglo-Indian Civilization which has developed in India during the past two centuries of British rule? By this I mean, not prejudice of any future Indian administration. It will, I have no doubt, be found that most of the aborigines are naturally aggressive and that the fact that, in the early days of Indian independence, there will be so many more important and more pressing problems is likely to result in the temporary abandonment of the problem of the aboriginal and backward populations of India. By the time that any Indian Government is free to turn its attention to the benevolent development and care of these populations to the Census of 1921 it will be too late. It will be too late to gather all aborigines into the Hindu fold as members of the 'depressed classes' in order, for political cards, still further to emphasize the disparity between the Hindu and the non-Hindu portions of the population; the activities of the liquor vendor, the narcotic drug peddler, the Aus and the moneylender, all these will
have caused irreparable harm to the primitive peoples of India. Before any enlightened Indian Government will be free to devote its time to the solution of the problem of Adivasi uplift and education in a manner which will seek to preserve as much as is left in tribal life, the damage will have been done.

The Government has in its policy a negative effect on the lives of the tribesmen on the North Eastern Frontier of India. The policy of suppression and exclusion is, in my opinion, misguided. The answer, to my mind, is gradual and humane ‘inclusion’ rather than exclusion and segregation. It should act on the principle of development and of providing the tribesmen themselves with a carefully chosen and sympathetic staff of Government officials whose task it should be to educate the tribesmen to develop their own tribal institutions and to modernize their own tribal economy, and by the introduction of material improvements and the preservation and development of all that is good in their indigenous culture. To encourage them to build the lives of a self-governing institutions based on their own tribal traditions. Education will be required and with it a planned and developing programme to bring them into contact with the more advanced materialism of the plains of India without becoming contaminated by the less compatible ingredients of modern life. What we should aim at is to achieve them a degree of education in which the lessons I used to wish that instead of being taught on their own legs Government is no longer able to afford them the protection which they at present receive.

I feel strongly that the Central Government will be prepared, in this year or era, to consider to poor money into tribal areas without the prospect of some return. It may be argued that it is one of the responsibilities of any modern and enlightened Government to afford protection to, and to provide for the welfare of, the less advanced elements of the population. While I agree with this point of view there are many others, more hard-headed and materialistic, who do not share this opinion and among their ranks may I, suspect, be found members of the Finance Department of the Government of India. They will, in all probability, demand for some return for the money which is being and which will be, spent on the North East Frontier. This region is not without its possibilities, nor in the development of its resources need there necessarily be any dangers of rivalry tribal economy to the charter industries of Indian industria nd. If the work of development is properly controlled so that the tribals themselves benefit we shall, I contend, be doing these peoples a great service, for to leave them economically backward in a rapidly developing India will be to condemn them for ever to economic and industrial subservience to their more advanced neighbours in Assam. If tribal and Assamese economy can be made inter-dependent then the tribesmen will gradually be removed from the Frontier.

I have heard it is said that in the post-war adjustment in India a North East Frontier administrative unit may be created, and, whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations relating to the future of this Frontier, this North East Frontier Province will remain for reasons of defense an Imperial responsibility. If such an administrative unit it will be incumbent upon us to defend this area in a manner which will at least stand comparison with the rest of India. For the sake of our prestige in the eyes of the world we should, I maintain, transform this area into a ‘Model Administration’. In any case in order that the machinery of Government may function at all we must have access to the remainder of India. The building of roads and the creation in this area of the bare skeleton framework of good Government, which is not necessarily destroy the best in the traditional tribal life. Our policy should be one of intelligent and sympathetic development rather than rapid and violent change. If an economic is made at all we must have:

1. a permanent and modern and well equipped base in the hills, functioning efficiently at the earliest possible moment and
2. to make it in any way possible, we must at the earliest opportunity have a good all-weather motor road to the hill base.

If we have none of these things the Tribesman can with justification argue that the mere fact that small expenditures from British India have, at long intervals, videoed various parts of the region to which we now lay claims proves nothing. On the other hand it strengthens these claims to the area for they will rightly point out that Tibetan traders, and possibly official, pay annual visits to this disputed belt of country. If they intend therefore to remain in this region or to enforce their claims upon it we must establish visible proof, in the shape of roads and Civil Stations, of our determination to do so.

December 7th—13th 1945

Haiti"
to even up matters there was a definite element of fear in their attitude. Too long had they suffered at the hands of the Dadas of Licha. So often had they felt that they were powerless against these marauders. Was it possible, even with the sepoys, to succeed? I mistrusted this attitude of the Apa Tani as because it made me realize that with a nervous and ill disciplined crowd of porters and fighting-men control in an emergency was going to be well nigh impossible.

Another difficulty was that I knew nothing whatever of the Dafa character and methods of warfare indeed, except for having read Haimendorf's book 'The Naked Nagas' in which he described a punitive expedition to Panphaga. I knew nothing whatever of tribal mentality and reactions in these remote hills. I therefore had to be prepared for almost anything.

On the 12th we held our final war council with Chige Nine, the undisputed Commander-in-Chief of the Apa Tani and their greatest travel and character. He was to lead the expedition through the dense jungles and tortuous ways to Licha. Chige Nine, instead of the opinion that Licha would fight, his spies had informed him that the headmen of the Settlements were showing no signs of wishing to negotiate as they considered themselves secure against any attack. That evening Chige Nine, who is also the most celebrated 'dondal' (priest) among the Apa Tani received a message from the entire large number of the warriors, who were accompanying us on the morrow. This was a long ceremony gradually working up to a climax when the mithun was killed. I think it did a good deal to improve the morale of the audience.

The Apa Tani are very conscious of his God and there is very little that he does without asking for the assistance or blessing of his Gods; indeed there is an almost Old Testament relationship between the tribeman and the various deities which go to make up his animistic pantheism. Of course there is this difference that whereas the Jewish God, in the guise of a super being Jehovah, or the Great I Am, was anthropomorphic the Apa Tani gods are all spirits which pervade everything, and various spirits control nature in its behaviour towards human beings. This long and long awaited expedition to Licha was a solemn occasion and throughout the whole night of the 12th, 13th December Chige Nine and his acolytes kept up their prayers, the monotonous ring-song of their chanting rising and falling until dawn.

December 13th

Data—Jungle Camp—(5,500 ft. approx.)

Distance—6 miles (approx.)

Direction—North West.

We were called at 6-30 A. M. on a cold morning and as soon as the first promise of dawn appeared in the sky the porters started and shouting the portage song. Porter companies were being marshalled. Missing men were being sought for. Defaulter porters were being cursed and sent off to collect their full complement of men whose names had been recorded the previous day. Rats at the annoyingly irritable vagueness of the Apa Tani to whom terms means nothing, making a push forward. They are from Dasa who simply do not appear; anxiety over the scarcity of porters, all these emotions passed through my mind. How could we possibly undertake an expedition against a hostile and warlike group of Dafa settlements with such a rabble? I thought of the clockwork precision of columns on the North-West Frontier and my heart sunk. How could I hope to control such an ill disciplined rabble in an emergency? How would the Dadas of Licha react to our advance? Would they attack us and attack us in thick jungle? If they did there was going to be trouble. With the long line of heavily laden porters we were going to be a vulnerable target. Advance guards, flank guards and rear guards, why could not these be put out in the normal way you may well ask? My journey up from Joyjoy had shown me the impossibility of this. Flash guards would have to cut their own tracks which would make progress impossibly slow, and five yards to them would be out of sight of the main body. My only consolation lay in the magical powers attributed to the sepoys’ rifles.

As all this turmoil Chige Nine and his assistants carried on with their prayers but finally we were bidden to witness the final rites. As usual at the gate place we discovered a sort of bamboo lattice screen festooned with unfortunate chickens hanging in fluttering groups and tied by one leg. The main sacrifice however was a small black and white dog which sedated in a barred way as the chanting continued. Suddenly the白领 ended and the dog was instantly dispatched with a blow from a club which severed its head. One by one the chickens met their similar fate and their entrails were examined for omens. That seemed to be the signal for a wild dance of the Apa Tani warriors who in a curious crouching attitude, with spears raised as if to strike, danced round the place of jape making a peculiar deep humming sound resembling a large swarm of bees. The dog's head was at the same time thrown backwards and forwards through the lattice work. On enquiry I was told that this was retained to the currents on sight doors of throwing a dog's head to the verandah of the house to be raised thus keeping a heavy sledge on the part of the occupant.

In the same time the Special Officer's wife was performing protocols of organization and was getting the motley crowd of armed porters into some semblance of order. No one who has not had experience of distributing loads to a surging mob of excited tribal porters can realize the patience and energy it requires. Scrutishanders have to be rounded out, fights over loads have to be quelled and above all, false and premature starts in form of the advance guard have to be prevented.

The importance of this preliminary expedition against Licha was great. Until this matter had been satisfactorily disposed of I was unable to get on with the war. Licha, this group of Dafa settlements with its long and infamous record of killings, ravages and captures of men and marriage, has for many years been an outward from the Licha tribe and the Licha settlement is the great enemy of the Apa Tani villages of Haja, Duta and Bula. Only recently a party of 15 Apa Tani from Here, a laung4 of Licha village, had been surprised by 30 men at Licha while cutting them in the Apa Tani hunting grounds. This was a considered a great defeat by the Apa Tani. Six Apa Tani had been captured and they had been brought to the Bagi and Koro settlements of Licha. Licha has by now gained such a notorious reputation that it could terrorize the entire Apa Tani community. The Apa Tani, who on one occasion had tried unsuccessfully to make a request for their reconciliation to the emissary of Licha occupy an imperious strategic position and that it is impossible for them to attack Licha unnoticed. How far we were to be short of the real enemy.

Licha constituted my first real problem. All my attempts to get into touch with them in order to effect a peaceful settlement have failed and I have received defiant and threatening replays. It was clear that this was the chief reason why my Government was so eager to attack Licha. If of course we did not bring these big headaches of Licha and Licha to heel our position in the hill station of the remaining tribal groups would be severely damaged and the prestige and authority of Government.

4 A laung is a large village of which one might call a 'township' of an Apa Tani settlement. Nearly the same is the term used in meeting and stating places of some self-community in the village itself.
would suffer correspondingly. I had talked the whole matter over on many occasions and it was clear to me that unless these powerful village groups were dealt with at once it was useless trying to enforce the authority of Government over the smaller and more populous areas. How could I, for instance, inform Joanne, Teko, Pembe, and the Ama and the Amaape that they were not to raid if they themselves were being terrorized by the raiders of Litcha and Litcha?

Before describing the first day's march I think it would be as well to refer to some criticisms of the Amasa Rifles.

On this occasion the platoon marched in what is known as 'Flying Column' order. The idea of this is to render them as self-contained as possible for a short operation. This presents a problem which I feel requires a better solution than the present arrangement. The criticisms which I am about to make cannot fairly be laid at the door of the platoon which accompanied me. Captain Godfrey had his orders, and naturally had to carry them out, but such was the bulk and weight of the 'Flying Column' order that it rendered the individual rifles incapable of meeting a surprise attack. I asked him, therefore, for the man behind to assist the man in front to draw his hand. By the time he had got it in his hand the attack launched with speed, lean and possible complete surprise from the surrounding jungle, would have accomplished its purpose and I have no doubt that our casualties could have been worse in such close quarters fighting. The platoon carries itself as a whole very well. I can scarcely receive a more 'clean' and open all operation of this kind. It is comparatively heavy and cumbersome. In close jungle country it cannot quickly and usefully be brought into action. Against a village its use would have been out of the question and I would never have permitted it as its effect would have been altogether too indiscriminate to comply with the modern requirements of 'missionary force'. On the other hand Captain Godfrey informed me that there are Thompson Sub Machine guns, a weapon peculiarly suited to jungle warfare, in the headquarters of the 5th Battalion, Amasa Rifles, at Lokoja but that these could not be sent out with a dry detachment as there was only sufficient ammunition for practice purposes for the recruits which were being supplied to the regular Battalions serving with the XV IVth Army. Surely if the Amasa Rifles are to carry out these normal functions as the armed forces guarding, and maintaining the peace upon this Frontier, the forces serving with the Civil Authorities should not be starved, even in war time, in order that recruits in training for the regular forces should have practice. There is, as far as I am aware, no death of the type of ammunition in Amasa Rifles should be cut out, as any regular infantry should naturally exempt from the exigencies of this nature. This, I believe, is a subject which has been discussed in various channels, and that it may be proposed by what means the Amasa Rifles may be linked with the 'Military' Amasa Rifles. Something in the nature of the equipment carried by the Frontier Regular Corps on the North West Frontier Province modified it for use in rain-sodden jungles, but light, is what would seem to be required. I would further advocate the design of an improved green battle dress. The improvements I would suggest are -

1. Green shower proof battle dress jackets with a good collar which can be turned up in time of rain, reinforced shoulders, large hanging side pockets and buckling optionally as the waist.

2. Smooth thin reeling and shower proof long trousers of the mid-air type, i.e., buckling at the ankle over the boot, not hanging on the inside of the boot.

In addition I would suggest packs of the rucksack type and web nets for the hook. The present net issued to the men is more of a hindrance than a help as on the wet, slippery clays of these hillside it affords no grip whatsoever.

On the way up from Jophing it seemed to me that some of the younger men of the platoon were unfit, or at any rate untrained for hill work. As matter stands at present I fully realize that this is unavoidable as Lokoja is on the plains and the men cannot be given any training in the hills and consequently arrive in the hills unfit and untrained for hill work. I think it indisputable that the headquarters of the 5th Battalion, Amasa Rifles, should be moved to the whole region covered by the Amasa Rifles so that the major part of the work of the Amasa Rifles is, or should be, in the hills, and it is there that the recruits should be trained.

After the war I presume that officers will again be seconded from the regular Army to the Territorial armies of the British Empire. After the experiences of this war I think there is a strong case for the decentralization of this arrangement. In the early course of the campaign against the Japanese along the Eastern Frontiers of Amasa one read, time and again, of the lack of training of both officers and men in jungle warfare. By seconding officers from the regular Army to the Amasa Rifles it will be possible to train a good number of officers and men but who will also be in the position of being in close contact with the local country along the Frontiers of Amasa and of the languages. It can hardly be said that the seconding of the various Irregular Corps on the North West Frontier Province has not paid a rich dividend for there has always been a useless of officers highly trained in, and possessing an expert knowledge of, mountain warfare and the tribes inhabiting the North West Frontier. It has been often affirmed that one of the chief advantages of this region is that it provides the finest of all training grounds for the Indian Army in mountain warfare. The early set-backs of the XVIVth Army in the Arakan must surely have demonstrated the need of similar expert training in, and knowledge of, jungle warfare. Where could a better training ground be found than in the various areas for which the Amasa Rifles are mainly responsible?

Officers attached to the various Battalions would gain invaluable knowledge not only of the rough and ready improvisation required in jungle warfare but also of the North East Frontier, its numerous tribes and diverse languages. In any future emergency this knowledge would serve this country better than the ignorant showers of hostility whichJapan.

As a result of all the delays the column did not eventually leave Dita until 8 a.m. As first the path led across and then above the rice fields of the Ape Tania. Soon however began a long climb which in parts was steep. The jungle grew more and more dense until we reached the crest of the ridge and were left with a height of about 7,000 feet from whence the path ran down following the crest line of the ridge but always in a north west direction. Our progress was slow as I did not know if the men of Lokoja were not on our path. I had no idea whether the Lokoja men, who obviously must have known of our coming, would try to ambush us at some convenient spot in the thick jungle. I had to be on the alert for the whole path. Would they attack us as we were making our camp for the night? Would they try a night attack? I did not know. I knew nothing of these people and the Ape Tania considered anything possible. Every precaution had therefore to be taken.

We reached camp on the Goondi River, a small stream flowing south west at about 2.30 p.m. In these few days we began to grow dark soon, after 6 p.m. and, though our march had been only about 3 or 6 miles, it had been strenuous enough and there was no other possible camping site near at hand. We sat down about making the perimeter. All porters were made to dump their loads and clear the surrounding jungle of the smaller trees and thick undergrowth. The camp ace was far from good as there was little light
ground and the camp was overlooked from the north and south. Further the place was damp and marshy. However, there was no other place and we had to make the best of it. The perimeter, a sort of double entrenchment and sharpened underbrush, formed on a rise, and the trench farms, only served as a barrier against a sudden rush of savages but in the position we were in could afford no protection against attack. Our tents were hurriedly put up before it began to rain and a steady downpour continued until midnight. In the damp and chilly camp we were, I confess, rather apprehensive and miserable. Some jungle ticks and lice became very numerous during the period. However, in the open, the rain fell and with the rule, if damp, supply of wood were kept going all night. I was worried by ticks and lice and insects in the night. The camp had I had paid so much for at the Army and Navy Stores proved to be too low and it already began to sink into the mud. However, by dint of placing brushwood underneath I managed to keep about all the morning.

December 14th, 1944

1st Jungle Camp—2nd Jungle Camp. (5,000 ft. approximately)

Distance—6 miles (approx.)

Direction—North West.

We made to a world of damp fog and dripping jungle and after a hurried meal camp was struck and we started off at 8 a.m. The evening before we had held a long consultation with Chige Nine. He said that from here there were two possible paths one to the south west of the ridge and one to the north east. The latter was longer but was easier for the porters. I requested which was the more frequented path and he said it was the western most. I had therefore chosen the eastern most route as being the less likely to be plagued with baskets tangles. A steep hill led up from the camp which the night's rain had rendered dangerously slippery. On our left was a steep rise and up a steep hillside fence with creepers at a regular interval in it. This was told us by Awa Timi as having a ground. I was amazed at the labour the Awa Timi had expended in covering this barbwire, which must have been fully half a mile long and which consisted of many more cables stuck into the ground and missing each other. The height of the fence was about a foot. The path was said to be only one inch and was covered with dead leaves and tossed over the latter until they did not stick. This form of defenciness is highly extended.

The path had a steady gradient in a north west direction through the jungle which caused it to become more and more difficult every yard we advanced made it impossible for us to find our bearings. The path was not visible in this part and I was not afraid for as a clearing in the jungle which was the only room we could find in our retreats. The path was more than a path but was a mere break. The first and Koji Kere, our youngest Awa Timi interpreter, received a load and walked on his own. From then on the whole way to the next camp the jungle were encountered and before we reached camp we had all covered. Even for a few metres the path had not tried to discourage the use of this path which was well indicated in the Awa Timi country. That this form of clearing was common was apparent for the path became more and more overgrown and dirty. Since it proved out altogether and we advanced I was given to walk a path through the jungle in such a manner with a stick behind us and, as we began to descend again, an even more demanding form of high walking bushes began.

To my surprise the afternoon was on us to know for the next camp site was it was always the same answer 'One more mile'. I quickly realized that the local tribesman had no idea of exact distance. He measured by the number of lying places—on the path. Finally I took a change of scene and made for a known place from which I tell and pitch camp on the last assembly possible ground. However it was not until after four that a person we was searched. The path was covered with yellow sand and the sun was burning. The path to the next camp was a long and a long and in the camp was crowded. The path to the next camp was for a long time before we reached. The path to the next camp was long and a long. Since it proved out altogether and we advanced I was given to walk a path through the jungle in such a manner with a stick behind us and, as we began to descend again, an even more demanding form of high walking bushes began.

December 15th.

2nd Jungle Camp—3rd Jungle Camp Begi and back.

Distance—Camp to Camp—9 miles. 3rd Camp to Begi—1 mile.

Direction—Ye bed Camp North West, 3rd Camp to Begi South West.

Half way was to strike camp from Begi and get down a quinquis' block and river and made a new camp there. As we were in a position to make the camp and the porters would have their meal. I would then leave some action in the camp with key armed porters to complete the defensive arrangements and report same to scenes and scenes of the porters of the porters that leads to the request. The path for the porters was laid. I had ordered that no one would start before I did. Only very occasionally did we find a small meal among the quinquis' and river between the hills. I cannot that it was round the edge because some of us had not been into the river and were instead of getting to the other side. As we crossed the hills and as we continued the path we up a small ridge and there found the little spring which proved to be the upper spring of the Kagi river, a pretty limbered stream flowing over golden gravel.
View looking S.W. from Camp between BAGI and KIROM, December, 17th 1944.

Explanation:

A - Behind Shaded ridge - TAKHO (LIKHA-TEJI'S SETTLEMENT)
B - , , ,, across PANIOR - PEGABARI (LIKHA TEM and LIKHA TANA) and EMBINKOTA.
C - , , ,, HENTAM (LIKHA EKHN and LIKHA TABIA'S SETTLEMENT).

The furthest Horizon to the South (Beyond the PANIOR) is about Sixteen miles away as the crow flies (not as we walk) NYELOM is about 3 miles from our position.
The path now turned in a circle from north-west to south-west and we climbed up abandoned graves until we came to some particularly thick undergrowth in a narrow, steeply and enclosed valley. On the way up out of this dell we found the Bagi village was called place, which consisted of a large number of huts. When the hint was given, the dog was bared and the formal declaration of war and that the place at which such a dog was barked was the one selected for an attack. I must say I admired the magnetic skill with which the place had been chosen so from every aspect it favoured the attack and prevented us from making full use of our weapons. However there was no indication that met the situation. I did see that the place was impregnable. After the advanced guard had gone forward we moved down to the first house, a long typical Dale structure with its grain stores all around. As soon as we arrived I realized we were up against a problem. One man only remained in the village and from what he imagined to be safe distance across a valley he shouted defiance at us and almost dared us to approach further. There was no slightest semblance of repeasance in his attitude and I could not but help admiring his valour and ardor. I instructed the interpreter to reply that we had come to make a settlement and that all the houses must come out and that I promised them a safe conduct. The crude reply was that we should come at our leisure and that in time the supporter, members of the household, would have aftermath in time in order to defend and attack us? Would they come in? Were they proposing to ignore us and leave the village to us? That would be awkward. We waited for half an hour. Nothing happened. It was noon. I turned and my assistant agreed that it would be impossible to allow back two sections to write the camp, otherwise the men would return and we would not know them. In these cases it would be dark before we could arrive back. To retire and do nothing would be the signal of defeat. To stay without a cover was impossible. I had adopted the policy of allowing us to sit as an interrogator. They had refused all our efforts at negotiation and had met us with the utmost. Did other villages were awaiting the outcome. What was Government going to do? If it did nothing then there was no need to worry about the Sepoys who did us no harm. All they had to do was to run away until the Mahals had gone and then revert to their old residences. Government could do them no harm, nor were we going to allow them to go. I told the orders that the few men not for disemembler of Government orders, but for open disperser of Government. The front and the upper part of the village was left including the house, a big one, of Toko Bar’s youngest family’s family. Having turned the five men we returned again to the camp on the Pali River which we found ready and fully supplied. In the village, before reaching we had found an old woman and had asked into her that Government had no desire for war with Bagi but that Lichha must come to terms and attack a Mat with the Apra Tani. We had teased her kindly and had given her cigarettes and told her that we were coming back on the morrow and that the headman must come and discuss reparations for their past raids.

December 15th, 1944

L and Jungle Camp (4,560 ft. approx.)—Bagi (5,600 ft. approx.)

Distance... 5 miles (Approx.)

Direction... West.

All the way back to the camp yesterday and during the night we had neither seen nor heard anything of the Licha people. What did it all portend? Though I was tenacious by experience I was worried. At dusk we passed a special camp with a firing range and it was my hope that yesterday’s lessons would make the defunct Licha men more savage. Connected with the remaining two Sections and the porter were to follow us. We left camp at 7 a.m. and arrived on a commanding knoll on the ridge between Bagi and Karon at 9 a.m. After yesterday’s piquancy I could not escape a feeling of anti-climax. For a time we won’t wash the small water supply. I was very much distressed this day.

As we sat waiting for the deputation we discussed plans and plausible possibilities, but the evening brought no deputation from Karon and I was clear that they were holding it off with false promises in order to gain time to evacuate anything of any value from their encampment since to move their stores of grain and their living things. They were heads of a dog was bared and to devise means for keeping the plans. The destruction of a house is of little material consequence to a Dutch, for in a day or two, with unlimited time at his door he can repair the damage. The loss of prestige on the other hand was serious. The improbable Licha which had for so long enjoyed superiority in these beds and which had never, in living things, had a chance of even posters. It was a true. In the band of the headman, had suddenly been arrested. The headman, who was the core of the community, had been immediately up in the jungle without offering any resistance. Evidence cunning and guile is the Dutch’s strong suit. Unlike the Dutch, who do their business with courage as at Pagan, and, on being defeated, would come in and dismiss matters frankly, the Dutch vanishes perhaps in a very small way. I was worried, but the supply of provisions was ample. I expected the enemy to be somewhat of a menace, but it had been a barren victory. Politically, on the other hand, no progress whatever had been made. However, even though at Dutch itself no constructive progress had been made, the land as a whole has been given a demonstration of the power and determination of Government. If Licha can dishearten the Sepoys who can withstand them? As I get into my last bag I wondered what the morrow would bring.
December 17th, 1944

Bagi (5,000 ft. approx.)—Kirsm (5,000 ft. approx.) and back.

Distance ..... 6 miles approx.
Direction ..... West.

We were up early but still there was no move on the part of Kirsm. Licha Saha had been sent back to Kirsm the day before with the instructions to tell the headmen that we did not wish to cause trouble. All that Government however insisted was that they must come to meet us, and make a seat and that Nand Lali must be released at once. While we were having breakfast and were debating what had happened, Licha Saha and the headmen windowed the house. No shots were fired, and it was a sign of their good sense that I gave orders for an immediate advance to Kirsm taking the casualties with me. If Bagi had been formidable Kirsm was impressive. Three large spurs with steep sides ran down from the high wooded range to the south. At intervals on these ridges were situated the long houses of the Licha raiders. To my surprise the men who had been seen the day before were revealed by the ups and downs of the ground. Each Licha home is in reality a small community on its own. In it there may live a number of related families each occupying its own hearth.

We first came down the hill from the North-East to the house of Licha Saha and from this vantage point we could look down upon the three spurs on which were situated the other 17 houses of the settlement. From our position we could see groups of men moving in an unceasing manner discussing our arrival, and women hurrying away from the gymnasia with fabric loaded with grain. How true we had been in our estimates that Kirsm was merely playing for time. The Dinka obviously knew nothing of the range of a rule for they stood or sat in a comparatively unarranged manner save in the belief that any sign of an advance from us, they could equally save to the security of the jungle. A long period of argument ensued, we on our side using every art of persuasion to induce the headmen to come to us and discuss matters, and they on their part, meeting our demands with denial that any headmen remained in the village. Finally a ridiculous looking old man came to our position. He was dressed in rags and wore no hat and carried on his shoulders a gourd, a symbol of poverty. Esquimaux how ever elicited the fact that he was none other than Licha Saha, the owner of one of the longest houses in the village, and, before advancing years had put an end to his activities, one of the most notorious raiders of the whole area. The Apsu Tarin said that he was now one of the most influential headmen in the village councils and was the brains behind many a raid. Despite his age and appearance used to employ his nephew to do all his errands. I began once more explaining my object in coming to Licha and what Government required of the village. To all my questions he replied with an emphatic, "I don't know." He countered all my suggestions that he should negotiate with the other headmen by saying that he had no influence whatever in village councils and could not force the village headmen to come and meet us. However he did instigate the headmen of an unconvincing kind which produced no visible results. It appeared to be a deadlock, so I gave orders that the whole force should advance to the central spur. At that moment appeared another old man of a very different cast of countenance. His name was Toto Taxis and I at once nicknamed him Sir John Simpson. He made a loud proclamation in the headmen's language of man across the valley with equally negative results. So we advanced to the central spur and waited there until 3 p.m. without achieving anything. The Licha headmen with their black records and guilty consciences filled the spur into the jungle and through glasses we could see them furiously watching the progress of events from their safe asylum. I was consent to have come up against a brick wall; it was useless wasting longer as Licha showed no signs of thinking of coming to terms. I could actually see through glasses groups of young men discussing the position and laughing at our inability to force any decision. I therefore told Licha Saha and Sir John Simpson that we were going back to our camp and that we would come back in the morning. In the interval they must meet the other headmen and tell them that unless they came to discuss matters with us in the morning I would consider it as a further act of defiance to Government and, though Apsu Tarin to do so, I should be forced to burn their village as well. They replied as usual that they were no one to govern the village councils and preferred their inability even to meet the other headmen. They finally however agreed to pass on my message and leaving it at that position we returned home to our camp at Bagi.

December 18th, 1944

Bagi (5,000 feet approx.)—Kirsm (5,000 feet approx.) and back.

Distance ..... 6 miles approx.
Direction ..... East-West.

Bagi (5,000 feet approx.)—Nyiredum (4,250 feet approx.)

Distance ..... 6 miles approx.
Direction ..... South.
View looking S.W from Camp between BAGI - KIROM 17/12/44.

Explanation: all hills covered with heavy jungle
The path from BAGI-NYELOM follows 'A' (Tributary of KIYI)
5 miles as we go.
The path from NYELOM-TALO follows long spur and over crest of PAD PUTTU & then 5.1 miles
further to the South. Distance from NYELOM to top of PAD PUTTU
about 3.5 miles as one walks (very steep).
View looking S.W. from camp between Dagi and Kiron, December, 17th 1944.

Explanation:
A - Behind Shaded ridge - Takho (Likha Teji’s Settlement)
B - , , , and across Paniar - Pegabari (Likha Tem and Likha Tana) and Embinkota.
C - , , , Bentam (Likha Ekhin and Likha Tabia’s Settlement).

The farthest horizon to the South (Beyond the Paniar) is about sixteen miles away as the crow flies (not as we walk) Myelon is about 3 miles from our position.
I therefore told Licha Saha that my patience was exhausted and that he must go back to his friends and tell them that if they did not come in to discuss matters within half an hour I would understand from their attitude that they preferred war with Government to peace, and that not only would I burn their village but would also do so every year until they came to their senses. Licha Saha went off leaving his son and Nyedom Taria as hostages. I explained that Sani Dad had not been returned as promised by the negotiators who had come with Licha Rebba, I had no option but to keep them until the captured man had been returned. Twenty minutes passed and nothing happened. The men in the village stood with arms folded in an attitude of defiance for only 18 minutes to go till the hour. When the half hour was up I gave orders for five houses to be burned. The 18 houses in the village are owned by:


The houses which were burned belonged to the men with the blackest records as reported by the Apa Tania. They were those of Gemi Purba, Licha Tedi, Licha Tedi, Toko Pamyu and Licha Tedi. Licha Saha was told that his house had been spared as he had come forward as a potential negotiator.

It might possibly be argued that I had carried out paragraph 4 of my directive and obeyed my orders by putting out one cost-post of the Asante Rifles in Licha the village would have been forced, eventually, to have come to terms, and that by burning five houses in the village first of all referring the matter to Shilong. I had been guilty of a double degree of treachery. To the few critics who have made these remarks I said:

The scene was very poor and the women and men were none of us had indeed on some occasions, apart from keeping a weather eye on us, went about their normal avocations. Only the guilty handwriting had left and even if the Sections had been camped near there was nothing to prevent the headmen returning at midnight to the camp and saying that we were always in the way and that we were killing the village. All the village would have been necessary was for the headmen to have gone to the jungle until we had gone again. The fields of the villagers were scattered throughout the surrounding jungle and it would have been impossible, with the force at my disposal, to have exerted any economic pressure on the villagers by sending a cost-post or any other means, even if the Section were not in the jungle. It was upon these facts that I have to have remained in Licha for the whole year to the abandonment of the remainder of the programme. The villagers would never have come to submission.

I disagree with your assessment of this as an instance of the neglect of the jungle. As time went on and the Sections took no effective action against the village I have no doubt whatever that the headmen would have returned and the cost-post would have been possible for some unless I have been made in which case either myself or the Special Officer would have had to be present with interpreters.

Secondly, if two Sections had been posted in Licha, the L.C of C through thick jungle in, as ir was, enemy territory would have invited an attack on our supply convoy. This would have accelerated the disintegration of two further Sections as escort to main convoy, again to the abandonment of the remainder of our camp. I believe that the latter will have been a more effective way of clearing the area. After weighing up the above, it was realized that it would, at this stage, be impossible to establish such a cost-post in hostile territory dependent as it would be on a veldt and immense L.C.

To the same critics I would add in my defense that the directive put me in an impossible position. From the point of view of the men at Licha we were in a very dangerous position, even if the unreliable cost service between Jowing and Shilong were at its best it would take at least four days from Jowing to Shilong. It would therefore as the most optimistic calculation make a month for a supply to reach us from Shilong. Was I expected to camp inactive outside Licha in the midst of potentially hostile territory for a month, while a decision had not been reached as to whether a report I submitted, was reached in Shilong as to whether I was justified in taking passive action against Licha or not?

The success of Licha and Licha has been, as long as memory lasts, terrorized the smaller villages of the Dima and Ama Tania country. Until these bushmen and rustlers and poachers are tamed and, so pacificated, as I have already pointed out, will be possible. Circumstances therefore as I see it the directive handed to me at Chandram from my Excellency, I trust that my position in Licha will be both understood and appreciated, and, to equally impossible situations may well arise in the future, I respectfully expect your support in this responsibility in order to bring about a much-needed and justified change of conditions. That mapless, unknown and hitherto unexplored country may not have to be taken with an inevitable delay with the most of the more difficult and exacting task of obtaining prior sanction from my Excellency for any decisive action I may have to take with an inevitable delay in each case.

An old Licha Magi and Kijana we could see the village of Nyedom on a flat spur to the South of our position. Yesterday evening I had sent messengers to Nyedom informing them that I intended paying them a friendly visit. After burning the five houses we therefore returned, at 11 A.M., to Nyedom and at once started for Nyedom. In our absence at Kijana the camp had been visited and all loads were parked and the doesn't from the previous journey lay in the middle of the river. We crevied and recrusted this stream several times by telling trees across to serve as bridges. In the valley through was the last extremely where secondary people had grown up on old jungle. As we climbed into the valley we saw, on Jowing back, that the Licha villages were burning the remnants of our last camp which was incidentally largely constructed of their own timber! That we were told was a symbolic act to show what would happen to us if we returned.

On coming into sight of Nyedom we went down and went forward towards examining among them our good-will and peaceful intentions and after a certain amount of hesitation we were met near the village and were taken in a poor camp site just down the nearest houses. Water was the main problem, it being scarce, that we were evidently forced to go to the village and to procure our own water and supply, and the discomfort of having to go a long way for their water, to a less easily defended position nearer a good water supply. As Nyedom is situated at a cross-roads from Licha and Licha this is hardly surprising. Nyedom is a big village situated on a spur which runs down from North-East to South-West. The village consisted of several houses and was enclosed by a narrow belt of trees. The houses were made of mud and were all in poor condition. Four houses were of adobe, and the remainder of a light construction in brushwood and mud. In the village our arrival had obviously put the people in a quandary. They had, of course, seen the Licha burning across the valley and, despite our customary promises, were uncertain of our intentions. Possibly however a charming woman came down to see our camp and led us by the hand to the house of Nyedom Sera, a well-built structure consisting of 11 hearths inside. Nyedom Sera was away at the time e Licha on business. I thought it best not to require too closely what business might be,
However we were hospitably entertained with 'goppa' (millet beer) and I explained once more at length why the houses of Licha had been burned and said that it was not the Sierre's wish to make war against anyone.

All that was insisted on was that raiding, killing, and the capturing of slaves should cease, so that small villages could be put to rest. The people of Licha had said we wished to settle and we held a Mela in the near future either at Jaron or Toho and that as they were at the moment friendly with Licha they should explain matters to the headmen of Bigi, Tabola and Kivome. My audience all agreed that Licha had a bad reputation and had acted wrongly in defying Government and said that they would do what they were requested to do, as there was no reason to suppose that the large that they usually held would go round, that provided they were given a friendly reception, the Government party were friendly enough.

After some more conversation we left in an amosphere of cordiality.

December 19th, 1946

Nyelson (4,250 feet approx.) — Toko (3,500 feet approx.)

Distance: ... 9 miles (approx.)

Direction: ... South-East.

Revelle was at 6:30 A.M. and we finally started out soon after 7 A.M. All the guides said that it was a long and tiring march and so it proved to be. From Nyelson we descended into a small, steep-sided valley and thence for a short way up a small stream which from Bigi and Kivome is the junction which it seems a rare event. The people of Licha had been a small caravan which I had managed to borrow, my own donkey-plemsen team having been handed over to the Army in 1940. From Dita to the third junction our deviation was in general North-West. From that camp to Bigi and Kivone the deviation was due West and from Bigi to Nyelson the deviation was due South. We kept the high ridge on the left and descended to our north, high ridge to the North-East of us and were told that between our route and the ridge to the North-East of us followed a tributary of the Kivi river, which, as shown in Map Sheet 23E, flows into the Pumor River. Moreover on the other side of the ridge along which we had advanced was the main river to the South-West of us to which we were on the central of three almost parallel ranges. Now we had our ridge and the map to the South-West showed another tributary of the Kivi river. Further between jungle Camp 3 and Bigi we had found a small stream which was said to be the upper waters of the Kivi. In fact all the valleys around Bigi and Kivome are part of the Kivi river system. To reach Bigi and Kivome from Dita we had travelled some 18 to 15 miles in a North-West direction and you were still in the Kivi basin. In more close description, that the small sheet above 2500 feet, near the Pumor river from the village reached Pit Plotre on Square C2, to its mid sheet source is wrongly mapped. Where now the course of the Pitom runs horizontally across the map should to the Kivi river system and in clear that the high route running horizontally across Square C3, is bordered by the small sheet G3 and the white line of Belief 106 and that the white line of Belief 106 and that 4 and the Kivi river. I suggest that Nyelson village lies about 2 or 3 miles north-west of Kamif 786, and that this settlement of Licha lies just a mile from Nyelson and Kivome lies 3 to 4 miles from West of Bigi. It must be remembered that in calculating Toho as 9 miles from Nyelson we pass from Nyelson at the first junction from Dita and then off the main road in the Pumor range to the North-East. As the crowd rises and on the map, the distance would not be more than 6 or 7 miles which would make the position of Nyelson correct as above.

The village of Toho, which I discovered should be called Tiko, is the largest Dita village I have ever seen. There must be well over 20 houses in this picturesque place. It was obviously a wealthy village which is supported here. On the contrary, the whole of their area was a depression of being poor, exhausted land. Everywhere punning appears to have been carried out with too short a cycle of rotation so that from Mai to August across the whole bowl of the east river system to the little North-West of Tiko the rejuvenation of crops has apparently disappeared and I am not even sure that the apparent poverty is either real or man-made. On our way down, Nyelson from Tiko I was aware of a change in the geology of the land. Instead of boulders, shales and clays I had found quartzite granite and quartz gravel. It is possible therefore that this area was once covered with the natural fertility of the neighbouring river valleys and once the passage was cut the soil had not the same power of recovery. However that may be the village of Tiko lies on all the signs of prosperity passed through the village we found a good but small camp near the North-East of the village itself. On our arrival we were met by a somewhat uncultivated woman consisting of women and small boys. Introducing the description was Toho Yovum, the able and intelligent father of Toho Bi, the leading man of the village. Tiko Bi was a man of some years and had no sons to us. It appears that he was a chief at some time in his country they had met Toho Yovum who had visited them but his son had always remained behind. On December 19th, Tiko Yovum had raised us at Dita and on being asked why Toho Bi had not accompanied her had replied that he was too old to make the journey. On the arrival of Yovum therefore we were asked whether he could explain to us only to be told that he had no son to lead and we could not drink with him until Toho Bi came to visit us. Our reason now is that he was in Licha while others denied this and said that he had never been to the plains and had never seen a Sahib he was frightened. However he was a man of great wealth and importance he was brought to meet him. Toho Bi is a very friendly and hospitable person and I hope to have him one day for a real man, and he is said, to have been raised during his ascendency in village councils. I rather suspect however that the real brains and force of character is supplied by Yovum. Such a man with apparently few enemies, with wealth, power and wide-spread influence could be of the greatest assistance and I was therefore anxious he should meet. Yovum said then that he was expected back shortly and I was left with a mere promise to meet him. As Tiko was neutral territory to many moving villages I consider that it will be a suitable place for a grand Mela where villages with feasts and rival chiefs can discuss matters in safety under the protection afforded by the Sinar. I therefore decided that a 'dizgem meet' should be held in Tiko starting on January 1st and lasting possibly for ten days. We discussed matters and I came to the conclusion that it
would be a good thing to select two sites sufficiently far from the village for the establishment of a camp for ourselves and tents for the Assam Rifles. It was arranged that Haimondorf and two sections of the company would go to the site selected by the Assam Rifles and the personnel the 22nd or 23rd. We could then have a few days' rest and reconnoissances after our trip. Haimondorf could deal with the remaining problems for January in Ditsa and I would make preliminary arrangements for the rest and would select the camp sites and would coordinate our position as far as possible with the Duits of Tilio.

December 31st, 1944
Halt Tilio

After making the final payments to the Ditsa porters Haimondorf left for Ditsa with all the Apa Twins at about 11:30 a.m. In the afternoon Coulter and I reconnoitred the neighbourhood for a suitable semi-permanent camp site. We found suitable sites on two adjoining knolls and I arranged with some Tilio men for 500 bamsus to be cut and brought in from the jungle, a distance of some three miles, the price being 50 per luan. This is now high as in this particular vicinity bamsus are scarce. In the meantime the Assam Rifles were setting the site and were told to clear it and build a post. The more I explore the more I am impressed with what we will achieve as the site on our march. The Assam Rifles in the first place Tilio occupies a very central position for the Panzer valley region. Flows it all points in the northwestern area with an easy road to Tel, Po, Pachur, Luan, Yol, Jola (Paci Yan on the map) and Nyaham can all be reached in one day. Lians, Lipe, Pic and, to the North, Lams are all within two days' march of Tilio. Further, being away from the jungle the place is not unhealthy. These enquiries I have made. I learn that malaria is unknown; the diseases occur only occasionally in the rains and that location is far from these elsewhere. The place faces south and are well drained and the sun of the Assam Rifles permanent the sun and water being particularly good and seem to prefer the place to Ditsa where their camp is rather crowded. Above all, as I believe will be the case, the essential motor road for the opening up of this area follows the Panzer Valley the local communication. It appears that this will provide excellent road making material. On my reconnaissance I saw a long great slippery slope upon backed up by a good area of level which I believe will prove an ideal situation for as much as a Battalion of Assam Rifles and I intend to visit the place tomorrow.

December 23rd, 1944
Halt Tilio

It was not long before the effect of my remarks of last night became apparent, for early this morning Toko Yoyam and Toko Husband, Tiko Bita's eldest son, came with many apologies saying that Tiko Bita had not been well the night before. They said that he had now recovered and asked me to accompany them to their house. So taking an interpreter and two brass bowls as a preliminary present with me I went off again to Tiko Bita's house.

As the far end of the veranda was a large room of people and seated on the floor of this sort of court was Tiko Bita looking rather sheepish. I must say I was somewhat disappointed. Tiko Bita is a well built man just beginning to gray around the temples; he somehow did not look the part. He did not smile at me and the great man had a set look on his face. From my call with him I found him to be a bit reserved, not very open, and not very hard. He was perhaps not as much as he appears in his great wealth and reputation for peaceful living. Frequently he is employed as a 'いつも' (site) in between and inter-village disputes and feuds. And it is for this reason that he occupies such a position. In Tiko Bita's Yoyam's combination might prove to be of value to me in the future as a basis for peace and order in the village. Our time of communication from Toko Bita's was associated with some rather cold and unprompted discussion about the general conduct of Government in the area. In the village, the villagers would dearly love to learn something of the advantages of peaceful living. Perhaps if we could arrange for some sort of communication from Toko Bita's we could use this to our advantage. The idea was, however, worth taking. I noticed some day after day was the situation and wondered.

I began my speech carefully selecting my words and seeing that my interpreter understood my meaning before I spoke. I explained that it was the intention of Government to extend it's influence and power permanently into these hills with the object of bringing peace to the people. I enlarged on the advantages that would follow such a move. I promised to the present unhappy scene of affairs which was the result of some large number of disputes over small matters. Lawsuits were decided in favor of the large owner groups against the smaller neighbors. Inmates of men were killed, villages were razed and land was taken; men and women were captured and sold into slavery and murder and thefts were not uncommon. This state of affairs was really to the advantage of none for even the powerful suffered repressions. I held out before the audience the prospect of a peaceful land where progress and prosperity could be possible. It was a difficult task. It must be remembered that most of my audience and never seen even a piece of wood and was seen as a pet. I had seen the most of my audience never seen even a piece of wood and was seen as a pet. I had seen the
I am becoming more and more taken with this place and believe that it will not be too difficult to bring up a motor route from the plains of Pai and the Panier and Pum Rivers to Tito. Looking at the map with all its blank spaces of unexplored territory. I can envisage a main artery of communication following the Panier and Kiri valleys and going over the saddle into the Pilla River flowing North into the Kura. Though such an undertaking will be expensive, if military and defensive considerations predominated, then we will have to be undertaken. I am at present reading a book lent to me by an American officer. It is by Walter Lippmanns who writes intelligently on America's relations with the other Powers in the post-war world. The book is entitled 'U.S. War Areas' and deals more with the preservation of the peace after the war than with the prosecution of the war itself. With regard to China I quote an extract which seems to me to be relevant. "If Owen Lattimore, who is a tried-and-true friend of China, is right in thinking that the new China which has come in the Yangtze River but in the deep Western hemisphere, that the industrialization of China will be firmly based in the heart of the country", then when China is freed from the Japanese wraps she will be metabolically independent of us. 'The U.S.A., China's vital relations in foreign affairs will lie with her neighbours on her land borders—Russia, and eventually with India. Are we justified in hoping that these 'real' relations will always remain pacific? If not are we justified in imagining antagonisms across this North-East Frontier of Asia?"

The pacification of these hills and the extension of our administrative control will be impossible without communications. Once beyond the Ano Tani country, dependence upon tribal porters will be continually unnecessary, and the need for the Angames and for the Angames will be less and less, for the development of the whole of the Kura, Kiri, and Pai will be in a position to provide the required number of men for any more than a single day's journey from their own homes. Tribesmen in the Kura and Karam valleys are said to be in touch with far beyond their own village land. What I envisage is an advanced post of communications consisting of small military expeditions going forward and for making friendly contact with the tribes further up in the hills and behind their advance parties the machinery of administration advancing with the road. Once roads and bridle paths are built the prevailing village isolation will gradually disappear, and, with the arrival of the permanent framework of administration, improvements can be introduced and the blessings of peace and security, if not of civilization, will be appreciated.
I looked at the curious wrinkled, bowl-shaped valley of the Pein river with its slow, grass-covered hills and my thoughts were bled in the future. What lay in store for these primitive but likable people? Were they destined for a life of exploitation from the plains of Asun? Would the Man and the money-landlord cannon their avaricious sentinels into these hills and, if even the measure of prosperity which now existed? Would the plenius, the petty Government official and the contractor, battle on this hill, or would Government, with the experience of past mistakes behind it, preserve these tribemen from the defects of our administration in other parts of the country? For produce, fruit, vegetables, wood, hides and fur, and other local produce, all these, with the advent of communication and transportation, will feed their way down to the plains in exchange for iron, salt and the manufactured products of modern India. Could not this trade be controlled by Government who, on a co-operative basis, and capitalizing on the enthusiasm of these small proprietors; purchase the produce of these hills and could, through a Government agency, sell them in the plains thus removing the Marwar and the Aman and removing any danger of economic exploitation? This would be in keeping with the modern ideas of Government direction and partial control of industry.

So I thought as I climbed the spur to gain a vantage point. In my diary of the 13th December I had mentioned the inevitability of keeping the Training Battalion of the Asun Rifles in the plains at Lika. Here at Tilio I think I have found an ideal place for a Training Centre for at any rate the third portion of the Asun Rifles responsible for this portion of the Frontier. I realize, of course, that this is largely a matter of finance. I have no idea how much the Government of Inda are prepared to lay out on the framework of administrative control for these hills. I feel, however, that for many years to come an Armed Police of some kind will be necessary in this area. In my opinion, what is required is a force which would be something of a mixture between the Frontier Constabulary and the Frontier Irregular Corps on the North-West Frontier. But whatever the form which this force will take I think that it should be recruited from among the tribes found on the North-East Frontier. Thus it will be created a body possessing a detailed knowledge of the topography of this difficult country and an intimate understanding of local tribal customs through daily contact with the tribemen themselves.

December 23rd, 1946
Tilio—Dita
Distance—6 miles Approx.
Direction—North East.

We broke camp at Tilio and left for Dita at 9:45 A.M. I felt that we were entering to a few days at our half Headquarters for a Chiragun run and reorganisation. I was particularly interested to see whether it would be possible eventually to build a bridle path and later a motor road from Tilio to the Agu Tai country by following the existing path between the two areas.

At our first path ran along the right bank of the lovely Pein stream rushing down through its bearded, tropic bed. Twenty minutes after leaving camp we crossed the stream and immediately started a steep climb up to the spur. There was a clear distinction between the two hills on the spur. At first I thought the spur would present a difficulty but on reaching the top of the hill and looking back I was amazed. What by taking the path further up the valley and bringing it back South Westwards up the hill side the hill could be ascended the Dita path and the projected track for the road would again meet at the edge of the jungle on the top of the spur. Ons the jungle the existing path runs along a low ridge and a road could be constructed along the line of the existing path with very little cutting and filling and with the construction of no more than one or two culverts. The road would follow the existing path for a further two miles almost due North until a point is reached where the present path drops steeply down a narrow notch of the spur leading into the Agu Tai. Here it is clearly to have a motor road for the only way one could get down the spur would be by a series of hairpin bends which in the soft clay of the hills would be impossible. Although I had no time to go and reconnoitre, I believe that if following the ridge due Northwards for another mile one could reach another larger and more grass spur down which a road could be taken. The route would emerge into the Agu Tai valley North of Dita.

It was a great pleasure to get back to a roof over one's head again at Dita. I found the camp flourish and the ration problems satisfactorily solved after much anxious thought.

December 26th, 1946
Hali Dita

It is very pleasant to get back to a roof again even if it is only a grass one. These bamboo huts however are not nearly as warm as a tent but it is necessary to have one's few belongings around one's self more and if one keeps the fire going in the hearth one manages to keep pretty warm. The day was spent in paying off porters checking stores, collecting and clearing ground stores which had been issued to the Agu Tai who had accompanied us, and dealing with the correspondence which had accumulated since we had left. Office work however is difficult because one never has any privacy. There is always a crowd of ineptive tribemen outside one's hut wanting to sell or buy or see things and to the Agu Tai there is no such thing as the owner's house. They just walk straight in. Dita has a peculiar raw cool all of its own and it is far colder here than it was in Tilio.

Before I had left Dita for the trip to Licha I had written to the Adviser to the Governor, Mr. Mills, saying that in my opinion it was going to be impossible to retain the present outposts at Dita. In the first place the Asun Rifles had no Medical Officer and it was impossible to expect our Sub-Asians at Saurawa, excellent though he was, to remain in the hills throughout the year without any leave and without the proper medical attention any man might require. On the second hand, during the winter months it would have been necessary to raise at least 600 extra tribal porters. Had I been given sufficient personnel perhaps it might have been possible, but even so with the present state of communication in this area the mere presence of a Platoon of Asun Rifles in Dita would have been of no use, even in the rains they would have, lie in their own hair. Any port can permanently be retained in these hills it will also be necessary for better communication to be built for these. The temporary native which they now occupy in Dita would be too cramped and too exposed to the weather during the months of the monsoons. So far I have had no reply to this letter but I presume that it will take months to get a decision on the matter which will have to be referred to the General Affairs Department in New Delhi.
December 26th, 1944—Christmas Day
Hail—Dina

This is the most extraordinary Christmas I have ever spent. The world of the Christian festive season to be so utterly divorced from the one in which I am living. Only the four of us, the Haimendar, Cookboy, and myself at all drawn together to the whisperings, and music, and unholy. Only the cold air as a continual reminder. It raised most of the day and the clouds were quite down on the top of the high plains outside the camp but we managed to have an extraordinarily good Christmas lunch with a tanned pudding, rum punch and Cyprian wine to recapture some of the spirit of the season.

December 26th, 1944
Hail—Dina

Christmas was but a short lived affair and today we were back at the interminable ration and porty problems. Here in the Apar Tea country with its dense population and compact villages the problem are not insurmountable ones. A total is sufficient trouble and necessitates some time to them, but how we are going to remain static in areas where villages are small and scattered is a problem which offers no easy solution. It must always be remembered that as long as we are dependent on tribal groups we are dependent upon the good will of the population for our mobility. As long as we are so entirely dependent on their good will we cannot be expected to administer for we cannot impose any unpopular decisions or orders on Government. If Government control is in these hills is to become permanent and real we must be able to act independently of the government will of the local headquarters against whom it may be necessary to take action for inter-village raiding.

December 27th, 1944
Hail—Dina.

As the weather had seemed yesterday to be on the usual we decided today to make an excursion to Donka, the 7,000 ft. peak, to the North East of Bula. On December 24th Kalappa, the Survey Officer, had told us that he would like to see the country on the next day and had cleared on the spot so many of the things he made his observations. We thought therefore that we should be able to obtain a good view Northwards towards the Khara. Accordingly we left camp at 7:30 a.m. on a clear fine morning with the whole Apar Tea Valley, as usual, ashamed in a chilly fog. As we climbed, the lower slopes of the hill and the remains of the snow we could look back on the whole valley and the snow fields of Bilgaising, the green hills of Bilgaising, the snow fields of the main Himlaya range. The lower range, line upon line, were seen hidden in swirling cloud. Behind here, there and there, clear against the pale blue winter sky stood out the sharp, jagged peaks of the yellow snow. Kalappa pointed out the two highest, Bapi and Kama (25,188 ft.) and Chhanna (22,000 ft.) and said that both were either in this range or the Mahal and range of, and, as the snows, some distance away. Between us and the high on top of the other, the Kamasa and the Sehuanat each covered by fine layer of snow covered hill. I remembered the view we had obtained from the aircraft, and remembered what the snows, wrinkled converse, really represented on the ground. The snows were quite of hard marching away. I felt like almost viewing the promised land, though in fairness to him and myself I had to admit that I had not yet wandered forty years in the wilderness.

Feaster as usual we could see patches of cultivation on the South West slopes of the next range but one. These were identified as being the fields belonging to the villages on the North bank of the Khara; Bula, Bandola, Tena, Bansa and Talwala. There they lay spread out before us seemingly as close and yet we knew that at the most optimum calculation they were four or five days away.

On one way down plans began to formulate. The idea at this time would be to take about 10 days. The return journey to be made the same way up with a time spent in the surrounding villages around Lhaka and Kalappa. Lhaka had a good reputation for farming and it would therefore be necessary to stay some time in the area and, if possible, leave an outstation of the Apar Tea there under Cookboy to remind the Lhaka people that Government not only had the power to visit them but also, if necessary, to post an outpost there permanently. We decided that Cookboy should stay there until the end of March. In the mean time Haimendar and I would visit Charna, Penqa, Bula, and Khara with one section of Apar Tea. It was decided that we could not take more than we would have to be on tribal patrols, it would be possible to go into small and widely separated villages to collect enough potatoes for any more than a small recompense. Haimendar and I would stay on in the Khara area until the end of March when I would return to Dina leaving Haimendar on the Khara for the months of April and May in order to work at anthropology and so cement the friendships we had already made. I would close the camp at Dina and take the staff, hospital and trade goods down south with me to Penqa. The Apar Tea under Cookboy would also leave Lhaka at the same time and would also come to Penqa. Cookboy and myself with one section of Apar Tea would then move the Penqa valley and I would hear and settle disputes there and the remainder of the Apar Tea would be evacuated with the staff to Joyning arriving there about the middle of April. The reason for this earlier evacuation of all unnecessary escort and stuff from Dina is the almost unanswerable difficulty of collecting potatoes willing to travel to the plains at that time of the year when not only will the cold bring snows but also the rains by then have begun to bring rains.

Mundung Tuk, the collection headman of Mundung Tuk's village, against whom we had to take stern measures before we left for Lhaka is now very cooperative and often visits the camp. We are now given the greatest difficulty that we ever managed to obtain from a men from the village. This is a good example of the fact that a show of force provided it is made at the psychological moment and is not excessive, has a telling effect among those people. A combination of pressure, quick and sharp reception against any definite policy is what is required and seems to be understood and appreciated. If one has to have a quarrel one should adopt a tone of child-like in a quiet and unassuming fashion to be understood and appreciated. The very fact that these people can easily revert from war and raiding to apparent peaceful co-operation and trade, and the wanton lack of bitterness which remained captives retain towards their captors, all seems
to show that the individual, was not for the tradition of revenge, for even when what his women tell expect of him, is not prone to harshness. In this respect their moral attitude towards past wrongs, real or imagined, is very akin to that of the Irish. It is the tradition to keep grudges. The memory of past injuries. Remove that tradition on, so in the case of the Irish-Americans, remove the individual from the harshly contaminated atmosphere of his native surroundings and the almost antithetical strain for revenge gradually disappears.

Though the moral standards of the people differ very markedly from our own, he would be an unwise man who, for that reason, condemned them. After all social morality is only a set of rules of conduct, formed by communities and communities have that rule. The law of the land, with the object of regulating to the best advantage of the community as a whole, the relations of one individual with another. For a law to be good, it has to take into consideration common sense and convention, the degree of advancement of the community and many factors on the climate and geography of the community. And, for the reasons and for other reasons, the laws of the Roman Law in Latin is considered with Northern European countries. We shall have nothing to do if we try, too rapidly or too drastically, to alter the system of tribal customary conventions before we have held time to study and understand it. The thought that the Indian Penal Code and its attendant, and highly unattainable, codes of law may one day penetrate into their society and codes may be told to, that are far too complex for a primitive community. I have already come to the conclusion that, given any encouragement, these people would take more readily to legislation even than the average Indian of the plains.

December 20th—31st, 1944
Hub—Dita

As it was clear that on our next expedition we were likely to be away from Dita for some considerable time, this period was spent in making advance administrative arrangements for the next three or four months. I had to do this in such detail and much care that the least from one’s base one cannot afford to make any mistake, for to correct, such an error will take a fortnight and during that time, if rations are short, one may be in danger of starving. It must be remembered that it is difficult to obtain even the barest minimum of supplies in these hills. In order to work out a way of working, one has to know, where to keep a table of stock, it will be at any given moment. One has to work out, in tours, the number of rations which will be required, in order to get these rations up by porter transport, where one will be most likely to find a porter, how many rations must be set aside for the porter himself, how much money will be required in hard cash for the payment of porters, and how many loads of such goods will be required so that the porters may be able to exchange their coins for goods, and a host of other details all of which has to be co-ordinated into a monthly programme.

Porters, whether tribal or permanent labour corps, are all members of Companies of one Sikhs and 23 mounts. The reasons for this figure is that at the time when the 23, etc., is added to the main rice rations the whole will weigh 25 kg.; the porter load. This 25 kg load will feed one company of one tire and 23 men for one day. When therefore it is calculated that a total quantity of rations will be required at a given place at a given time, one has first to estimate how long it will take to get this consignment from the base to the front. That is necessary in order to calculate the number of porters’ rations for the two-way journey will be required. Once the number of porters, both for the consignment and for the porters’ rations, has been calculated, one has to reduce this figure to companies per village. Sikhs have then to be sent for and if they don’t come interpreters have to be sent to the particular village to fetch them. Once arrived the sikhs are told that they must collect a company of 22 men from their village and take it to the base (either Dita or wherever we may happen to be) to have the names recorded. The names are recorded in a "sikhs book" in which the following information is also inserted:

1. exactly what loads are to be sent up from Joying by the particular company of men,
2. whether they are to be paid for the return journey in Joying or whether they will be paid on return to the hills,
3. exactly to where the rations have to be sent,
4. how many blankets and ground sheets have been issued to each man,
5. how much cloth and salt, etc., may be paid in Joying to each man,
6. the number of loads of rations that should be issued in Joying for the consignment of the porters on the way.

Similarly on the arrival of a convoy from the plains prompt action is required. Loads have to be checked with the yard book. Blankets and ground sheets have to be collected and payments, if necessary, made to the porters and records kept on proper account receipts. From this it can be seen that when one has a place base and a hill base from which one is owned almost every other man, it is necessary to keep large sums of money in hard cash at each, for conveyees arrive without any warning, there being no wireless or other quick means of intercommunication. There should clearly be a responsible officer at each to deal promptly with problems as they arise. So far we have been lucky but how long is it going to be before mistakes occur which will result in us being faced with starvation in these hills, or before large amounts of cash will go missing? It cannot be denied that the temptation to embezzle these sums to which we have with me? 89 Annam Rida under a British officer, the Special Officer and his wife, the Political Agent, the Sub-Assistant, Surgeon, and a comptroller, five interpreters, two transport supervisors, a trade depot clerk in Dita, and some 150 permanent labour corps to feed and organise. The Miki Mmoon which issued these hills in 1911-12 with not much larger a force had at first 3 and later 8 officers, three or four of whom were made entirely responsible for the administrative arrangements.

I hope I may be forgiven if I say that in my opinion this whole expedition has been ill-conceived. Had I not been sent to Saffina I should have realised this before starting off. Our base at Joying is quite inadequate for the size of the expedition. The two clerks working there now are sleeping, eating and working in one room. While I realize that the arrangement whereby we are using an abandoned Tea Assamite’s bungalow on Joying Tea Estate is a temporary measure, even this is quite inadequate for the place. There are no quarters for the staff to live in with the result that they cannot have their families with them and are forced to bear extra expense for which they receive no compensation of any kind. It is perhaps unfortunate for the immediate accommodation of store which have to be kept in order.

The staff is altogether inadequate. I should have at least a fully qualified and responsible Head clerks and a lower division clerk to perform the normal office work, an accounts clerk, a permanent Labour Corps, to deal with the rationing, clothing and payments of the permanent Labour Corps and to be
January 2nd, 1945

Dūtā (5,100 ft.)—Talo (4,500 ft.)

Distance—64 Miles.

Direction—South West.

We left Dūtā at 11 a.m. on a bright morning leaving all the Anam Rifles behind. Thān I felt a necessary precaution, at any rate at first, as I suspected that some of the more remote and suspicious headmen from the district would be advised to try to prevent the arrival of the police. We had reached the crest of high ridge separating the Apsa Tami country from the valley of the Peni in which Talo is situated, and arrived at our camp site at 3.45 p.m. Here we were met by Kop Tami, Tako Bās and Yōyōma, Chieftain Name of Dūtā and several other important men. Tānī was hopeful of the success of the gānd. He said that all the leading headmen of the Par Valley, from Tānī Kuli of Bōgulī to Naibum Ḫāuli of Ḫutabna, had come. Peni, Sōhī, and Tako Bās were there, and this was confirmed later by the Tānī i-e-Apsa who sent their representatives in due course. Neelam Tārīn, one of the hostages I had taken in Kiraun, and who I had released on December 22nd to go back to Kiraun and fetch Nāi Lālī, the remaining Apsa Tami captive, was reported to be on his way back to Talo bringing the prisoner with him. Until our civil camp site was gained we moved through the bristly terrain in which the Anam Rifles had built Kalapọ, which had measure the distance between Dūtā and Talo to be 6-6 miles, said that the highest point on the path between the two places was in the region of 7,000 feet.
January 2nd 1945

Halt—Tito

After the headmen present had collected, and with them a large crowd of Dallas from many villages, I again made a speech trying to define in the simplest terms the objects which Government had before them in wishing to administer the country. I need not again give the detail as it was much the same in substance as that already delivered to Toho Rat. Keep Tetsi then translated this into an eloquent speech delivered with great vehemence and moral force, for the Dallas are great orators. Again I wondered what impression such stories about roads, hospitals, schools, and guns must have had upon his bewildered audience. However they were polite enough not to show their incredulity.

At the end of the speech Nyecos Tamir arrived and at last Nasi Lali was produced. He was a cheerful young man and when I came into contact with him, he was in high spirits. A formal exchange was then made of the Nasi Lali who was handed over to the jubilant Apa Tamis and Licha Tamis, the remaining hostages, taken from Kasie. I asked Tetsi for his blankets lest he don to protect him from the cold in Dutch only to discover that he was entirely opposed to giving them up. To the great amusement of the Dallas present it was discovered that the Nasi Lali who had been kept under guard as it was said he was not allowed to take part in his nation's affairs had not as had been done he would have been asked as the day he was born. The Dallas have a great sense of humour and there was much back slapping and laughter. Tetsi was in no way ashamed and stood up and said that since he had not been captured by the Sahels he had learned to understand them and that he was going back to Licha with the object of persuading the headmen to return and make peace with the Government.

I then took the recording cases and quickly became aware of three difficulties:

1. The extraordinary ideas the Dallas have of appointing blame. For instance A has a quarrel with B of another village in the course of which B raids A's village and captures C. C does not demand compensation from B, his captor, but 3000 A on account of whose quarrel he was captured. This is a very important point to remember in the negotiations of village feud.

2. The difficulty of knowing where to begin. At what stage in an age old feud is Government justified in interfering? If I were to assume that justice must be done for there is no more reason to fix five years than fifteen and the fact that at the time fixed the case was up on the score of raids and counter raids is purely fictitious. One starts hearing a case in which, for instance, A has been raided by B. During this raid one man was killed and three were captured and several houses were burned clearing for their escape and three others were killed, and for the return of the ransom paid for those captured. B, when asked what he has to say, will almost invariably reply that B's village was raided by A fifteen years ago and so many persons were killed and so many captured and so much ransom paid. Had one the time, one could probably trace back a spectrum of feud for many generations, for each member on either side will have a detailed knowledge of the events which took place many years ago. But to trace all facts to their origin will be an immense task, for I firmly believe that there are very few tribesmen who are not involved in some feud or other. The best solution to my mind will be to wash out all claims from the time that Government's control becomes really effective and look upon them as it were in the past and to do so should we wash out those claims and we can only do this when we are permanently installed in these hills in sufficient strength to be able to assure reading the exception rather than the rule.

3. The third difficulty is that of the penalties attached to disease carrying. There is, of course, a good reason for this ancient and wide spread custom among these tribesmen, and it is one which, in my opinion, should be preserved if devastating epidemics are to be avoided. The penalty for disease carrying is often death and the difficulty is that many long standing feuds have their origins in one village having been accused of carrying infection to another and having, for that reason, been raided. The raided village, after the custom of these hills, has chosen a man for revenge and performs a retaliation raid, perhaps after the passage of many years and another feud has begun. I discussed this question with many headmen and those from the foothills complained bitterly that they were always open to the spread of infection from the plains and, in consequence, were constantly being raided by their neighbours from the North on the pretext of smallpox, plague or consumption. There was a large outbreak of smallpox in the North, which I knew to have been carried from the plains village of Harmutgi, where there is a weekly market at which Dallas from the hills often attend. As a result of this the cliffs of the Peru (Perëg) River were now at war with those of the Par Valley. I suggested to these headmen that the penalties should be relaxed but that the principle of asking the parties to the payment of compensation to the sufferers should be maintained. I made it clear that it was a matter of negotiation. Later, when hospitals and dispensaries have been established in the hills, I have no doubt that it will be possible to credit these fees to the general hospital maintenance funds. I think it will be unwise to abolish this custom of punishing the carrying of disease for like many other primitive peoples these tribesmen have very little resistance to the epidemic diseases of the plains.

January 4th 1945

Halt-Tito

I have come to the conclusion that it is far better for us not to interfere in any way and to allow these Dallas to make their own deals and settle their own disputes in accordance with their own tribal customs. If we proceed over and the parties, knowing our lack of knowledge of tribal customary law and of the past history of the case and the attendant circumstances, are apt to make false and exaggerated claims. One has the parallel in India where a litigant will be prepared to procure himself in a court but will not come one not to tell the truth when the case is heard in his own village. We are therefore only interfering in cases when we are asked to arbitrate which is not often. It is interesting however to go round the 'courts'. There are many small, flat, grassy spaces near the camp and on each one a is taking place. The two parties are opposed to each other under the eyes of the spectators. At the side the headmen who have been chosen as assessors sit listening with the utmost attention to the arguments put forward by either side, and around in a circle at the interested parties. The whole proceeding has an unmistakable judicial air about it and there seem to be rules of conduct for those attending and for there are few interruptions. The Dallas seem to be naturally patient people and give me encouragement this could well become a 'pleasedly paradise'!

January 6th 1945

Halt-Tito

The Asama Rifles should have come today but as there were still hopes that the Licha and Licha headmen would not object to their arrival they were not ordered and prevented from attending the meeting. Malu came over all day with apparently very little success but Tetsi tells me that a sanddanding a big raid may take a few days to conclude. However it seems to me that only when driven to desperation will a DAFILA willingly pay up the Compensation awarded by the Assessors. The normal manner in which compensation is recovered is by force. The retaliatory raid then itself becomes the occasion for further argument. It has become even ruder than ever today.
January 6th 1945
Haiti Title

Today was the most miserable day with pouring rain and stark and bitterly cold wind. So cold was it that it even dampened the atmosphere of Dallas which was impossible to hold any one in the open. We did hold one on the Teko Bat's verandah much to the rage of Yovum. In the evening the rain turned to sleet and continued throughout the night.

January 7th 1945
Haiti Title

We awoke to a cold clear day with heavy frost and ice which must have formed in the early hours of the morning. The hills all around us were covered with snow which covered the trees of the jungle. As soon as the Anam Rifles arrived we conveyed the news that many had fallen in Ditum and had covered the whole valley. Only Apa Tani caught in the storm on his way back from knowing and died of exposure and that another in the Apa Tani valley had similarly died of the cold. Remembering last night this caused me little surprise and I was thankful that I had been 100 feet lower down the hill side.

Some Gurkha P. L. C. who had been sent on the 4th to clear an observation post for the survey officer on the top of Paul Puita, a 7,000 feet peak between Talo and Nylom, returned as the snow there was waist deep and great branches were being broken from the higher trees by the weight of the snow. I had heard that snow fell in the winter at Ditum but had not really believed it as it seemed too much improbable that at that height and as that altitude snowfall could occur. It is difficult to understand why, when snowfalls are rare at altitudes of 7,000 feet in the Darjeeling hills, they should occur, in this area, at levels as low as 5,000 feet. We all remark upon the surprising cold climate of these hills in the winter. This is all the more surprising when one remembers that the tropical rains forest appears to reach a height of 11,000 to 12,000 feet and that forest does not occur until that height is reached.

The general atmosphere here has deteriorated for some reason. The Teko Bat have become aloof and Hemudh's government amusements. I am impressed, as always, with the rapidity of the road and the Government's attempts to be more and more comprehensive. Claims and reports seem to be their just and blame for our inability to do so. The building of such a road seems therefore incompatible with extending either the friendship or the political unification of villages, or with preserving our authority. The discipline and co-operation that have been happened here in the past few months I feel under the protection of our presence, come to Talo in the hope of recovering tranquility from Licha, Licha, and other villages including, unfortunately, Talo itself, which now appears to be not so innocent as we had at first been led to suppose. Naturally this does not make any one which they have been, for bringing numerous cholera parties to their door. The presence of so many more means to food and medicines, for which to provide fuel is also an embarrassment, particularly as the villagers have no hesitation in showing down the lines of the fields and using them for firewood.

On this occasion with Government authority cannot be exerted for, in order to induce some of the more timid headmen to come in and meet their enemies. I had promised that all attending the net would be safe and would not be arrested for the non-payment of compensation, etc. This, in my opinion, an essential preliminary on this first occasion to enable the more remote and wilder villages to come and discuss matters.

For this reason, for this reason, Government cannot now promise to enforce the discipline of any one, indeed went I to try and do half the headmen would leave. The Pat, Valley Dallam and the foot villages are therefore in many cases hard put to it to obtain any, satisfaction and are naturally disappointed. However a beginning has been made and by getting the rival parties to come under our protection and agree to come in the right direction has been taken. There have been in many cases disappointing for me bad feeling I have to employ the Assam Rifles as the amount of which has been fatal to the building up of an atmosphere of trust. While therefore progress this year has been small it must be remembered that few, if any, of those attending the net had ever had much dealing with a Government official and I was therefore anxious that this first impression should not be one of fear. One has to step slowly and win the confidence and friendship of these people before trying to guide their feet into the way of peace.

January 8th 1945
Haiti Title

Today, I had a striking demonstration of the value of personal visits to the homes of the leading headmen in villages where trouble seems to be brewing. As I said yesterday the atmosphere in the net had deteriorated and Hazendorf, who had always adopted this method, suggested a visit to the house of Teko Bat and Teko Togur, the two most important men in the village. The visits were a great success. In Teko Bat’s house we found Licha Tjoi, the youthful headman of one of the settlements of Licha. He was at once struck by the pleasant appearance, frankness and charm of this young man. He was a straight, and pleasant boy with a natural dignity and air of breeding combined with youthful good spirit and humour. At first he was a bit scared as he admitted he had never seen a white man before but when we handed him some cigarettes and matches he regained his self-confidence. He said that he had inherited many favours from his father, Licha Peki, who from all accounts was a rollicking man. However, he said, “I heard you had come into the country and so I come to meet you.” He said that he was prepared to pay reasonable compensation for his tarher’s head and that it was established that he was the wrong one, and that he was anxious to settle up old disputes and start with a clean sheet. This was something quite new and encouraging. We sat around one of the numerous hearths in Teko Bat’s house and drank molasses mixed with with ‘hweel’ (drinking vessels made from sections of bamboo, often old and dirty) and asked innumerable questions about his village and the changes and Teko Bat and Yovum and even Hemudh have thinned and become natural and friendly. We explained our difficulties and they explained theirs and we eventually left in an atmosphere of renewed friendship.

We then went some two miles along the ridges to Teko Togur’s house. This will give some idea of the scattered nature of the Dalma village and of the difficulty of hearing any news in the morning and to set upon by passing out an Assam Rifles near at hand. In the dalma valley each house, or group of houses, is a separate entity and few headmen have any authority beyond their own family circle and more relatives. This renders the task of imposing authority difficult and the chance of arrest and capture well-nigh impossible.

Teko Bat is an elderly man of few words and a downright manner. I would say that he was not endowed with many virtues but that he could be an unpleasant man to cross. However here too we were well and hospitably received and our visit was a cordial affair.
The Mad between Lhikha Tsej and Naham Epok continued all day and being the casus alien^{3} of the 'cause list', attracted a good deal of interest. Kop Temi, the head interpreter, was with us and translated the proceedings as they occurred. Lhikha Tsej again held the stage and described in an eloquent and impassioned manner the history of the feud. Briefly the history of the feud was this. An epidemic attacked Lhikha and Lhikha Dhim and Lhikha Tsej, headmen of Reangpum, the neighboring jirongi to Tablo, binned the Tablo folk for the arrival of the disease. They accordingly made a surprise raid upon Tsej's village and captured several persons for whom a heavy ransom had to be paid. Lhikha Tsej was convinced that the said persons were not to blame, and after some further queries it was discovered that the disease had come from Pifyaga. Lhikha Tsej therefore demanded the return of the ransom he had to pay but the other headmen of the headmen of Lhikha said that the correct course for him to take was to raid Pifyaga among who were the alleged perpetrators of the disease and obtain satisfaction from them. Accordingly he organized a raiding party, which went to Pifyaga, and in the course of the said Nahan Epok's nephew amongst others was killed and several persons were wounded. Naham Epok, whose village is just to the North of the Par Valley, appealed to Government and Tana Khol, headmen of Reangpum, a village near the plains, was sent as Government negotiator. Of the eight persons captured only one was ransomed and the remaining seven were released unconditionally as a result of his efforts.

Turning to the assembled headmen Lhikha Tsej said - 'Why should I bear all the blame for this raid and why should I alone pay all the price demanded by Naham Epok? Was not the raid recommended by all the headmen of Lhikha? Did not I first have to suffer the stigma of having brought the disease to Lhikha? Was not I gathered and did not I have to pay ransom? In, the said against Pifyaga I merely put into effect the orders I received at all the headmen. Upon me fell all the work of organizing the expedition as you people fell all the risk. How is it that now that the raid is over all the other headmen keep in the background and lay the blame at my door? I have come personally to settle the account, but where are the others?' Tsej seemed a manured and there were many grunts of approval and nods of assent. There were many in the audience who had long standing feuds with Lhikha. So here again the origin of this feud was disease carrying. As usual we are permanently installed in these halls this is one of the most important problems to be tackled. We should not destroy the principle of enforcing isolation upon disputed villages but we must revise the method of extracting compensations for passing conveying.

January 16th 1945
Halt Tolo

To-day's news was uneventful. Early in the morning Kaj Lnen, our young Apa Tani interpreter came, excitedly to us with the news that the Licha headmen had arrived. We hastened down to the village and after a good deal of searching and enquiry we saw them coming hurriedly along a side path. They were unwilling and unprepared to stop and so we sat down with them for a time on a small grassy patch beside the stream and conversed with the other and generally. As usual we distributed cigarettes and a few packets of cigarettes and after talking with them for some time assured them that they feared we had finally consented to come up to the village and in a small but minutes place the said was organized. Chhig Nen, Tab Taa and Padé Laying, the Apa Tani headmen, were were made to come up and have a little chat with us in their own speech of language, by making a little sacrifice, to induce the Licha headmen to perform the duty of conciliating. The Apa Tani headmen were said that they were in a very difficult position in relation to the long list of crimes committed. As usual the rival parties were opposed each other and our cause the long memories of the incident of small village is probably the most prominent memory of the crimes of the people killed, captured and ransomed, and the exact details almost always to the last head, of the amount of ransom paid for the release of each captive.

Licha Taka spoke for Licha. He clearly had a speech but seemed to be a jovial and villainous possession of a dry sense of humor. Down in long row went the tally of sticks each representing the alleged wrongs inflicted upon Licha by the Apa Tani. However, with a glee in his eyes he added to his score a long tally of sticks representing the damage that Government had inflicted on Licha. I laughingly told him that Government did not pay face, if inflicted them on those who were foolish enough to defy them, and that in any case the punishment pitted up to Licha was only a just retribution for the long list of capturing and killing which was laid at the doors of his village. I added that had his village come to terms at once no harm would have befallen them. Licha Taka was not unaware of the absurdity of this argument. However, the compensation was fixed at 17 rupees by Licha Taka. The Apa Tani however demanded 14 rupees for Bela village, 10 for Haja and 10 for Daba and in addition the return of the kusene, kusene etc. paid to Licha as ransom during the past two years. Though the gap appeared large we were not hopeful that a compromise would be reached and a definite made.

January 11th 1945
Halt Talo

All our hopes have, at any rate for the present, been dashed by the early arrival of news that the Licha depredation had died during the night. The Apa Tani make no disguises of their disappointment and chagrin and remarks such as "What can you expect from Licha" and "They never seriously meant to come to terms" were everywhere heard. No one seems to have any real idea why they have decided to make this sudden and unexpected move but it may have been on account of the further demands made upon Licha.

\* A doon grade of 2 is equivalent metal bar used by the Apa Tani and Daba in currency. These bars namely come from Tibet and the valuable ones, made of bronze and immediately ornamental, are consequently valuable. Some of the most valuable may be worth five rupees or more and those have names like "deon rupees, 'endru munt'. A kusene is a Tibetan brass utensil and is also used as currency in lahlah fields. A good lahlah, nearly as a doon bar, may be worth two or three thousand.
The day was spent in continued wrangling and argument and most exhausting and exasperating I found it. As we were planning to-morrow to move ourselves, one staff and two sections of Amazam Rifles from Talo to Lhalia we received a communiqué of some from the three sections of Jorim and three companies from Talo in addition to the Par Valley, Phiyara and Firoz men who had come to the aid at Talo and who had now agreed to carry on as far as Lhalia where they hoped to settle more cases. The settlement of Jorim are Java, Fak and Pacha, of which the head men are Jorim Khan, Jorim Edji and Jorim Tacha respectively. Jorim, in the past, had been good about providing presents but at this particular every conceivable excuse was provided to make the provision of presents impossible. It was said that the barriers were rebuilding their houses and, in consequence no one could come. As I thought that the trouble was that the Lhalia headmen had asked the Jorim and Talo headmen to make a visit to their area unattended as is the usual custom of providing presents, I consequently gave way to a feeling of impotent rage. We could of course say and take some Amazam Rifles to the village on the narrow and try and arrest the headmen. This however we did not do as they would get wind of our coming and would be away when we arrived. In addition this show of force would only prolong the present uneasiness we were worried about and would in the course of being rebuilt we could in any case do very little. Talo too, never before having been visited and being unused to carrying for Government, was most disappointed. Of the headmen Talo Bhit said he would see what he could do and left it at that; Talo Hefa provided half a company and said he could do no more; Talo Toger was the bright spot in a gloomy situation as he agreed to provide one full company.

Here was a classic example of the inadvisability of depending on tribal parties for the transport of any expedition of any size, particularly in hitherto uncustomed enterprise. By their waywardness to co-operate with Government parties and their refusal to make any attempt to force the headmen to provide sufficient presents it would have been politically disastrous and would have resulted in antagonising an important group of headmen. Probably the results would have been that the villagers would have run away leaving me in much the same position as I had been in Lhalia. We had to do as we could because there was no other way of settling.

With the prospect of being able to secure only half the number of parties required to move our complete camp, we had to resort to the inescapable expedient of splitting up the party. I decided that Haimendorf and myself with two sections of Amazam Rifles and two interpreters would leave for Lhalia on the morn, picking up the Survey Officer on the way at Pad Patta, and that Constable, the Political Jadunia, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon and one other section should come on later when the parties carrying our loads had returned. This use of tribal parties had resulted in a complete day being wasted in fruitless and exhausting argument and permission to the complete exclusion of any other work.

The Jorim sirdars had been dismayed at the scene with threats of dire consequences unless the men from their settlements were forthcoming. As it was by that time getting dark, I had told them to remain in our lines until the morning. After discussing matters further with the Special Officer and his wife, her femininity modified the scene in good stead. She was of the opinion that matters could not be allowed to go any worse and we went down to the village to have a talk with the sirdars' commissariat. We sat in a friendly talk and we realised the fire discussing matters informally and eating roasted maize. Before long the three sirdars had agreed to provide three full companies as soon as the village house rebuilding had finished. The Haimendorf knew these sirdars well and we had been on very friendly terms and on the previous year he had last seen them before my arrival. The sirdars too knew and trusted the Haimendorf and it was for this reason, in my opinion, more than anything else that they had finally agreed. Here was yet another example of the necessity of making friends first to trying to exact authority on any new tribal unit. It was an aspect of their friendship and trust that they readily agreed to help. The question of the authority of Government and the force we might possibly use weighed with them not at all, for, being thorough people, they knew as well as we do that we cannot afford to be unpleasant to those upon whom we depend for the maintenance of all our precarious lines of communication.

Talo (4,564 ft.) - Pad Patta (7,180 ft.)
Distance ... 51 miles
Direction ... North-West.

January 10th 1948.

After yesterday's trouble and difficulty we had hoped, at least, to get half the expedition off on the way to Lhalia and, expecting an early start to enable us to reach Nyokha by the evening, we were up by 4:30 a.m. and the camp was struck, loads packed and rutted and ready for the start by 6 a.m. Our hopes of an early start however quickly faded for we were at once faced by a shortage of porters. Those who were present were completely in the midst of the digger grubbing the system leaving the heavier packages to both men. On each occasion those men in the bag had to be recalled, ordered restored and the loads restored and carried. It was exhausting work and we frequently had to take each man individually and personally give him his load and even then many tried to abandon their loads for lighter packs. It is the invariable lot of the chaffers' toy where he does not hold up to find that as soon as one has one in, it comes out again when one is engaged on filing some other hank. The main difference being the state of one's temper. Arguments, name, confusion, permission, cooperation, dispute and black rage, all these we had to put up with until at least by nearly 11 a.m. we had lost contact for an hour with one of the six section parties for a start to the new tribals. At this time, after exhausting an experience, my self, I suggest, would be expected to undergo such ordeals. It is Government wishes us to explore in this previously unvisited territory they must provide us with permanent
porters and a subordinate staff of transport supervisors to advise us of this over-proportional burden of personally man-handling and underequipped tribemen. The Mari Mission, and I should imagine, no other Mission, ever had to reason to the sort of thing. All the other Political Officers in the more settled Frontier Tracts of Assam can employ permanent porters in sufficient numbers to make it unnecessary for them to have to do this sort of thing. Why, as a matter of fact, this is the most under-populated country, be so unfeasibly treated? I should imagine that hitherto it would not have been the policy for expeditions to be sent against notorious villages transported entirely by underequipped tribemen. On the expedition to Pangaha, for instance, were the officers engaged in daily hours with tribal porters? Did they waste hours daily in trying to persuade local tribemen to carry for them? The result of that procedure, politically, can only be unfeasible.

All these complaints may give the impression that I am a grumbler. Under normal circumstances I am not and am prepared to put up with difficulty and inconvenience when I know that it is unavoidable. This I consider unmounted, and if my remarks are an unfeathered impression it is pity, but, as leader of this expedition, I feel that it is my duty to bring these matters to the notice of those who are in a position to rectify them.

As a result of the delays described above we could not hope to reach Nyelam village before nightfall, and I decided to get as far forward as possible and camp at some suitable site in the jungle where there was water. All the long climb up to Paurost, cache of some 3,500 feet, we saw the result of the heavy snow fall of the 5th to 6th of January. The snow had melted but the path was blocked and strewed with branches of trees broken off by the snow and on either side the hilly countryside had been laid flat by the weight of the fall. Our progress, in consequence, was painfully slow and we did not reach the top of the hill until 8 a.m. enquiries elicited the fact that no suitable camping site with water existed on the Nyelam side of the hill and I therefore decided to camp on the top where water was available. Mr. Kalappa, the Survey Officer, was already camped there and, and the porters were instructed to clear a site for our tent and make themselves comfortable for the night. From the top of the hill, one was able to see the smoke of the village, and the hope was entertained with perplexion and the porters constantly moving in hilly build all around us. No parameter was necessary as the path to Nyelam was completely blocked and abandoned. We found the camp site excellent with abundant wood and water. The weather had completely cleared and the stars in the frozen night were beautiful. We were able to admire the stars the bright white spot over the top of the track at Tako. I can’t say why this should have been so, but possibly the huge full were kept going all night under the great trees of the virgin jungle may have had something to do with it. Next morning when we resumed our march we found heavy fresh on the path a short distance from the camp.

January 16th 1909

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pad Paurost (7,100 feet)</th>
<th>Nyelam Village (4,122 feet)</th>
<th>Jungle Camp</th>
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<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>6-6 miles</td>
<td>(4,683 feet)</td>
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We were again up at 4.30 a.m. and sat out breakfast in the dark huddled around the fire. The dawn revealed a lovely day without a cloud in the sky. Again we experienced difficulty in collecting porters and I made myself a copy of the Nyelam jungle and the town stuck out revolved with perplexion and the porters constantly moving in hilly build all around us. However we managed to get away by 7.15 a.m. and began the long descent down the North-West side of the feature to a small tributary of the Kiyi River named the Pa. In places the snow had broken down the jungle sufficiently far for us to obtain wonderful views from the jungle-clad ridge down which we were descending. Anyway to the North-West could be seen the whole wonderful line of the high Himalayas standing out plain in the early morning light. The air was gin clear and every intervening hill and valley, every village and hill could plainly be seen.

We reached Nyelam village on its picturesque spur at about 10.30 a.m. The Survey Officer gave the height of the village as 4,122 feet. Here, while Kalappa completed his work, we paid another visit to the house of Nyelam Sara and were again hospitably received. Nyelam Sara was away but the village was co-operative and not only did we manage to purchase rags for our journey but, what was far more valuable, we managed to make a complete survey from the village. The peasants who were to return to Tako and bring forward some of the same with which we had to leave behind. Though we did not leave Nyelam until 11.30 a.m. I had been reaching Lika as this evening as the distance from Nyelam to the nearest settlement of Lika was said to be only half a day’s journey. From Nyelam we dropped steeply down the hill to the valley of the Pa where we bequirted a small stream and thereon we halted for lunch. From then on the path led up and down across a series of spurs until we reached a deep valley where the Path stream joined the Kiyi River. Both the Pa and Path are tributaries of the Kiyi and join the main river from the East and West respectively. We crossed the main river by rough bridges which the porters quickly

made by felling trees and dragging the logs into position. Again I looked for an opportunity to try a fly on this river, I am very largely disappointed. I have been with a number of sports on many rivers and I had notified the same the tackle with me I had to abandon any such thoughts. As we were clinching steeply up the valley by following a small side stream we were met by some villagers to us by the Lika headmen who said that a camp site had been cleared for us further on. As the day was over, however, it was against the advice of the headmen and the porters that we returned to Tako and bequirted some of the same with which we had to leave behind. Though we did not leave Nyelam until 11.30 a.m. I had been reaching Lika as this evening as the distance from Nyelam to the nearest settlement of Lika was said to be only half a day’s journey. From Nyelam we dropped steeply down the hill to the valley of the Pa where we bequirted a small stream and thereon we halted for lunch. From then on the path led up and down across a series of spurs until we reached a deep valley where the Path stream joined the Kiyi River. Both the Pa and Path are tributaries of the Kiyi and join the main river from the East and West respectively. We crossed the main river by rough bridges which the porters quickly
January 15th 1946

Jungle Camp (4,152 feet) — Middle Settlement of Lhakha (5,010 feet)

Distance ... 7-8 miles

Direction ... South-West

Again we were up at 6:30 A.M. and were ready to start by 7-30 A.M. An early rising in the camp was made of the camp scene and the morning was pleasant. I expected to see the Naga Hills. I was mistaken as they must have been a hundred miles away. Kalampan said that theoretically they were not visible until the sun was up. The Naga Hills were just rising above the horizon.

A short march brought us to the camp site that the Lhakha men had prepared for us. Though they had done their work well, the camp would have been most unsatisfactory as it would have been at least two miles from the settlement of Lukha and Lita Tse. We immediately arranged to meet. Further, between this camp site and the village there was the deep and steep sided valley of the Paniy River, yet another tributary of the Kuri.

I thought it better to go forward without the porters in order to meet Horha and Tse. The less of a crowd accompanying us, the better; the most of our work was to be done and we could not afford to lose any opportunity of supervision and possible ideas. I therefore gave orders to the porters that I should not be disturbed and that they should continue with the Assam Rifles to remain behind and supervise and myself with guides and interpreters and one version of the Assam Rifles crossed the valley and struggled up the far slope to Pelea. When we got to the edge of the village land we told the Assam Rifles to halt and we started up the long ascent occupied by the two hundred steps. The camp was 600 feet above the village and the village was a mile and a half away.

To my amazement I was told that they were the notorious Horha and Tse of whom I had heard so much about concerning whose activities there had been so many complaints. Tse, the eldest of the two, is a charming, well-built lad of about 19 years of age with an unrefined manner, pleasant open smile though with somewhat overshot teeth, heavy eyes and freckles! Horha, his brother, is a younger edition. Could it be possible that these two striplings could have become the terror of the countryside? Could these cheerful boys have been responsible for all these raids? When most of the raids had taken place they must have been mere children. Then the truth came out. Tse himself amusingly said that his father had always been a good man and he was very much surprised at the raid on the camp which was mounted up against the village.

There was here a striking resemblance to Lhakha Tej's remarks. Could it be possible that these boys had discussed matters before my arrival? One thing however was certain: he was learning and was that at any rate for some years, until he had gained sufficient experience, a young headman was, more often than not, guided by the elder sons of the village who were the most experienced members of the tribe. As we sat there talking we were aware of several villagers looking old enough sitting near the boys from whom came the statement of a statement which was often taken as true. Tse went on to say that as he was young he too did not wish to be burdened with the misdeeds of his father and was more than willing to pay off old scores and live at peace with his neighbours and blamed me as well if I would help him and his settlement against Tejas, a notorious village in the Paniy valley, which, however, was constantly raiding the villages to the South. I replied that that might be possible but that I would consider that later when we had had time for further discussions.

It seems to me that if Government can get hold of these young headmen and the sons of good families both among the Bidasas and the Ama Taisis and educate them in a Government school before the Hiil Banes, it will be possible, during the years when their character is being moulded, to disperse them with this violated atmosphere in which raiding is looked upon as a moral obligation. Without this measure it will, in my opinion, be impossible to resist, even if he were sufficiently enlightened to wish to do so, the pressure of public opinion and traditions which looks to him eventually to give the land in perpetuating the traditional feud.

It was necessary to select a suitable camp site in the area for our stay in Lhakha and to search the Bidasas for the traditionally scooped out spot and a small square field which we had seen from the other side of the river. Though the site facing North it had abundant water and wood and was, in an emergency, easily defended. The Assam Rifles were then sent out and we set down on a log in the field awaiting their arrival and that of the porters. An old woman was anciently cooking on the outsides of the pots in great excitement and it was discovered that she had been turned out and later turned inside, having only one (the Tibetan bracelets also used as money and beads),—were burned beneath the very leg upon which we were sitting. She was very upset as she thought that we had discovered her secret and intended to rob her of her possessions, and was delighted when we explained to her that she could certainly remove them. It is for me to give them generously to the women but it is for the latter to bury them in a safe place which may be raised at any time. The valuables are always stored under the watchkeeping of the eldest wife of the family who is responsible for hiding them and who, very often, is the only member of the household who knows where they are hidden.

As far as we have been told and hospitably received but it may be that the Lhakha headmen are carrying out their plan, of which we had heard in Ticho, of buying us off with kind words and nominal compensation.
January 10th 1946
Halt Mêlo

This seems to be a good and commanding camp site and the Assam Rifles are quickly settling in and are constructing their quarters for their output. The view from here of the whole Kiyi valley is wonderful—its several green groves of Litch and the many ranges in the distance and one can plainly see Nyellom with its houses running down the bare spur. Below us lie the scattered houses of the settlements of Mêlo and Pélo. To the North-West lie the hills which form the divide between the Kiyi and the Pakha and one can plainly see the saddle through which goes the path to Tenny, Mêlo and the Khiru.

While the camp was busy settling in Haimendorf and I went down to the village below us to visit some of the houses. As we were going down I noticed a small house with a cheerful looking couple sitting on their verandah. The house was owned by Nâbûm Kløn and here we gained some important information about the transport of Litch from Lebha. He said that he himself came from Lebha and Tselan and that beyond Lebha there was a plain “larger than the Aga Test country and like Ama Tse.” There are villages more than the hairs on my head and there the Nye Kus Na (the Tibetan monk) from the Bopa Desk (meaning, in Assamese, the white country, the Himalayas) to Pélo. He said that they came down through the pass in August, September and October in large numbers and bring goods carried by Dîla porter company. His wife described their vans which he said no doubt that five people were describing were Tibetans. Nâbûm Kløn said that the Tibetans never come south of the plain as the country was too difficult.

So now we seem to have stumbled upon news of our objective. If there is a plain there and if the Tibetans do trade there in large numbers it is important that we should try and get to this place this year if possible. It is there that we shall eventually have to establish an oasis. It is there that the Civil Station should be placed and it is there that we shall have to counter Tibetan influence and put an end, if necessary, to Tibetan economic penetration. This year the late has been quite as much for Lebha for a preliminary reconnaissance as necessary otherwise we can achieve the means of getting there in some strength with the intention of spending some time there we must be prepared not only to obtain political control of the area but also to win some economic initiative from the Tibetans. I believe we shall find that the region is a sphere of political influence and economic dependence in these latter days rather than in earlier times. This is probably the sphere of influence of cloth, salt, and the shape of the tea plant. It is naturally some measure of the power and authority of Government; on the other hand, these tribes which depend on Tibet for their requirements will look upon the Tibetan influence and in some cases upon our influence as a possible means of advancement and in some cases the latter as a means of advancement and in some cases wealth. If we find an opportunity to do something here, we shall certainly take advantage of it. For the present the Tibetans are the only means of making communications will be by air. If next year a Government Office of the Royal Air Force could accompany me to Lebha he could supervise the laying out and construction of landing strips both at Dîla and Lebha. It would then be possible to dispense with the extremely expensive power provision we have been using.

Yesterday's news about Lebha has thrown a complete new light upon the whole of this week's work. It is the most important piece of information that we have so far received and the whole of to-day we were discussing how it was going to be possible for us to get through the difficult intervening country and make a quick dash to this interesting area some time this year. From what I have already heard in Telo seems probable that the most difficult country between here and Lebha lies in the area forward by the junction of the Pakha, the Piag and the Pengejwi with the Khiru. Here the tribes definitely resent any intrusion from the South and maintain a trade block by means of which they can control the trade between Tibet and the land to the South of the Pakha.

Down at the village one has already broached between the Litcha people and the various "complainers" who had followed us to Mêlo. The two most celebrated feuds to be settled here are those between Litcha Téj and Nâbûm Epo, a rich landowner, and Litcha Téj and Taba Není of Póin. Judging by the number of people which are appearing on the field now it would appear that matters are getting worse rather than better. The two feuds as it seems are connected with the ownership of the land which the Litchas consider their own and which the Póins have appropriated. The resultant friction has been causing considerable trouble recently and the tribesmen are not above any excuse for fighting. The events seem to be escalating into a serious matter and the situation is rather alarming.
Lithka is not a village but rather the collective name for a group of villages. The village settlements are Mado,-headman Lithka Juki; Pedó,-headman Lithka Toji; Sale,-headman Lithka Raya; Tahba,-Lithka Teji; Hi,-bande ha Licha Tchéki; Betam,-bande man Lithka Ekoo; Taa,-bande man Lithka Talk; Darde,-headman Lithka Tú; Popomu,-headman Lithka Téki and Lithka Tana.

I reproduce a map showing the relative positions of these settlements below.

Though these settlements all probably spring from a common ancestor they are by no means free from internal dissensions and Lithka Teji is not on good terms with Lithka Ekhio and Lithka Tahab. Small feuds also still persist between Mado, Pedó and Sale. I however believe that for external aggression and for common defence against outside attack these settlements could be persuaded of putting up a combined front and hereby lies the secret of their continued collective power in Dale's opinion.

In the evening our old friend and ever reliable Licha Tana told us that Licha Tana, old chief in his "horrified" Government blanket, came to our camp. He seemed so pleased to see me as I was to see him. He said that the reason for the disappearances of the Lithka and Licha was that the "Tálo" was the cause. He asked if I would come to see it. The explanation that having captured by the Pullo was a mere induction and I realised that the scenes had not been captured they did not understand. However he said that instead of waiting to see them to come in and make peace. To my enquiry as to whether Léma would be prepared to carry goods for us to Yeo and Licha, he said that they would probably demand 30 pounds. Today is exactly a month from the time I had to burn five houses in Kúra. I said that we were preparing to go to the upper Kura and that on our way there would be chances of between the Appa Téki and Licha. To this he said that Licha Téki (Sir John Siemens), who had come with him, readily agreed. When therefore we go North-West up the Kura in an attempt to reach Lithka we hope to obtain our porters from Nyekên, Lithka and Licha.

**January 10th 1945**

Hele-—Lithka

This morning Kop Teji, my head interpreter, went down to the plains on a few days' well-earned leave. He had been working very hard and had given me the greatest comfort and thoroughly deserves his rest. Unlike other areas where there are plenty of interpreters, here we are short of them and few in this part of the frontier. The reason is that I have to employ the same interpreters throughout the season which in turn means that they have to be away from their villages for months at a time. They are all just ordinary servants and this long absence from their homes constitutes a very heavy hardship for they are unable to attend to their cultivation and the men's work. In their own homes, and many of them have already stated that the work will probably not be able to be done from their homes for so long in future. The great difficulty of course is the small number of tribesmen on this part of the Frontier who have a knowledge of Assamese. It has therefore been necessary this year to allow the interpreters to go on leave to a fortnight at a time in rotation to allow them to return to their own private affairs.

We also visited Lithka Tahá and Lithka Horka again today and there met Nyekên Samu whose house we had already twice visited in Nycàma but whom we had so far never met personally. Samu said that he himself had rescued the two women captured by Nyekên Tahá and had handed them back to Lithka Horka. I consider a remarkably good piece of work on the part of a headman, whose village had been visited by the first time only a month before. Samu asserted that he had never seen a white man before but said that he had heard of the Square.

**January 10th 1945**

Lithka (Mado)—Lithka (Teji) and back.

Distance—10 miles (approx.)

Direction—South.

To-day we visited Tahá, Lithka Teji's village, and took with us an endi (silk) cloth and six more of salt as return present for the Lithka Teji had presented to us a mark of friendship on our arrival here. I was told that the village was not far but it took us 3 hours hard going up hill and down dale to get to Tahá. Despite the spell of fine weather we have been having I was astonished at the amount of water we met on the way. The human and the clays of the jungle-clad hill sides have the property of retaining moisture to a remarkable degree. This is also helped by innumerable springs which appear on all the hill slopes. We had to cross three separate streams, a main tributary of the Kýi and two smaller side streams, before we reached Tahá and on crossing a higher ridge we left the Kýi river system and entered the main Pasioi drainage area.
Takho is situated on a long spur running south from the high divide down towards the main Padma river and is almost due south of Mando where our camp is situated. From there one can see the villages of Liha, Naba, and Tafo and the distant peaks of the Himalayas.

Teji received us hospitably and we had our lunch on the verandah of his house. We told him that we should need porters to carry us to Mengo via Darbe and he promised to provide them. I am particularly anxious to go to Mengo as this place is said to have trade relations both with Loba and throughout the country. We arranged for a small hillback bus to be waiting a small distance from our camp to take us back to Mengo on our return. On our return to Mando we had expected to find that Cooke and the remaining section of the Assam Rifles had arrived, but presumably on account of the difficulty of obtaining porters, they have not come as yet.

January 23rd 1948
Halt—Liha (Mando)

To-day Cookey, the Political Jemadar and the remaining Section of the Assam Rifles arrived in camp at 4 P.M. Their camp had descended to the first night's camp from Tafo and they had marched the remainder 11 miles from the high mountain camp to Mando in one day—a very creditable performance. The porters however were exhausted and I don't think such a stage would have been possible had not a standing camp been awaiting them on arrival.

To a certain extent acquainted with this country the stages now normally make may appear short. On the plains, in open country, a six, seven or even eight miles march would be normal going but in these steep jungle-covered hills matters are very different. All paths are bad to the point of being almost non-existent. Unrepresented paths between villages at war with one another rapidly become overgrown and have to be deserted. This is the season of the country making very difficult especially for porters loaded with 25 or 30. It is to this strange coincidence that one has no idea of march discipline and merely sit down when they are tired, regardless, of what the remainder of the convoy may be doing. It must be remembered therefore that the pace of the march is the rate of the slowest member of the porter convoy. In this unexplored central country one must always go on braving snipers to catch up; they usually average their loads and cross-country conditions would make this all-important work impossible. Often he would be selected from carrying out his programme by heavy cloud. At other times lack of porters and interpreters held him up, an obstacle for which I feel myself partly responsible. But always he remained cheerful and, though disappointed often, undeterred by the difficulties. He should like to have kept him longer but the ration and porter problems unfortunately made this impossible. His work has been of the utmost value and we were all very sorry to see him go, for he had become a good companion to us all in those remote hills.

As in Tafo the atmosphere has not improved since our arrival. The older men of the villages clearly realized the fact that with us have come a crowd of "down country" claimants who, they realize, could never have arrived to have shown their faces as far as our presence. Twice have we visited the house of Liha Horka and Liha Tafo but they have never put their noses inside our camp. They could have little fear, for in order to disarm suspicions we have even dispensed with a pin-money. So it is true, have visited the camp and women and children but not men. Liha Horka is certain that if it is ever his wish, all the settlement men who are all his past inhabitants, to the trouble. I had therefore sent for the two brothers and had asked them to pay a friendly call but they had always put us off with some excuse or other. There were certain slaves in the village of whose presence we had been informed here, of course, any attempt on our part to have tried to have rescued them from the house would have been fatal. The slaves, mostly women, were in all probability hidden and any move on our part in the way of a search would have done us good. This morning, however, I heard that Tafo and the son of another headman, Liha Tapa, were attending the suit which were being held on an open space below our camp. So Haimun and I went down and collected the two young men and brought them to the camp. There I asked them point blank to release two women captives, Chubu Yedo of Ilungo who was kept in Tafo's house and Chakha Yaga of Krome village who was a slave in the house of Tafo. They both because rather turbulent and started arguing and demanding money as the price for the release of these two women. Again I said "Are you going to release these slaves or not?" They said "No". I therefore ordered them to be taken back and unindicted by the Assam Rifles. There was a bit of a scuffle and some stir among the women folk of Tafo's household who had accompanied him. Again it was clear that it was the older women who expected young Tafo not to release the slaves. However when they saw the two boys sitting with me in handcuffs reading messages were at once sent off and the two women who had been kept in confinement since our arrival in Mando, were released. I then ordered the two young men to be released.

This incident was both unfortunate and important. It was however necessary as the headmen of Liha had clearly been hoping to buy us off with an outward show of friendship which were degenerated into an atmosphere of actual insubordination. It was necessary therefore to demonstrate to these people in a mild way that this could not be tolerated. A gentle reminder of the power of Government and of its determination, within this atmosphere of unrest, was not therefore altogether an evil. This was the first time that any Government Officer had visited them and it was therefore necessary to obtain an acceptance, even if a small display of force was necessary. Temporarily this may cause a set back, but, if the authority of Government is to be exerted in this area, I have no doubts that this will, in the long run, prove of value.
January 23rd 1906.

Mend (5,010 feet) — Taiko (5,800 feet approx.)

Distance: 3 miles approx.

Direction: South.

We left Mend at 9.50 a.m. and reached Taiko town after lunch. The route is difficult being a continuous series of ups and downs with the main divide between the Ki'yi and the Pakar ranges to cross. The path is nowhere good and I should imagine it would be almost impossible for any but local tribesmen to use it in wet weather. Fortunately the weather remained fine and we had light breezes. Our camp site had been cleared and soon we were comfortably installed on a grassy terrace away from Litchi Teji's house. That afternoon we called upon Litchi Teji and were hospitably received. I had heard that Teji also had a number of slaves in his possession but I did not broach this subject at first as I was anxious first of all to secure not only his friendship but also his confidence. Once he trusted me the task of negotiating rather than forcing the release of these captives would be easier. The following slaves are reported to be in Teji's house:

Chadra Kuma (female) of Kumpu village, Chandra Tana (female) of Ocop village on the Par River. Taji Sapan of Litchi and Path Chag of Koko village. However I hated my name and said nothing on this occasion. That evening I returned to my host a party of men who came from the Pakar valley and I gave a dramatic and house whisper explained about Taji Sapan. He returned twice in the night to repeat the same tale until my patience was exhausted and I said him to go away. But this sort of thing is typical. Always among one's porters there are spies, informers and chicanes.
January 26th 1905.
Hale-Talhu

As I was getting up the morning stillness was shattered by a long shouted oration which was taking place outside our tent. It was only just beginning to get light and on the Dhalies are always loud voiced people. It is always considered wise to appear amiable when the usual babblers. Our camp was most peaceable and only the Huzurpasha, who had hurried out without the news that this was just what friend of Tij Sipin was at a safe distance, to make it quite clear to Lalka Teji that unless Tij Sipin was immediately released the Scutar would send Senegy to burn the house and remove all its inmates. The man was said to keep quiet and was seen away. I saw this incident as typical of the habits which make a body into a team and not into a town. A false rumour particularly if yelled from our camp, where we had no possible means of defence, might have led to considerable trouble. It was lucky in this case that we had already made friends with Teji and so were able to give voice to the same and put matters right, but in less favourable circumstances this sort of thing might have been the cause of an incident which might very easily have been a serious misunderstanding! Here however lies a problem. From Data to Tula and onwards I have constantly been dogged by a crew of cheap Dhalies, none of whom, in normal circumstances, would have shown their faces so far North to the high ranges, and all of whom are being upon the outskirts presented to them of presuming their own private cases. Apart from this the time wasted each day in being told these people and recording their petty cases, most of which are of a 'civile' nature, this, in itself, is not harmful as it enables many outstanding duties to be reflected. The great objection, however, is that nearly always the claimant or one of his friends asks for the repayment of his debts or compensation for some wrong real or imaginary in the course of the Scutar, and looks upon the fact that the Scutar is intending to do is the 'defendant-exposed unless the claims are satisfied at once and in full'. Often the claims are excessive and represent merely the last instance of some longstanding debt in which both sides are equally guilty to blame. By having these private individuals following in one's train one's position is rendered more difficult and delicate because around one there spreads a bawling herd of rumour of what damage across the Scutar is about to take. This naturally does not lead to mutual confidence or active co-operation or friendship. We are therefore faced by a difficult problem and I am meeting it in part by making it us know willing to compromise as only when the issue is settled on any agreed plan the Dhalies may have no Government authority and should be granted by the headmen. Private cases can of course be settled in private and my encouragement should be given to these headmen to do this. The authority of Government cannot, however, be invoked unless—

1. The case has been recorded by a Government servant.
2. A Kavdi visits the headman and a written permit is presented.

This surely must be the most lawless area on the whole North East Frontier, for I firmly believe that there can exist no other, it is Dhal, Aps Tani, or Mii, which is not involved in any way by these fraudulent claims and litigation. The task of sorting these claims and complaints and, with the assistance of the present present passed to the Subsidiary Sub-Agent, will take many years of patient and painstaking enquiry. Settled administration can only be expected to place the many Administrative Headquarters by putting in the hands of all the Dhalies. Brief visits with weather proof shelters for the headmen, and repeated visits to the untrained and unschooled areas do have a certain effect but no permanent improvement can be expected unless signs of our intention to remain permanently are visible to all. Roads, rest houses, dispensaries and schools, all these are needed, for it is only by the construction and maintenance of these that the tribesmen will come to recognize what Government does and to accept the authority of Government as their permanent controlling authority. In the past, as I have mentioned before, expeditions led by our officers as Neill, Liapson and Hatter have paid fleeting visits to certain parts of the country. On account of the size of the Balpara Frontier Tract and the distance from Chardun of this Eastern tract to the points of the country has been increased by hill peoples where no expeditions have disturbed the aged Dhalis of life and the old heads have been allowed to follow their natural courses throughout the years. These infrequent expeditions have, in consequence, been very ineffective as the tribesmen have to believe that Government has no intention of establishing any permanent control on this part of the Frontier. It is on the expeditions has returned to the plains they may expect a long period during which they can enjoy full freedom from the threats of the outside marauders.

With the start of any disposal the dual tasks of exploration and administration cannot be undertaken simultaneously. To explore one must necessarily remain in one place until first of all gain knowledge, knowledge of tribal customs and laws, of land tenure, of economic problems, of marriage relationships, of religions beliefs, of domestic insecurity, of traffic, trade and of all the many sided facts of tribal life. To administer a new country therefore one must go slowly and feel one's way. One cannot tackle the many problems unless one fully understands them. Supernatural and quickly gained knowledge can only result in a poor foundation to the future administration of the tribes. One has to see the problem not through the eyes of a quickened native but through their point of view. Unless one possesses patience and sympathy, and until one has obtained as full an understanding as possible, is it bad policy to move on leaving the native and its problems unknown and unadmired. To administer primitive people there is no substitute to learn from them and by them.

To-day however a major expedition was made. One of the most important points of the whole area, the history of which I have already given, was between Bakhia, Epoch of Filius, and Lika Teji. To-day we were to see some of the final sites for the ending of this long-standing dispute. We had witnessed the end of Tika and Epoch has gone with his tribe to conclude the matter. As before, no questions of personal repercussions for the Indians interested and Epoch's only request was that the Pasha would lend the final argument to be delivered and the personal gift from Epoch to Epoch be handed over. Suddenly after a pause in the debate young Epoch and his men got up and went to the secret hiding place of his valuables, a massive box of large proportions, and produced a dozen, a楼市, an ancient and very lovely box.*

* A te is an ancient fragile. The best move comes from Tilb and is made of various metals. This one was made of iron and was decorated with a miniature Celtic vine vine design.
a loka of bell-metal, a long Tibetan dzo and one cordial head. Epoh and his companions expressed horror and were evidently the more so to lay the blame on the part of the donee, and a sign of poor breeding to accept the first offers on the part of the recipients.

The dzo was unacceptable; the loka was 'loopy' (Assamese) and was therefore of small value. (I have noticed among the Assamese people, who look up with contempt upon West Bengal articles which are looked up upon as fit by the Assamese.) The loka was worth only five rupees. The loka and the cordial head were also sold. The value of the loka was wrong and the head was cracked. Both parties, in Biblical fashion, turned their backs to the wall and refused to speak further. I sat and wait until it was going to be removed. Then the crackling wood made a sound of utter silence and then Tana Kohi in his most judicial manner venturted the opinion that both sides would lose face unless the gifts were suitable. Apparances had, however, to be maintained and Teji turned to me and said, with much demotic gesture accompanying his words "Cut my throat, I can do no more"; I remained silent and made no sign. Again there was a pause and then Teji put up and grabbed the maids and the loka and returned to his mission born and brought back a beautiful old statue of Tibetan bacteria which gleamed dully in the daylight. The despised loka was exchanged for a genuine Tibetan article. Another loka was added to the pile and eventually Epoh pronounced himself satisfied. We then left for lunch. Outside we found the pahde (peace treaty) tripods prepared and the cordial head ready at hand.

After lunch the sacrifice was performed. A cow mishun and her calf were tied to the pahde posts and were dispatched with a blow of a dzo on the neck. The meat was cut up and distributed to both sides. Blood was smeared on the pahde posts and meat was placed on the tripod as an offering to the God of War. We were thus given our share of the mishun and welcomed the chance of fresh meat for our evening meal.

There is a feudal and complicated system of peace treaties and the first step in the prolonged negotiation is that a sort should act as a negotiator. If he is successful a new date takes place when the whole matter is argued out and reparations made by the offending party. The two sides then come together to perform the pahde ceremony. The pahde is the Laos armoury. Here two ceremonies take place. First is the unmasking of the house of the aggrieved party to the household of the aggressor by the latter, is killed at the pahde post which is set up inside the house of the aggressor. When this pahde has been completed the reverse takes place and the aggressor goes to the village of the aggrieved taking a maids with him and sometimes pahde is then performed outside the house of the aggressor. This ceremony is accompanied by a sort of dance suitably dressed in scarlet and white, while some villagers a dzo will be made. This consists of three or more bamboo poles with a bamboo wreath of flowers and some other bamboo decorations and is a more elaborate structure than a pahde memorial. At the dzo ceremony the actual peace ceremony is performed. As the dzo ceremony these two parties involved in the feud are housed in a big tent and are entertained to a sort of feast and either side will give the other a present which will be opened before on the next day. The whole question of what is a better term one may call slavery in these hills is a very difficult question and I will submit a separate note on this matter in due course.

January 25th 10:05.
Talaho—Lahhipin (1,800 ft. approx.)
Distance—6 miles approx.

Direction—West.

We were up at 4:30 a.m. ready for the start of our first stage on the journey to Money but, as usual, there was much delay with the porters and the van was well up before we started. Teji came over to us off and sent his younger brother to act as our guide to the porters.

We proceeded to make the north-westward ascent through a small sae, the Palies, which flows South into the Pastoer and upwards through high pahde fields until the high virgin jinok was reached at about 6,500 ft. Here there is a saddle in the hills and the path leads steeply down to Dooril village. We had been told that there were no sae (mount saec) but here we received yet another demonstration of the indifference the Assamese display to country. Living as they do in a country of precipices of high and deep valleys, they take nothing of an ascent which to the average European is exhausting. At a height high up in the virgin forest we caught our first glimpses of the high mountain country of the upper waters of the Poona; great mountains 11,800 to 15,000 ft. high with snow covering their place covered crest. It was exciting. For here was definitely new country of a type which we had not so far seen. At Dooril we called upon the gentleman I like Serej and his niece wife, a most hospitable and pleasant person with a goat and beggar to stay in their camp and we ride over to their house from Menaga. We had lunch on the vanchthali of their house and then we went on our way to Lahhipin. Lahhipin the back of the Mill high valley lying in its deep Valley some 3,000 ft. below us. The journey was difficult and the path steep in places where side streams had to be crossed. We could see Lahhipin apparently across a valley on a spur running down to the Pastoer, but the side streams meant steep ascents and descents before the village was finally reached.

Lahhipin was not a friendly village and Nibhamen Ganien, the headman, was not in evidence. I think the reason was that it was suffering from a guilty conscience, for it was the the Lali would say Tenam.

* This is the Assy dialect; compared very powerful and very Nibhamen village of Lahhipin which had been called the smaller one and only Nibhamen village of Tahalo. The only people we met were women and slaves. I was however struck by the difference in dress and ornament. Dark blue cloth was in evidence; good material, well woven and lined inferior to the local cotton borders. The borders were embroidered with black and red silk and varied over the range from the yellow and the (more rarely) a scarlet or red garment of the Tahalo. I saw no sign of the small piece.

* A loka is a Tibetan object Jet. I cannot say what use it has but when it is supposed that it is a religious object and is generally meant to be used in the temple and look like this. They are ornamented and decorated with designs and vary in size from 6 inches across to 1 foot 9 inches across to size of a small plate.
Nihama grew a typical black and red narrow wooden giraffe such as one seen on Tibetans in Sikkim. Claims of Tibetan brass and copper rings and brass earrings set with cornelian and turquoise were all spoken of as few close connections with Tibet than any Daha community we had so far met.

When, however, we went to Nihama Geram's house in the evening we were regaled with what was clearly a party of lieu. Our informant was an influential slave who for some reason was not anxious for us to get out of the area to the North and West. We pitched our camp beside Nihama Geram's house where we were able to obtain wood and water. The forests step beneath the glaciers.

January 19th, 1948.

Lhakhang (4,800 ft.) — Menge (4,500 ft.).
Distance — 6 miles approx.

Direction — West.

The night had been bitterly cold as the wind had been blowing down the Pasuwar from the high snow ranges. Our start this morning was reminiscent of a Christmas card, for everywhere there was a heavy white horze from and we were glad of the clothes we could wear. It was not long however before the sun came up and warmed the day. The path was comparatively free from Lhakhang we could see the brown tints of the country grow grey away to the West. It did not look very far but there was rain about and distance was deceptive. As we went on one time we found that the route crossed one after another deep side valleys and though we left Lhakhang at 8.30 A.M. we arrived Menge until after 3 P.M. The last climb up to the village from the bottom of the valley of the Pasuan River was especially tiring.

On a separate sheet I have drawn a rough sketch of the upper waters of the Pasuan River with its tributaries and the main villages we saw on the way.

On our arrival at Menge we were the objects of the greatest curiosity and were hospitably received. The Mengeans and some Lhasans had come to come and visit their settlements when he had first gone up to Daha early in November last and Chief Mokhi, their Messenger, was now with us. We pitched our camp on a small level piece of ground which was celebrated for the quality of its clay and tribal patterns for males sought obtained their material from this spot. It was a cold, grey day and as soon as we had creased our team it began to drizzle, a condition which continued throughout the day in between periods of sunshine.

In Menge we found ourselves in a different world. True, the people were still Daha, but their natural trade relations and social customs lay usually to the North and West. In this one-off-the-way group of villages clinging to the slopes overlooking the upper waters of the Pasuan and themselves overshadowed by the heights 300 miles of Europe, of the sky, we had assumed it upon the first day, to the South-Eastern outpost, of the basin of Daha country having direct connections with Tibetan culture and trade. One was not even aware of the difference. Everywhere one saw Tibetan ornamentation of a quality superior to those seen farther South and East. The course Daha clowns were always taking was a bit windy. The women, many of whom to be seen looked like Tibetans, wore their hair in Tibetan fashion with the ends of the pigtails wrapped round their heads and standing out sideways above the cases as in the rough drawing below.

On this evening we went to the home of Nihama Tadj which was situated higher up the hillside and which was reached by a steep path. From our conversation several of the men in the house I learned that the Nihama people in Menge had fairly recently come from their original homes near Lhakha (now away to the West). The Daha and Mengeans were the same kind of people, their language being, however, a bit different. The Nihama men wore a hooded cloak to keep out wind and cold.

This seems to indicate that even now there is a definite migratory movement of the Daha Aya class from the North towards the South, though what causes this tribal migration I am not yet in a position to say. This leads me to believe that the arrival of the high tibetans of the Daha tribal group in these comparatively modern and southernly foothills regions is a comparatively recent event and has only been accompanied by excessive pressure from the North. I believe that the population has recently been subject to a considerable increase, for had the population density been the same as for an extended period the jumplings covering these hills would, in winter areas, show signs of having been planted. Indeed it may well be that within a few more years the density of the population has considerably increased. As far as I have been able to observe it is only around the existing villages that one encounters repossessed land and the search of old plantations; elsewhere one still finds virgin jungle. It therefore seems to me that many of the villages in this area are of much earlier origin as to have been deserted, as yet, unoccupied for the inhabitants to return to their quarters from land which, by cultivation, has become exhausted. I should imagine that the first settlement in the eastern part of the present area were the villages on the river valley: Daha and the Khae, hide away from the Nahma and the Lhasan along the upper reaches of the Basuwar. Of course is the low-laying places such as the Armaan valley, which show all the signs of a short and long-standing occupation, the village communities have probably been here, with little material change either in the density of the population or in the state of their secluded and isolated culture for thousands of years. But it must be remembered that the advent of settlers into the plains of Auma has taken place during the past century. True, there were previous civilisations in Auma such as the Anuma and other kingdoms, traces of whose occupation can still be found along these footpaths, but I think it can be taken as an accurate fact that these early civilisations had many contacts, cultural or economic, with the tribes inhabiting the hills of the North-East Frontier. This leads me to suppose that in much remoter and comparatively inaccessible areas in the upper waters of the Pasuan the Dahas did comparative newcomers from the North.
In the house of Nihang Tik we met Takam Ekha, who had often been to Lebha. He said that uncumbranced men could reach this area in two days but that porters would have to spend three nights in the high jumpees. The porters travel to this high altitude in cattle which were only possible to the warm weather and in winter were blocked with snow. There are no Daffa villages on the way there, except some Sulung settlements such as Etlu which is only one day’s march from Minga. Etlu consists of only four houses and is situated in the high hills where the Sulung engage in hunting and the collection of fungi for sale to the Tibetan traders. There is another Sulung village near Vngsa called Piku of which Sulung Chepo is the headman. The Sulungs are a separate race from the Daffas and speak a different language: they cultivate little but are very industrious and bring grain and skins to Minga for sale. They are expert blacksmiths and weavers of bark cloth. I was shown some of this bark cloth and, in fact, I think I now have several pieces of this one of the finest bark cloths I’ve been able to find. The Sasung is a grey race from the Daffas and speak a different language: they cultivate little but are very industrious and bring grain and skins to Minga for sale. They are experts in the bark cloths and other materials and are very skilled in the manufacture of tools.

Takam Ekha continued: “The first village encountered in the Lebo area is Lei inhabited by the Tseki clan. Close to Lei is a large Gonga village named Lacco on the Pamshi river. The Pamshi flows from the South-West into the Khara. The next village is Lacco-Le, a Tseki village, and this is only half a day from the Khara. Opposite Lacco-Le, on the left (far) bank of the Khara, is a large village named Khelorrya, probably by the powerful Nuniq-Benga clan. There the land is somewhat wet, which made the people engaged in wet rice cultivation. The Nuniq-Benga people go to Tibet (and this I conclude he meant that they go to where the Tibetans are living and not over the main hills) and buy wood, dyes, products, etc. Interpreting Ekha, I concluded that this must have been by Tibetans which he called Nyak-pa. Nyak-pa means Horga Dunch or Bung Dunch (white land). It transpired that there are many Tibetans living South of the main Hills and this is referred to as Tibet by the Daffas. “In that land” Ekha went on “there are large white stone houses having many rooms in which many Tibetans live and are ruled over by a Rajp who keeps a bull”. It is said to have been long since this happened. The Nyak-pa and Mayu (the Daffas for the people) are the Tibetans both spoken and written, for sale and barter and laddy rice, cash, flax, hide, and maize (vegetable dyes, mainly mesquits). The Tibetans keep sheep “like keys” for trading purposes and they use yak. On this side of the hills the people worth and trade and export are the Daffas and none. The Nuniq-Benga and Nyak-pa people are very wealthy. “There are three main dialects in the language spoken in the Daffa land: the dialect of the clan from the North such as the Nihang, Tseki, and Gonga; and the dialect of the clan from the south such as the Gonga, Nunk At and Loe, the dialect of the clan in the Southern districts such as the Lai, the Panay, the Nunk, and the Nunk. However, it is certain to give any group or group to any language group as the majority speak the common language of the various clans or districts, many of the original Aya-speaking clansmen have migrated far to the South and one can find Nihang villages such as Phayata in the Panay region. Today many Nihang and Gonga people come down. Moreover, if not all villages contain families of many separate clans—refugees—these may have been settled elsewhere over in the far North. One thing noted was that the situation looks very good for any clan or any person, i.e., of any position of kinship from the South to the North. It appears to me that at present the small, weak, and ill-equipped Daffa clans are in the process of elimination, being swamped between their more powerful and visible neighbours to the North and South.”

Ekha went on: “There are two Goba people in Minga. They came first to Minga through the high passes from the Yungk (Western Daffa country); from the Kisan (the Kiasin River). The other class of Minga intermarry with the Goba of the Yungk. After the Goba people the Nihang families came to Minga from the Lacho-Le area and then came the Tseki people who came from Gega village in the Lacho-Le region from near the village of Lei.”

January 27th, 1948

Hail Minga

It was a cold, wet day with the clouds always down to the river and blowing dust the view on all sides. We again went visiting the households of important headsman.

In the morning we visited the house of Nihang Tamgung of Seto settlement of Minga. Nihang Tamgung is the elder brother of Nihang Goba, headman of Tseki Goba. Here we learned about the collection and manufacturing of Daffa poison for which Minga is famous. The Daffas use poison on their arrows both for hunting and war but much in the acridity of this rough dried poison than the average Daffa, they have each one or two poisoned arrows in his quiver for emergency. Tamgung said that a quiver held by a poisoned arrow would be the most immediate. Sometimes the head is made of fire hardened bamboo which can be brought to a fine point. The poison is smeared on the arrow head and shaft as in the sketch below.

- Single Barbed Arrow
- Poison Arrow
- Arrow Shaft
- Feather Head
- Poison
- Eye
- Fine Feather
- Plume

Above the poison on the shaft of the arrow itself are made small incisions so that when the barb penetrates it breaks off. If my effort is made to remove it, the Daffa arrow is feathered with a variety of palm leaf and the feathers are kept in place by bending the tips. The shaft also always ends with a particular variety of palm eye. These are always four feathers to the arrow, and though it may be the case, I have never seen a Daffa arrow feathered with the feather of any bird.

The Minga villagers carry on a lucrative trade in poison and jealously guard their possession. They collect their poison from the high mountains South of the Pamshi and from the high range lying between Minga and the Khara to the North-West. The poison comes from a small plant known to the Daffas as
The shrub has a bushy appearance and is a little larger than a good sized chilli bush. The flowers are white and ripe in September. The berries are taken in the month of October. Each plant will bear about 100 flowers which will be sufficient for the season. The berries are used to make a pleasant jelly. The jelly is eaten out and the inner is used to make a jelly. This jelly substitute is then applied to the arrow head and is allowed to dry. The price is high, one rupee in trade goods for one rupee. The plant is scarce and Tawang said that the shrubs could be seen only at each stop which made it very hard and many effort. However the price can be kept for the next year and can still be sold for two rupees in the next season which will sell for 100 rupees in Shillong for export commodities. The Nungbo of Meang intermarry with the following clans: Tsem, Lsek, Taba, Tum (the last two are now mainly football clubs), and Dada (there is a Dada football club in between the Tawang and the Meang clan). These former villages were Meang.

In the evening we visited the house of Nana Nana. The Tsema clan were the last to come from the North to Mungo and Meang's father came from Giga village on the Mungo River. To get to this village partner would have to travel three nights on the long. As an example of the language spoken in the village I found that the name of Tawang Nana is Bummot of Meang on the lower Paniat, is married into this family and is living in the house. Nana was full with what appeared to be severe rheumatism and for this he was making jepin to a God called Sdall adventurer. This is the end of our visit and killings and also for the killing of tiger. Outside the house there were the usual decorated jepin placed dedicated to Lepai, Jepso, Uper, Hui and Jibosah. This group of desires were responsible for directing men's thoughts and actions. Other gods worshipped by the Meang Damo are Shal, the god of water, and Dash, the god of diseases.

Nana's son with named Yijo is of the powerful Gwahe clan. She came from Laga village and said that the nearest village to her in the Laga-Li area was Rib-Thir and its adjacent. Laga-Li. She said there was war rice cultivation in Laga-Li and that the people there grew good rice.

Having given his daughter in marriage to Nana Tawang of Meang's father, Tawang Kini, learned that the Meang had become very rich and in his case, he was not able to compete with it. Nana Kini thought of Meang to be rich after he was given a large number of meang was unable to obtain any suitable land for himself for rice cultivation and the family was therefore not able to compete with the other families.

The Tsema are described as follows to the North-West Nana said that Northwards from Laga-Li are then fifteen villages and then one goes to a big and important village called Bera. Between Bera and Tiber (to be referred to the Tibet south of the main Himalaya) there are two villages Nao and Ribti. The first Tibetan village is called Adbi. This is much of the main range. Nana said that it was a two days journey from Laga-Li to Nana. Nana went on to say that the Tibetans all have guns and use pangs and 'drag like bullets'.

While a chicken was being killed and grilled whole over the fire and eggs boiled by pouring water into the hot ash and placing the eggs in the hot, damp ashes, we were shown a piece of very fine wool of a long, silky simple wool. Nana had done the same from the Tibetans and in some Yak wool. After the wool had been grilled and pulled in to, several times, Nana continued, "there are two tribes of Tibetans, the Tibetans proper (the called them Lhama or Nyuee Nal) and a tribe called Nga or Nang. The two tribes are continuously fighting. When the Meang were hand-ground they enclosed the end of the Dalai of the Laga-Li rusts all of which have been broken, but despite this the 'Nang were defeated and were almost killed. The Meang people are simple and have no smith (to the Dalai an exuberant habit): They grow wheat but no rice or millet. The Meang speak a different language than the Dalai but can understand Dalai.

'There are also some tribes called Tera or Lungma'. These people are Dalai but they wear wheat clothes and high buses but the Tibetans like the Tibetans on account of the cold and snow. They also use yaks."

I think it is clear therefore that South of the main Himalaya range there is a colony of Tibetans who are living there permanently and are exerting the powers of Government, for Nana concluded by saying that the Tibetans were formerly common by making war against each other and against other Dalai claims but that the Tibetans refused peace. He said "the Dalai go across the mountains to trade as the Tibetans do not come for South. "The Tibetans" said Nana, "live in hovels which like mudhains. Their houses have chimneys and they have many lamps". He even pointed to my mouth and said that they had lamps like that, but this is obviously a sign of imagination. Nana referred to Tibet as 'the Sibar'!

January 26th, 1945.

Halt Mungo.

It was a lovely day and I had a cold coming on. I stayed in my tent and wrote up my diary, which though I had my news, was behind hand. I wonder if anyone will ever bother to write through all the day.

January 28th, 1945.

Mungo (4,500 feet) — Dorde (5,250 feet).

Distance — 9 miles (approx).

Direction — East.

In the evening yesterday the weather showed signs of clearing up and there was a wonderful sunset. All our watches have gone out of order except that of my servant Rib Nnode Kildin. This must have been playing up last night and later was heard at about 3 a.m. I emerged from my tent and find a clear cloudless sky and a bitter frost. It was bitterly cold. However there were no indications of frost, the ground was wet and the full moon and all the stars in the black, vaults might be seen at once above us. The complete silence was broken only by the faint roar of the Paniat many hundreds of feet below. At about eleven high range I could be heard and, in the moonlight, seemed higher than ever and the rocks quite like tarnished silver against the black vault of heaven.

We waited shivering for the dawn and had our breakfast long before the East grew light. The rising sun caught one after another of the peaks; first pink, then silver and finally a dazzling white of new fallen snow as the sun rose higher. It was a wonderful sight with the latest fall of snow lightly covering the high, ice covered towers and succeeding in weaving a veil of mist around the outer ring. So near three days of snow and rain had been, we could not bear it. We had learned a lot and had touched the fringe of a new world, a world in which Tawang was referred to as 'the Sibar'!”

1 I have since discovered that the Kora are not Dalai but are Chinese living in the high valley south of the main Himalaya range.
Our stay there from September was not easy. The recent rain had made the path dangerously slippery and little trickles of water splashed down the hillside on to our route. However by leaving at 7.15 in the morning I was able to avoid the worst of the mud. We continued on to Llisha Serol at Dory to our very much. But then we had to work to do in Llishia. We had received information that of the people captured at Horie Mungo at the time of the raid, four women, the remus of the captives, were kept in the house of Nishm Gerem. They were Cushi Yaseko, Temu Yasi, Temu Yegi, and Temu Yek. We had to go to the house of Gerem and demanded the release of the women. Expenses and provisions were paid. I remained and guarded the precious goods. For three days they were not released so I had to send the guards. These were eventually produced by King Yek. He was my friend. A hostage seemed to be required, so I grabbed the situation and went to the house of Gerem to meet him. I had met him before and said that he was a "Foreign Minister" to Nishm Gerem. I told him that I would remove with him to Nishm Yek. Gerem was pleased. This quickly had the desired effect and before long he was produced. As we left the village the air was rent by King Yek's war drum. While this was happening, our hostage was married to Temu Ngeko in the village and was marrying the daughter of her sister who had remained a slave in Llishia for two years.

This brings us to the difficult question of the prevalence of slavery in these hills. The whole problem resolves itself under two main lines of enquiry.

1. What are the causes of slavery in these hills?

2. What line of policy must Government undertake to follow in dealing with this whole question in the future.

But first, I think it would be as well to include here some general remarks upon slavery in these hills. The emancipation and capturing, or purchasing, captives and keeping them as slave workers is general throughout the hill tribes of the North East Frontier and this custom is hard. Even in those tribes of the Kalshe hills, areas where a varying degree of administrative control has been exercised for some seventy years, the custom may still persist in certain areas and is rife in the more remote villages in the unadministrative portions of that region. A slave is employed in large areas of the Aber hills, and, I have no doubt, exists, inside the hill tribal areas, in many forms.

I have, however, in my contacts with the Dafus and the Apa Tenji, come to realize how mistaken one is to attribute the kind of slavery depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the condition of captives in the Dafus Hills. The kind of slavery typical of a captured slave, a purchased slave, or a slave captured, is simply a form of the prevailing slavery which applies a wholesale erroneous term. The so-called slave trader, or slave hunter, works with his captor or purchaser. He is a mercenary, or is married into, the household of his master. If he displays initiative, initiative and industry he can become the owner and master. As it is it class, and social class, which is the main feature which gives the place of the slave after some time to his master. The slave is often transferred from place to place for the sake of his knowledge. The slave trader, the slave hunter, or the slave merchant, will move around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim. The slave hunter, or the slave trader, is moving around from tribe to tribe to find his next victim.

For instance, in the Dafus Hills, at the time I was the intelligence officer of the Dafus Hills, it was the custom for the tribe to go between the numerous tribes in the region which took place between myself and the intelligence officer. Nic Pasyo was a slave hunter who had been born in the house of Llishia, the head of a large family who had formerly lived in Llishia but who had, on account of feud, migrated to Komas. Nic Pasyo later became the best of my tribal porters and seldom failed to raise his quota of tributary men of whom there were many. He was of a considerable amount of money when working for me, and he told me that there would be no question of his having to hand over this money to Llishia or his master. I have met instances, such as one in Tiko, where an "slave" owned one of the largest houses in the village and is now also the wealthiest and most influential in the village.

It may be thought that a captured slave will become a slave in the house of his captor. He has a great reward in his fortune, but this is accepted by tribal tradition. He always has the chance of being released and even if he is not, his lot is better than the fate of the Dafus. The Dafus are on the Stock Exchange; suddenly finds himself transferred from slavery to freedom in a civil war in which he has no part. He is a slave hunter, and he has been captured and branded in his homeland, where his children will also become the responsibility of the head of the house.

Many slavers would refuse utterly to leave their masters even if given the chance to do so. A captive from a small village populated by a weak race is, after his capture, often industrious, better off than when he was a slave. He is a slave hunter, and he has been captured and branded in his homeland, where his children will also become the responsibility of the head of the house.

Many cases to be relieved would be a disaster. Where can he go? His village probably on no longer exists. His interests now centre around the village of his vassals. To throw him out upon the cold, hard Dafus World, a world in which to resist a run-away slave is the occasion for instant reprisal against the helper, is, to him, an unheard act.

By the foregoing remarks I have sought to explain rather than define the custom prevalent in these hills. Throughout all primitive, and, in the modern world, I am afraid, civilized, society it seems to be the law that the weaker societies go to the wall. This, in these Frontier Tracts, is at present understood and slavery, as understood in Geneva, has little meaning in this part of the world and the idea of slavery is almost unknown. The principle of slavery is everywhere despised in this part of the world. It is the belief of the captor's own choice. If he wishes to be freed it means the fact that he is unhappy in his present lot and expects to improve his position by regaining his freedom. In this event he is certainly should be freed by Government when it is in a position to do so. However, this is a case where in my position I am not able to do so. If he does not, there is no way for him. If he does, then I will give him some money and he goes back to where he started. When he and his neighbours are no longer the same place merely to pay a hypocrical lip-service to theories and statisticians in Geneva, whose horizon is, for the most part, bounded by conditions in Europe? The greatest in any small in a European city, the "Indian labourer working a cotton or jute mill and living in a chawl and the so-called 'apprentice' in a harness shop, all three, by comparison, bear a lot far harder than the slave or slave in a Dafus house. While the question will have in future to be subjected to the closest examination, it is not a question of removing the "beams that is in thine own eye".

I now come to the first of the two questions I postulated at the beginning of this dissertation, 'What should be done by Government to this problem'

It seems to me wise to make any drastic alteration in this tribal custom until Government is so firmly installed in the area that it is in a position first of all thoroughly to understand the problem and later to enforce with the utmost determination the policy which is finally agreed upon. If it is of any statistical value to me to state that there are some thirty-three thousand Negroes freedom, by all against the wishes of their owners. Some of these released people have taken the opportunity of availing themselves of the freedom they have gained. Others have promptly returned to the families to which they have lived for so long in comparative comfort and security. But on the occasion the effect has been to antagonize the owner even if in some cases it has been only temporary. My main object during
the winter has been established, in this first contact friendly relations between these remote tribes and the Government. If I am to adopt a policy of releasing men and women on every occasion the results politically is going to be entirely different from anything that can be calculated to happen in any other way. I am told it is widely understood that the Government will not countenance the capture or killing of men and women, and, in some cases where one position is sufficiently well established, every effort should be made to stamp out this custom. It will be aimed at avoiding the arrival of stronger administrations and the encouragement of more civilised ideas.

I now come to the second question. Much of it has been said in dealing with the first. There remains the question of how best to remove 'dowry' and the keeping of slaves from this area. There are two ways of bringing this to pass. The first, and clearly the most objectionable politically, is by direct repressive action on the part of the Government. By enforcing the anti-slavery sections of the Indian Penal Code which provide the routine reply to enquiries from the League of Nations in Geneva. This, as I have already pointed out, is not the immediate answer for this area. The second, and to my mind the more effective, would be to bring about the general freeing of slaves by economic means. For instance in Assam society there are two bonds, the pate or paucidad class and the plebeian class known as the paba. In the present state of the law I suppose the pate would be bound to face even greater difficulty in finding work. Their women are bound to clothing, they work for him. They marry more late childhood and those in turn are the property of their mother. However, in Assam the pate has taken out a will 'permission to use slavery among the Assam Tana'; written last year when he was studying in this tribe, a paba family which presents significant modern ideas in the conditions of its people. If this family in some other part of India, and the paba and the paucidad a separate source of livelihood on the part of the pata family, a step in the right direction will have been taken. To my mind the most immediate following the introduction of the Durga in the Assam Tana society; if alternative employment be created for the male, and the crops grown for the purpose of earning their own wages and the favourable conditions of life and health which characterize his area in the advantage of the paucidad for the present, my belief is that it is the community pressure in the natural world, a tradition of these tributaries which has prevented them from the very earliest times, the customs of the capture and enslavement of unfree labour. The legitimate family is too small a unit to the cost of livelihood in the different fields is much less and the work is not the thing to do it. The wage labourer is not needed to cut pata and clear fields of Para is a type of jungle. The "wide-net" methods of cultivation are in general disuse.

Govt. should endeavor to follow in dealing with this problem in three ways:

1. (1) to create conditions which will enable the "dowry" aspect to be independent of his income, and

2. (2) if possible, to impose the "dowry" aspect upon man power and if the class or family has sufficient leisure it capitulates, the line of policy which Govt. should endeavor to follow in dealing with this problem is therefore two-fold:

3. We have been asked in this case, to give us views on this important and difficult problem and hope therefore that these remarks may be of assistance and value. In conclusion I would add that, if Government are contemplating the construction of roads and bridges and in this way add a good number of hitherto unfledged males. I have no doubt that the introduction of casteless industries and village handicrafts will absorb a large number, but whatever is contemplated the first objective should be, in my opinion, the raising of the standards of agriculture and the introduction of alternative means of livelihood. By doing this we will strike at the roots of the problem and by removing the causes of curing it. We were all tire when we reached Darjeel but again were very kindly received by Lds. Serkit and his charming old wife Dips. A goat was killed and some liquor was distributed among the exhausted porters and P. L. Co. and everyone was soon happily settled in.
this winter has been to establish, in this first contact, friendly relations between these remote tribesmen and the Government. If I am to adopt a policy of relocating these tribesmen and even on very occasion the result will be to go back to the policy of excluding any attempt to do so, it is obviously to do so completely and to establish this custom, it is thus wise to leave too fast in this need at the speed at which it is formed.

The present attitude of Government should be, one of disregard and at the same time tolerance. It should be the business of all Government officers both in this matter. It is widely understood that Government will not countenance the capture or killing of such tribesmen, and, in cases where our position is sufficiently well established, every effort should be made to stamp out this custom. In other words, if the government is the government and the government is in charge of the government in these hills. If, in other words, it is the government and the government is in charge of the government in these hills, then it is not expedient to bring about this situation.

I now come to the second question. Much of what has been written in dealing with the first. There is, however, the question of how best to remove slavery and the keeping of such slaves, and I suggest that this is not the solution. For instance in the native society, the slave is not only the slave of the government, but the slave of the government and the slave of the people. In the broader sense of the term I suggest that the slave should be considered a slave. Whether it is owned by a native or by the government, in their hands, by the slave himself, or by the government, it is the slave of the government and in doing so they must be already owned. In the aggregate, a large amount of money. This has considerably altered the native society, for there was a great mass of men for the time being, economically independent of his master. If slavery to the Government can develop, the situation we have now reached has the possibility of being that of a situation in which there is a step in the right direction will have been taken. In any case for December the 4th last I submitted the conclusions which would follow from the situation in the Agra Terci, and in the Agra Terci, as I believe, in the future, there will be more and more of such societies which have been formed from the very earliest times the customs of the stamp and maintenance of unpaid labor. The lighter family is no longer a small and is a small family in the diffused capacity. In all cases has been the tendency to cut down these fields and keep the large ones for the larger family. The picture is by no means a complete one and will be the case that will correct this. It has been asked in this context, to give my views on this important and difficult problem and in pursuing these remarks may be of assistance and value. In conclusion I would add that if the Government is contemplating the construction of roads and bridge parts in this area, this will itself be a good number of banks and to the Government and village handicrafts will absorb a good many more, but whatever is contemplated the first object should, in my opinion, be the raising of the standards of agriculture and the introduction of alternative means of livelihood. By doing this we will strike at the root of the problem and by removing the cause of the disease we shall, at the same time, remove the necessity of curing it.

We were all tired when we reached Davdil but again were very kindly received by Liliha Sere and his charming old wife Dips. A goat was killed and some liquor was distributed among the exhausted porters and P. L. Co. and everyone was soon happily settled in.

I must here put in a word about the Gokhals P. L. Co. For I have nothing but the greatest admiration for them. I have only been provided with eleven out of the two hundred but to be struck in Duna to help in the campaign there. The men I have with me are, however, quite indispensible for they provide an example to the tribal porters and carry the heaviest loads. In camp they pitch the tents, construct the huts and generally make themselves useful in every way. What I should have done without them I cannot imagine, for they always work tremendously hard and however trying the conditions always remains cheerful. In Liliha Sere's house I obtained the geographical name of his clan and agreed it as an appendix to this diary. The interesting fact is that it has been only in this generation that the Liliba clan has spread from the original area in which it settled to the west of the high ridge known as the Ched Jana Pata. The Liliha and the Nihensa clans are now adjoining with little village jungle land between them. If therefore these two clans combine to increase is there will be necessity for the Liliba people to abandon their present course. It was Sere and his family who originally carried the goods and established the village, but it is a custom that there are now Nihensa families also living in the village. This, I think, can be explained by the fact that Sere has no enemies and is at peace with his neighbors and even the Duna is sufficiently appreciative of security to welcome the chance of settling in a village uncorrupted with goods. Davdil is friendly and intimate, with the Nihensa, Leli, Tabia, Tana, Ten and Tana clans.
January, 18th 1945

Dorde (3,250 ft approx.)—RENTAM (5,000 ft approx.).

Distance—6 miles (approximately).

Direction—East.

At 7.30 a.m. we broke camp with many regrets, for we were sorry to leave Sarki and his kind folk. Our return on Rentam meant that we had to leave the village by another path and a more circuitous way; steeply up a gorge and nearly through a bush path the higher you penetrated the village. Up we climbed to the top of the Chak Jallu Peak, the highest ridge on the Rapi dominion from the top of which you first directly into the Punish further to the West. The middle over which we were must have been well over 6,000 feet, and from our vantage point looking back to the West we could see the higher mountains stretching away for miles in the Rapi Peak (11,000 feet approx.) and the Umar Peak (13,000 feet!).

They were all heartily covered with smoke. The mountain people also had many buffalo heads. Observe the Mango people follow a path along the Nishki river and so can reach the Gilla villages in the Village.

From what we have learned I think it will be seen how miserable. It is to be the unperson in the quest for eleven in regions khatred unamused. Before leaving Tijji’s house in Taha I had sent a message to Undha Ekkir and Lihka Taha, husband of Lihka Taha, landlord of Ranta. When he came to me and said, for I had bidden them that there were certain captives in their houses. I had requested a supply which was from Kafir. I had therefore taken the precaution in order for a section of the Asam ride to come from Kafir and came near the village. As soon as I heard the two in camp and when I asked them why they had not come near. I was told that they had come and were near. I was told that they had come and were near.

We visited the Undha household and with William, who, from his appearances in Taha, was very glad to see us, and we sat down on the ground and had some refreshments. We then went off to Undha, who was reported to be in his house about a mile and a half away. We were accompanied by Undha and his captives in his house. They were Taa Taa, Taa Taka, Taa Tijji, Taa Taka, Taa Taka (female) and Taa Rep (female). Undha was, I think, accompanied by his relations in accordance with the new technique we were taught into his house and sat down beside the fire. With Taha were the three men Tomas, Taha and Ikha. Taha was a hard faced old man with a determined look about him and I at once felt that he could prove to be a rough customer and so it turned out.

We began in a friendly enough way but Undha did not show, for he was, I think, worried by the knowledge that we knew that he had killed in his house. I endeavored to make Undha understand that we have the same interest in the war and that I arrived in this country with the object of unifying the people. To my surprise Undha did not, as I thought, deny that he had killed; he admitted that all wrong was done in his house concerning to Tijji he said “I have no concern with Tijji.” I endeavored to explain this and told him that if they wanted to live there must be no killings in the future. The young men of the household were also present and were also present and were also present. The news of the household was by this time collected and began getting rather excited and started threatening their men and for a time things looked somewhat threatening. However as the dispute had progressed so far there was no turning back and no intention on any part of mediation by any means of. The men were determined to go, and a good deal of trouble was occasioned by this. The men were determined to go, and a good deal of trouble was occasioned by this. The men were determined to go, and a good deal of trouble was occasioned by this. The men were determined to go, and a good deal of trouble was occasioned by this.

It became clear to me that our mere presence was not going to have the desired effect and so we went for the Asam ride who were camped about a mile and a half away. This was the signal for pandemonium to break loose. The thought that the enemy would shortly arrive was too much and everyone wanted to bolt but we forced Taha and his three men to remain. Eventually seeing that his companions had deserted him, Taha’s nerves cracked and with the utmost ill grace, he eventually agreed to give the three captives up. I then told the Asam ride, who by now were in sight on the opposite hillside, to take. The prisoners were then produced and we all dressed some snacks and, having handed round some more cigarettes, we left.

The interesting part of this episode was the part played by the women of the household. They proved to be the most excitable factor and their excitement spread to the onlookers. They continually urged their menfolk not to agree and not to be cowardly and behaved generally as the evil advice to the corner.

It was, I feel, rather a sorry thing, for told Undha’s fear of the consequences and got the better of him anything might have happened. A word or a sign from him and there might have been more than an argument.

JANUARY 1ST 1946

Rentam (5,000 ft approx.)—Mudo (5,040 ft).

Distance—7 miles approx.

Direction—North-East.

The journey back to camp was without incident and on arrival I found that the Asam ride had built Cookery a really good luncheon with a good mixture of boiled potatoes, rice proofed bread, and some home baked rolls. I must say I could not agree with him because though he was so much in Mudo for some six weeks, and as February was required to be a rainy month, it was very necessary there was also a large post waiting for me which had to be dealt with and I am afraid I was somewhat
February 1st, 1945

Halt Mido.

I spent the day dressing and drying my kit, putting off porters, dealing as far as possible with the correspondents and despatching the fact that the clerk in Joyalpur had completely ignored the detailed and
instructive instructions sent down to him as to what loads he should send up. For some reason he is known to him he has sent up practically nothing but salt, which, though essential for the trade depot at Ditta, has left us in a very unpleasant position with regard to the stores both for the Assam Rifles and the staff. To
add to my depression it was cold and raining all day.

February 2nd, 1945

Halt Mido.

I am thankful I am not moving in this weather for it poured all day and the camp, situated in a damp field, has become a quagmire of slippery mud. We are however hoping to move to
Kurum tomorrow on our journey to the Kheri. This was possibly not possible, however, for us to
return to Kurum until further stages have been arrived at. If it continues to rain like this I am afraid I shall be far from happy. To leave a rain soaked camp, worse all day in the rain, arrive at a soaking
and camp site and, at night, get into damp bedding naturally has to be done on occasions but if the
erperience has to be undergone too often I am afraid I find it more than a little irksome. It looks as
if we are going to have some trouble with the powers tomorrow as the Jumna and Tible and Par
Valley District who have come to Lhaha with their cases have no real reason or desire to go further.
One cannot altogether blame them as they all have been away from their homes now for a
considerable time, and the impending season is fast approaching.

February 3rd, 1945

Mido (5,910 ft.)—Jungle Camp (5,600 ft. approx.)

Distance—6 miles approx.

Direction—North.

Fortunately the rain had stopped but it was a raw and cold morning. As I feared, we had
some trouble with the porters and it was nearly 10 a.m. before we finally got away. We crossed the
Panner river by another path but soon joined the Nyelum route which we followed as far as the
junction of the Pahan and the Khi. Instead of crossing the river below the junction we took a
track across the Pahan only and followed the path in a north-west direction through secondary
jungle and jungle, some of which were said to belong to Nyelum. After the rain the ground was
very wet and the going in the valley borders heavy. On this march I was struck by the fact that the
Deha, unlike the Agra Tam, is by choice a forest cultivator. In several places we came
upon land which was clearly suitable for wet rice cultivation, indeed in some places rice had been
cultivated since the past but the terraces had been all wad to fall down and the land been abandoned.
I think therefore that it is true to say that the Dinka does not take kindly to this type of agriculture. He is essentially a man of the forest and the hillside and prefers a well drained slope to a busy bottom. To-day, at any rate, I can see some Dinka with his.

Despite the fact that it poured with rain as our arrival we had some rain in a "field house",—small but from which the crops can be watched at night,—which gave us shelter until the teams were up and ready to start. We got up for the Assam Hills and the plains. The plains was a new one and there was plenty of deadwood and impenetrable bush in the reaches cleared in the evening and we sat under the stars drying our clothing, building a large fire. There are times when this life I am leading fills me with gloom. There are others, such as this, when with a pipe and the stars and the quietness I am filled with contentment.

February 6th, 1926

Jungle camp (5,000 ft.)—Kironon (5,550 ft.)

Distance—4 miles approx.

Direction—North.

We started early from the plains field and followed an unexplored path which was very overgrown. The reason for the Dinka became apparent when one of the advance guards picked up a jump. The path we were following was the same one used by Kironon to Mysing and the same Liaka (as far as I know) have virtually no contact with each other. In the river bed of the river Liaka and Lihia, I can only presume that the main road of Liaka is to the North and this is confirmed by the report I heard in Mysing that Liaka was entirely with another native village to the North, in the upper valley of the river Lihia. I shall return to that later. In Tainy.

7. A Gallgum working for forest contractors in the jungle and case关系s around his own house can earn more than Rs. 25 a month which is what we are offering Siders for work in this area. The ordinary Gallgum porter only receives Rs. 20 per month for carrying a 50 lb. load in this country: why should they cease voluntarily on such a wage when they can earn more in their own villages, and are we in any justified in using any form of compulsion? It means, moreover, always be remembered that by working far away from these villages Gallgums are unable to undertake their own cultivation and this, both as a matter of principle or else a question of the repair of their own homes per carry out the other numerous domestic functions such as attendance at marriage festivals and religious rites, all serious deprivations to a tribesman they have probably to employ others to perform their routine requirements in agriculture and this eventually has to be paid for in kind.

The Gallgum too, whom I consider indispensable; also labour under an injustice. Complaints have been made that Gallgum Permanent Labour Corps labour is unobtainable, and when a recruit from Chinsurah gets offered to them they refuse last resort he is accepted in obtaining one unfitted and untrained individual. But can one expect anything else: when it is realized that the Civil Police Corps, special Military organisation, is offering Gallgum as much as Rs. 17-5-0 plus free clothing and free ration? If therefore Civil requirements are to compete in the open market Government must be prepared to offer competitive wages. If they do not I shall be unable to carry on next year, for I shall have no porters.

The Gallgums and Galgefefs have worked well and loyally for me this year but they are not unreasonably apt that nothing will instil them to return next year for the same wages. I agree with them and do not blame them in the least for it is natural that they should wish to obtain employment where the rates are most favourable. A good deal has been said in the press of the spiral of indigence, but inflation to so far as prices are concerned in Assam is only an accomplished fact. The objectionable aspect of the problem has been that whereas the cultivators has always everywhere obtained a compensatory higher price for his produce, the corresponding rise in the price of labour has not been universal. This is in part due to the poverty of the Assam Tea Association which has gone to extraordinary lengths to maintain, as far as possible, the rates of garden labour at the present level, and focused on those who display any proof of ability to raise the pay of labour generally. The fighting services, and in particular the American unionists, have insisted this pressure and have been offering rates far in excess of those offered by the civil service. It is not surprising therefore that there has been a steady drift of labour from civil to service purposes.

If the work is important, as this is said to be, then the very way to compete in the open market must be found. If this work is to be done properly and if a great deal of time, and untrained labour is not to be wasted by officers literally using grassy quadrangle in many villages to obtain tribal porters with the inevitably adverse consequences, than an adequate number of Permanent Labour Corps must be present in the area. If the numbers can be increased as above stated, I can put up the necessary number of indigent labourers as the large demand in present times.

I therefore earnestly hope that Government will use the force of the arguments which I have developed above and will agree to raising the pay both of workers and porters among the Gallgums and Galgefefs to a figure which will at last equal that being offered by other employers of labour.

I must not go into details regarding the Political Jamaadores except to say that the problems he occupies in the present area is the Political Jamaador at Miao. His influence has been great over the past of his years. The number of persons that he can control is great: his character and educational attainments are such that the Government must use him as the intermediary between the Government and the local inhabitants. He must be used carefully as an instrument of the Government, and he is bound to be used as such by the Civil Government. His influence should be increased to the utmost, and that the demand for the villages in the Pan Valley and even in Miao quickly curtailed for himself the title of Aba (father).

This evening as the rain drummed on the roof of the tent I had a long discussion regarding the future movements of us all. There have been indications of late that our advance is probably in a mobile. This is hardly to be wondered at as apart from the base at Gangtok in the valley, we have no trade with running at Dital where another excellent but young and inexperienced chef has been there so long, keeping the accounts, a necessary craft at Dital, and another being run by the Political Jamaador at Miao. In addition there have been considerable payments to tribal porters at different places. The complications have therefore been considerable. As is any case we are temporarily held up for want of elephant. I decided that Haunerköpf should go to Dital tomorrow and try and square things up and will leave with a party of Gallgums who arrived here yesterday. In the mean time I will stay on here and wait for the dupes and the Upper waters of the Kura. I also hope that by this time the rail complications will have been resolved.

February 6th, 1945

MALT KIROM

The rain ceased in the early hours of the morning and the Special Officer and his party of Gallgums left for our, our camp site on the Pan river. I was sorry for them as they left, for it was a beautiful day and was even more noticeable in the evening when the rain fell in torrents with occasional squalls of short showers and the clouds covered the hillsides in a dismal descending blanket. Even my own tent pitched on a well drained slope two days before became waterlogged and I slaughtered all the conditions down in the valley of the Pan.

Many Apa Tani headmen have come here in the hopes that a final settlement will be made best it was decided. KIROM has appealed to NAI and KIROM may be the weather that is determining them but things are looking rather difficult. Unless this necessary area can be made to come to terms it will be impossible to proceed further and we shall again have to alter our plans.
To-day Likhàb Talabd, the young headman of Patî (I have discovered that though Patî is sometimes used as a sort of "romanized" name for the settlement in Patî, no one in Patî call it Patî) wished to take this opportunity of settling a minor murder case with Khâdha Kûrâjm. I was not particularly anxious to take up this case because I felt that initiation of this sort would make the Likhàb headman even less disposed to come to terms. However, as it was equally important to gain the confidence and friendship of Talabd in particular in his house, I consented. The scene having been set in Talabd's house, the house desecrated and enquiries elicited the fact that he was away 'on urgent business'. This did not help explain the fact that all his relations had gone with him and thus the house was swept and guarded. However, it proved to the old custom of the headman not hating mean-spirited. Talabd was furious and said "with respect of the Likhàb case, I have always been a bad lot and are quite different from us." I said nothing but suspected that this distinction was more a case of "hate as human nature". But this was an invariable rule. It was confirmed indeed. However, I still hoped perhaps persuading Kûrâjm to return and not to use the excuse to see Sir John Smit to the house. He should be prevented to not to use the excuse to see Sir John Smit to the house. Sir John Smit was also abroad but his house was full of unpleasant and there too I found the sons of Likhàb Râbâhs. They too were warranted for minor quarrels and, after having made what I wished and having returned to them to do all that they could to fetch in Khâdha Kûrâjm, Talabd and I returned to the scene of Likhàb empty house. There I discovered the case from a minor complaint from Talabd of murder being on the part of Râbâhs' sons to the main issue. The feud between Likhàb Râbâhs and Likhàb Khâdha and Likhàb Talabd has been important in Talabd's father's time. It had been that Râbâhs had to invite Kûrâjm of the forgive, sin of the Dûalo tribal law, of having killed her. Talabd therefore required Râbâhs' house which was somewhat isolated in Talabd settlement, occupied several Kûrâjm of the property. However, Talabd being the young party and being under a kind of fear of having violated the Dûalo custom, he let the place and had charged his own house of benefit and his own house, in the past two years, occupied as a sort of pin pin quite twice against Likhàb in general and Talabd in particular. A minor here, a couple of women, occupied these, a man killed and several houses in the isolated part of the Talabd, and all in the past two years. On the movement of the remaining Likhàb, I was the one called to the Tujghâg, and Talabd had raised no protest nor had done anything to denote any compensation from Talabd for the damage he had inflicted.

I remained and then and by the reason to join me round one of the same bands in the house and community. I found a generous supply of bamboo and bamboo straw and bamboo leaf in the farmland, while the leaf and bamboo hat made for the farmers while the bamboo hat made for the farmers. At first I did not seeing. I joined and the presence of the members in the most class of conversations themselves for if bamboo was used to use with another the whole family and village community was nourished. If the village was divided against itself it would certainly become weak and as easy prey for any other village who wished to attack it. I told Talabd even if the case against Râbâhs were won, the women wounded in the man's household was left great.

There we began talking. My words had evidently given them pause for thought for they were in a quiet and the pleasant frame of mind and the men began each side produced their bundles of bamboo and spoke with eloquence and while one spoke the other made an attempt to interrupt. At the end, having had all the arguments very carefully translated, I began summarizing the alleged rights and wrongs as outlined by each side. It was strangely reminiscent of a law court and yet these were unlearned villagers, unknown, fortunately as yet, in the situation legal arguments were objectless to make it simple of Talabd's case that he is left to return to his settlement in Talabd, and thus to work his way out of the evil influence of the professional trouble makers in Likhàb. As long as he remained here there was a continuous cause for friction between Likhàb and Likhàb. Finally both parties agreed to hold a meeting to the control and with the assistance of Abâr (there the headman's; I mean to Rajamp, any Political Leader). I am now waiting for the return of Likhàb Râbâhs from whom it will be necessary to obtain confirmation to this proposal.

If possible his sons are even drier and more cautious than he is this is perhaps projecting relativity beyond the current limit. I was struck how, even here, the outcome soon loses his will respect.  

February 8th, 1945

HALI KIROM

This morning I received a letter from Cookney saying that one of his men in Pîh camp was reported to be seriously ill. Here was the very emergency which I had hoped to avoid this year. For as the Anam Rûdah have no doctor of their own there was nothing for it but to try and scrap together seven men from this hostile area to carry the Doctor, his servant, his tent, and his kit on the four days march down to Pîh. After a good deal of trouble I managed to collect seven bargain on and the Doctor will have to leave tomorrow morning at first light. The result of this will be that he will be away for the very least, and, if it is necessary for him to accompany the sick men down to Josip, for possibly more than a fortnight. This will delay still departure for the Pálh, for, even if matters develop favorably here, it will be impossible for him to follow us alone.

This, I think, demonstrates clearly the unsatisfactory state of affairs and is yet another example of the inadequate preparation for this year's expedition. The original plan was to have a permanent outpost in the western neighborhood of Rûbâh and we have already pointed out the impossibility of this in view of the absence of adequate medical staff alone. The present position is that there are Anam Rûbâhs posts at Pîh, Dûh, Mîlîo and Kûrâjm, all scattered and seeking at any rate a Sub-Assistant Surgeon with them. In addition there are ourselves. So far we have been lucky in our health but if anything untoward did occur either in the shape of great illness or accident the chances are that we should be at the receiving end of medical aid. While I am normally of a fairly optimistic temperament this situation can hardly be expected to add to my confidence as leader of this expedition. I maintain that all these problems should have received adequate consideration beforehand and that no expedition should be sent into these hills.
without a medical staff of sufficient size to cope with emergencies. Perhaps all these problems were considered, but if this was so I had no evidence and unable to send an expedition into such remote country many parts of which are known to be unhealthy with insufficiency doctors. If the object of the whole operation was to prove the worth of the settlement of the Tiago, I believe that in the first years the requirements of the various expeditions were worked out in far greater detail at Headquarters and that the part of the settlement was ill-equipped and understaffed.

To-day while the Liches set up camp a certain Dür Tapa of Tiago settlement arrived in the crowd of visitors and particularly impressed in his appearance by a Tapa Tye Tapa whose wife Tiapa had stolen that year. I was allowed to the men of Tapa and had no similar obligations to the residents of Tiago, so I demanded the return of the woman. Dür Tapa refused point blank to hand her over so I grabbed his arm and his yams (the small shining bush carried by all Duras) and dragged him unerringly to the guard room of the Apar Vila Section. There he will remain until the woman is produced. Tapa was not surprised to resist and is now giving happily explaining matters to the guard who of course cannot understand him.

February 5th, 1945
HALT, KIROM

The Doctor left his house to-day and the weather seemed to have been more merciful to him than it was to Haikasen. As some of the huts of Licha and Kirom have been in the chances of a sad and seem to be growing more and more remiss, The Apa Tsani are, not without reason, becoming more and more dazed and impatient and are urging me to 'capture someone'. They find this kind of patience quite incomprehensible and say 'you are here in the village with no yams. Why do you wait? Why do you not take the initiative and do something with the whole land the power of the Sinr? It is clear that I must take some action soon but what action can I take? If I make any move the Licha and Licha will merely leave the place, for I am constantly watched and my every move is reported. The truth is that I am confronted with the eternal problem of how to impose a reasonable and defensible law even by savage methods. Civilized methods require a great deal of patience and take a great deal of time. My patience is wearing perilously thin and I have not the time to waste. The Licha men are true savages; they live by war and plunder and practice deceit. To try and gauge one's conduct by civilized standards when dealing with such people is foolish and unrealistic; they just do not understand and the only appeal to which they will respond is superior force and superior cunning. To appeal to their better natures, or even to reason, is useless for they have neither. They have found for a long time past that such methods of existence proved to be profitable and until they are shown that this is no longer the case they will not cease to plunder the settlements as a matter of survival. The road to these places is from one other probable villages. All the evil doors of the country side have collected here in Kirom and Licha under the protection, and with the approval of the Licha clan. The clan itself is thoroughly bad and has thrived on robbery. All the decent Licha families have departed elsewhere; only the bad remain and, reinforced by the all-sneaks, they constitute, a whole area. How is it possible to deal with these people except by force? The only consideration which lets me is that I have my task. The Licha are the most unreasonable force of the Sinr and of barbarism. They want to destroy the possession of Licha in the head waters of the valley of the Kiyung and guard the middle in the hills and to take down the walls of the Licha and the Kiyung. Such a community can make full use of its favorable position to block the main accessible route from South to North and can prey upon the Apa Tsani country, upon the two isolated houses of the settlements of Licha, and upon traders from Nyalat, Jerum, Tapa and the other smaller villages on the South.

Dissatisfied with such a course, I decided to sub the only feasible plan would be to destroy these settlements of Licha and Kirom, for once this band of fraternity was split up it would lose its power over the country side and individual interests could then be dealt with in detail. However before adopting such severe measures I will try by every means at my disposal to make the headmen conclude a depot with the Apa Tsani and thus put an end to this troublesome feud.

February 16th, 1945
HALT, KIROM

To-day the stolen wife of Tapa was produced and I then released Dür Tapa. He was in tears and said 'what can I do? where can I go? I am so poor and now I shall not be able to return to my village.' I was sorry for the man and said that he could work for Government and earn money and get rations free and that the Sibar would look after him and would help him to obtain land elsewhere. He was miserable and in tears and I gave him his white cloth to comfort him. He said that he would come back with his brothers on the morrow and that they would all work for Government and to earn sufficient money to settle elsewhere.

In the evening I went across the valley to the large house belonging to Licha Saha, the father of Licha Tama who had seen us when we first came to Kirom. I hoped that a talk with him might improve matters. On arrival Kop Tama, my head interpreter, and I passed only Saha and his old child of a wife in the house. The house was surprisingly clean for a Dura house and in its construction was more solid and weatherproof than any other house that I have so far seen. While I noticed that it seemed to be lighter inside I also saw that it was unusually quiet and unmarked. This was clearly temporary absence on the part of the inhabitants as the place was tidy and the appearance of having been purposely and deliberately set aside for even the sand from the floor had been swept away. I sat down by Saha who glanced moodily at me and I began to talk. Every remark and every question was countered by a rude rejoinder. He was the most unpleasant and cantankerous villain I have so far met in these hills and Tama my interpreter, an old man, experienced man that he is, was quite unprepared for the attitude of the village and made it clear that there could never be anything but capricious bi-him and Government.

To try appeasement any further was folly, for it would only be taken as weakness. To show my displeasure I took away the cigarettes and matches that I had given him and said 'I came as your friend; I am now leaving as your enemy'. As he left me he shouted off into his house without so much as a glance backward.

So my last hope of a peaceful settlement seems to have gone, for if Saha will do nothing to settle matters it is unlikely that any of the other headmen will be willing to compromise. It seems therefore that some movement will have to be taken, for if these Tamas is allowed to get away with it what will the other more peaceful villages think? Will they not be expected to try the same game? I was more than worried when I returned home in the rain which continued throughout the night.
February 13th, 1945

HaLi Kiraun

Kiraun—Bagi and back

Distance 6 miles (approx.)

If I was warned yesterday I am even more disturbed today. I was about to have my lunch when an excited Indian came into a camp. "Dur Tapa and his brother have come back," he announced. To my further inquiries it transpired that Dur Tapa and his brother had indeed come back to my camp in the morning and had wandered from Licha Sara’s house on the spur across the valley. As soon as they saw Licha Sara, his wife, Pit Tara and her children, they had come to the house in Nyekhun. From there they had come across the valley to Akpa and had ambushed the party in the dense jungles of the Kiri Valley on the way to Nyekhun. Licha Sara was reported to be wounded but despite this had returned to Bagi with his wife.

I needed more but he locked my lunch and in a few minutes I had six of the Asam Rifles and ten of the local people, coming into a camp. Dur Tapa and his brother have now moved so fast across these hills as I did on this occasion, we almost ran the whole way. Off reaching the camp site above Bagi I discovered that the Bagi raiders had not rebuilt their houses in the old sites but had concentrated groups of small grass huts on the jungle clod upper further to the South. My Apa Tani guide knew in which house Dur Tapa lived and pointed it out across the valley amid thick undergrowth.

So down we went by a steep and slippery path in the valley of the Bagi River and up the other side which seemed even steeper and more slippery. First we arrived at the house of Licha Tapi and there I saw the ambush of a young woman carrying a child, slipping away into the jungle off the path and shot and killed by the Asam Rifles to save her. This they did after a short chase and we then all moved up through the thick undergrowth until we came upon two more houses, one larger than the other. The larger one proved to be that of Licha Tapi (or Taja), the leader of the depredations from Licha who had paid the abortive visit to the Mel at Talo. The smaller house belonged to Dur Tapa. There we found an old man Tana Taja, the father of Licha Tapi’s senior wife, and Tana Tapa, a boy of fifteen years. It had been a disaster for Tapi to be captured, and he said that had it not been for the intercession of his wife, Dur Sara, Tapa’s brother would have killed him with a poisoned arrow. There was of course no sign of the Dur brothers or of Licha Tapi’s wife. Tana Tapi was saved and that our party was able to score some damage to the enemy temporarily between Kiraun and Bagi. As soon as Tapa and his brother estimated that we must be near they had slipped off into the jungle with the captured woman.

Here was discretion and contempt for Government if you like! This was the miserable man who had tried to kojiap and thirty enough to waste my pity. When I thought of the white cloth I had given him I felt an even bigger fool. Obviously kindness and leniency was useless with Licha. From now on I would have to try stern measures.

I burned Dur Tapa’s house and then and there justified my action. I clapped handcuffs on the old man and took the boy and child, and with me I marched on my way back to Kiraun. It may be thought that the action I had taken was unnecessary. It may be assumed of being too hard or too insignificant with these people and it is of course hard for anyone not on the spot to gauge the atmosphere. But I know from bitter experience that any sign of weakness with this thoroughly bad area will be fatal. It is a trial of strength and unless Government’s prestige and authority is established in Licha the whole population of Government will be weakened throughout the whole area of the Dinha Hills.

On the way back in my camp I dropped in on Licha Sara’s house, the first one on the way from Bagi to Kiraun. There was only one old woman inside and as usual I was told that Sara and his brother Tani would come tomorrow. When I began carefully considering my position on my return to camp, the apprehension of the situation as I saw it at present is as follows.

1. Disposition of the Asam Rifles.

(a) Here in Licha one section.
(b) In Mitha (Licha) 2 sections—One day’s march away.
(c) In Ditka 1 section—Two days’ march away.
(d) On the way from Talo—Pit joything I section.
(e) In Pit—1 section.

2. The Political Situation.

As far as Nyekhun and Licha towards Mesag I have no fears at all. Convoy can now pass through the country without escort. Later on tribal parties may be difficult to obtain but there is no fear of attack.

In Licha however is a very different story. The villages of Kiraun and Bagi are obviously quite unimportant and are in a sorry mood. At first, in order to show my friendly intentions, I had not built a perimeter here. It had been at Licha nor is any necessary. I have, however, been forced to take two prisoners in the Dinha fashion in exchange for the woman Dur-Tapa has missed. Licha are, however, a lawless and determined lot and it would be foolish not to have a perimeter in the present circumstances and I have now ordered that one should be built.

The then Tani, Takaun, Nakaun, Gungun, etc. in the Dinha valley to Tamer, Takaun and Bilhi to the Kiraun, and the original intention was that a Galling convoy was to come up with relief rations from Joything with further rations for the Asam Rifles and ourselves to whatever point we had reached. This was necessary till the clerk in Joything had messed up all our rationing arrangements and we are now definitely short of essential stores.

With the political situation in Licha as bad as it is any further advance North is clearly too risky and is asking for trouble.

A local report named Jurwa Akma whom I had sent on to have a look at the route down the Pit has returned with the report that the abecedaries from Bagi and Kiraun have been in the Pit villages spreading fantastic tales of what we will do when we arrive with the Asam Rifles. As a result Tamer (another reported) had village is now deserted, and the headmen of Takaun and Bilhi are declaring that if we advance north we shall meet with disaster. Of course I will have heard about this sort of thing before but whereas before I could afford to take risks, on this occasion, with my rear exposed and with a vulnerable and undefended Line of Communication. I cannot afford to try and call their bluff because if the Pitika tribes really do mean business, I should be in a very difficult position. With only one section with me and with difficult and unknown country, I should not be able to advance further. I was not particularly afraid that anything would happen but, as leader of the expedition, I had to remember constantly that it was not my job to risk getting into trouble for if the party did get into difficulties and
if we were attacked and suffered casualties it would most probably the dispatch of a punitive expedition which, apart from the difficulty of raising one in this present time, would very seriously retard our plans. On the other hand, if we were to come to any sort of an agreement and we have my escort to guard and no part to carry their ration and kits. If we were to try and raise a tribal party to convey the chancers are that the tribal parties and the Pathan tribesmen would fight. Here again to raise tribal parties I would need an officer and I have no Assistant who can do this work.

Then I thought of sending the Faujans in charge of the Pathan tribesman, but there may be difficulty in collecting them or if necessary, we could do it all together. By having this escort I shall force the collection of meter-de-well or otherwise.

Licha has become the abode of scanty from all the surrounding villages. All the leading men are men are the same and the living life is not even a few years ago, and thus far I have no sign of any improvements. They have continuously refused to come to terms and have refused to make a deal with the Agra Tana. If I help them now, and if I do not secure hostages for their future good behavior, they will unhesitatingly attack the Agra Tana when I return to the plains in the spring. Licha is very near to the main road route to North to South. To have such a notorious village in such a position is undesirable. If I can manage to capture some of the leading men of Licha and Kuro I shall send them down to Licha as a warning to the others. It is impossible to allow this hooliganry of bandits to remain here any longer, for they constitute a menace to the government and are not to be tolerated. The only way in which this gang can be made to disappear is by having every house in the two areas. I do not want to take this extreme measure but unless I can convince the tribesmen to force a settlement on their own..."
In the afternoon Licha Tëji, whom I had sent as an unofficial and reliable man to reconnoitre the Relief route, returned with the encouraging news that he had not been able to check Tachi as the snow in the saddle was thigh deep and where there were not snow drifts there were, he said, jumps in great profusion.

February 10th, 1935
Halt Kijorn

At last there has dawned a fine day and it was a relief to see the sun once more. In the morning I went with Tëji to visit the house of Licha Tachi situated on a spur at the bottom of the village area Tachi, an old man, was friendly enough and I think the fact that I have now taken a combined route with them is already appreciated by the general villagers. However despite the fact that I was hospitably received I did not get much further in my efforts for a settlement. As usual to my enquiries as to where the headmen were I was told that they were away and that they would return to-morrow. I pointed out politely that I had heard this 'tomorrow tomorrow' story too often and said, 'I beg to say that I wish to make an attempt to settle Licha and that Licha has ignored all my efforts and left us forlorn Government. I asked the audience which by that time had become fairly numerous around the fire where I was sitting whether they preferred peace with Government or to war. I added that I had no desire to leave Licha but that it was considered that there should be a peaceful settlement so that the trade routes to the North should not be blocked. If I could get a peaceful village here I would have an village at all and Licha would be destroyed and that in the years to come there would be frequent outbreaks of the Assam Riles established here to prevent the return of the Tribes. The peasants were led by the fact that I spoke of their final eviction and that I would try to induce the headmen of the settlements to come in'. This at once brought about that they had any influence with this headman at all. I saw that further argument was not going to lead anywhere and leaving them to ponder over what I had said I departed.

I consider the matter the more so as I convinced that the correct location for the permanent seat of the Indian Rifles is nearer to it. The place is strategically important as it commands the valley leading from the line of approach from Jorhat to the Patkai and the Khyin to the Patan and the Kira. Once the divide is commandeered the opening of the through route North to South will be possible and once that route is opened communications improved it will be possible to make a start breaking the economic domination of the Tibetans in the upper waters of the Kira. Before we can hope to win over the tribes to the North we must gain economic supremacy, for the allegiance of the remote tribal districts to the North will always be to that power upon whose lives depend for their basic requirements of cloth, and cloth, and cloth. Consequently the economic importance, for which the Kira is so vital is important to the establishment of a settlement to maintain a post so far inside this difficult country. Looking to the future, one conclusion rendered by the Map is that the great canals have been constructed it will be possible to maintain a Permanent of even a Company of Assam Rifles in this area, and the post, placed on a strategic saddle on the same artery of trade, would carry a very great weight and settling will open the surrounding country. At this time the post in the plains portion of the Sadiya Frontier Tract, the outposts, learning from the Garo, would expand the area of terraced cultivation, of growing vegetables and fruit and of keeping sheep for wool and cows and even buffaloes for milk. The area round about could do a great deal to make the post self-supporting and reduce the cost to the Indian Government.

Again let me imagine wandering and looked forward to the time when peace and plenty would reign in these hills. As I looked at the cup-shaped valley I wondered how it would appear in fifteen or even twenty years. Given my head and encouragement and help from Government and above all the necessary water and skilled assistance to lay across the turf sheeted and drained hill region the empty valley would be transformed and communications improved which would make the tribe of great importance for Government administration and the great number of government offices and new dispensaries at spot or two of demonstration farming land where improved and new strains of fruit and vegetables could be introduced, given these there minimum requirements. I could, I have been about vast improvements and by demonstrating to the tribes the advantages of cooperation with Government. I could use the whole area as a reservoir of rice for pathan, the tribe, and collect the grain, the spine and the meat. I could also maintain, an incalculable while individual. It is only through the government and the ever pressing urge for retaliation and self-defence which perpetuate these current and widespread feuds.

But are Government really interested in this land beyond enunciating that it remains a desolate and neglected part of the Indian Empire and serves as a useless and insufficiently important barrier against external aggression? Are Government merely nudging these emasculated tribes in the hope in order to substantiate, de facto, their claim to be in de jure possession of the hill country South of the main Himalayas? If this is the case I maintain that after any international tribunal this will not be enough, for the Tibetan Government can wield this argument with greater force. I am convinced from what I have heard that there are no political or administrative reasons for Government to hold any of the areas of the Kira which are the permanent settlements of Tibetan. I know that Tibetan traders and, I suspect, officials come annually to the northern half of the hill country during the month and quite often in fact that in the past, at rare intervals, fleeting expeditions penetrated part of this area will press marching. If we need proof we need only adduce proof in our claim to this land, proof in the shape of roads and buildings and the visible signs of permanent occupation. I wish I knew what was in Government's mind, but until I knew that the area and understand such it is, difficult to give of one's best in intelligent cooperation. I realize of course that on the one-size edge one is apt to worry more than is necessary. It is, I believe, a real and sensible difference if there are few persons in Delhi who have experience of local conditions and difficulties. It is easy to enumerate a policy for the utilization of the Meesha Line, it is a very different matter to implement that policy. Is this going to be yet another cam, an appendix of the past, of 'too late and too little' ? Is this going to be the result of the plans of those who are on the spot, at the scene, that think and act and do not just act and without difficulty should we expect possible delay, should we think of ourselves, should we think of ourselves, should we forget and the Government of India. Here in Assam we must have the courage and the material resources to carry out the policy envisaged. To use the Prime Minister's phrase, "Give us the men and we will finish the job." You cannot make bricks without straw and at present I feel that we are attempting the impossible.
In the afternoon arrived Raja Ji, my Political Secretary, and the Subadar and one Section of Assam Rifles from Nyulon where they had been on reconnaissance when they had received my request for an escort to take away the prisoners. Almost immediately came a message from Bima with a post they were fearful. I had to do so. They had been informed that the Toda List-I suspect that the real generosity is Vovrem, or at least because of all the troubles. Starting through this information is it not altogether surprising that the cunning and diplomatic Vovrem has contrived to throw the blame on the excellent friends. The advice which was given me was that I should not attempt anything political, as it is unlikely that she has worked on the principle that theი prisoner is a common enemy, and against receiving trouble from that quarter.

Haimendur through his supervision of valuable men has discovered that, when we first went to Ripal and Komara the Vovrem had at the time some vessels in the Lhota and friend in every when they were not in in.

Even now, I am sitting here again in Komara, Raja Ji's house is said to be full of Lhota people and Lhota Vovrem's how have been seen coming from Toda with hundreds of men for the same of Lhota shady hiding from me in the jungle. Worst of all is the story of the Khera Vovrem campaign to Toda they had brought with them. We had been with the Lhota and in the Dima Tosa and in every case they were paying up on the ground that if they merely made them to know what Chulah Governmen do I? It is also said that though Raja Ji himself has taken part in any raid he has often employed, organized and provided many raiding parties from Lhota and has subsequently received the latter's share of the spoils. So here is our powerful, influential and wealthy Toda Buti with his wish off and shown up in his true colours. This man may have his original incalculable number of abodees: he did not seem smaller how little we knew! I can now also understand why Vovrem refused, on the 6th of December, to deliver a promise to the headmen of Lhota me from us.

He has therefore asked Haimendur to arrest Toda Buti and hold him as a hostage and I shall be interested to see what the result will be. It may have the result of a sudden collapse of the opposition on the side of Lightfoot's arrest of Jumma Taoba. On the other hand it may result in causing a good deal more opposition. I think the government has probably an idea of where the truth and the real risk lie and I look forward to the possibility of an arrest, but I must say I should be very pleased if he would come but he can give Haimendur and myself a good many years for it. I wonder if there is any chance that he will come up to meet us and settle matters as we are ready to meet him in the manner which we are ready to meet him. I would, in fact, wish to make us holders and tie back actual experience so that he would understand my many requests and complaints.

I have been advised Mills a long letter telling him of my failure in Komara. However I am not yet prepared to admit defeat and will bring every sort of pressure to bear on these unpleasant folk in order to force them to come to terms with the Agama Tanas. I shall, I hope, have to lay some headmen by the knees if possible in order that they can serve as hostages for the good behaviour of Lhota during my absence in the plains during the rains.

In the evening a small party of Dumas were seen coming towards the camp dragging a captive with them. He is a native person, the brother of the Duma Tanap, and was the man who was in charge of running the Toda girls in the jungles of the Keeri. This Duma Tanap needs a lesson and they are going to get it for his property in the jungle of Toda Tanap. The breathers are no more than brigands, lawless and savage men who live by murder and extortion. I have told all the Dumas that none of the captives are likely to remain in the hills unless Duma Tanap is brought in and the much exasperated women in return. I think that Lhota now realizes that I mean business and, despite the fact that I have offered no regard as I think that it would be a mistake to do so, I think that they will try and capture his leader in order to bring about the release of their friends. This move will have the added advantage of giving these men orders among themselves and once I can create an up the road they have prevented against me half the battle will have been won.

Possibly all this will seem to be unfortunate and I may, I suspect, be criticized for the harsh line I am taking, but I am driven by the unrestricted wish of the Dumas and with the country and the conditions I have found here. I do not complain about this as it was inevitable when one is sent into the unknown, but the terms of the directive make it necessary for me continually to justify my actions. I have, I am glad to say, now received a letter from the Adviser informing me that His Excellency the Governor appreciated the difficulty in which I found myself in Lhota and considers that I was justified in the action I took. This is very gratifying to me, for I now know that I am receiving support from the rear, which, when one acts without one's own initiative in meeting situations as they arise, is comforting.

Despite the fact that they know no leader and are merely acting under the primitive urge to use force, it must be remembered that I have been sent to these hills to administer as well as to explore. I have already explained why I consider the Tanas cannot be done simultaneously; but as long as I have been to order the Dumas to lead me in the way I may be considered in this instance as acting with a leader and I am satisfied with the results, but now that I am satisfied with the results, I must be satisfied with the facts, as facts of Government at all costs and whatever description. To keep the same now or to turn back and leave the matter patched would be fatal not only for the Government and the peace and tranquillity of these people. We shall not be affected, for I am, in fact, dealing with what amounts to a gang of dacoits. What action does Government take in dealing with such people?
February 14th 1925
Halk Kiran

I have made various inquiries from Paul Layang and Kengo Bita about the expulsion of Tobe Bita's family from the village, and they have confirmed that the reason why this has been carried out is that the women of Tobe Bita's family have decided to leave the village because they have been coming to the head women of the Aya Tena who are in frequent touch with the Dafa of Tobe that they should know if anyone does. Of course it must be remembered that Licha and the Aya Tena are investment enemies and that therefore all depend upon the original relations between Tobe Bita and the two Aya Tena families. If Tobe Bita and Licha Tepe agree upon this constitution, if, on the other hand, they are not, then it may merely be a stage for establishing an unsympathetic and powerful Dafa headwoman in the trouble with Government. In either case, he is a sort of de facto in tribal relationships in this man tells me that the daughter of Tobe Bita's uncle in the usual wife of Licha Tepe, the brother behind the centre in Bagi. I mention this somewhat obscure relationship for two reasons:

1. In understanding tribal relations and movements one must know tribal relationships and to learn about them takes time, and

2. To find the usual Tobe Bita has adopted, it must be remembered that this is the very first time that this man has come into contact with Government. One must see things from his point of view also in order to understand his conduct and appreciate his attitude. If one does this the curiosity of his crime is lessened, for we are observers and he cannot be greatly blamed for supporting his own family and relations in the tradition manner.

The Tobe Bita-Licha Tepe relations is something of a good deal more subtle than the usual crude tribal approach to family and tribal quarters. Where the usual Dafa man always directly after the fashion of an animal to wrestle real or imagined, the Bita reacts to more refined tribal diplomacy. They do not themselves yield and are therefore themselves not minded. They therefore obtain a hold over trouble matters through intercourse and other alliances. They frequently help with advice and official duties to families threatened by inter-tribal wars and exert their influence over others by instructing their many wealthy friends to reveal their case to those women who fail to acknowledge their supremacy. Their whole position, however, is based on Mutual convenience. Like other chiefs of Tobe Bita, the Licha Tepe, for example, is also from this point of view, and one might say that the former case is more serviceable. He was, for example, in the past it seems to have been the case in that he has only been the matter of a formality. He and Licha Tepe are not equals. They may never secure Political Officers pay a brief visit in these places and then disappear leaving matters much as they were. On that occasion the Government's interference, like that of other section of society, has been of longer duration, but its fruit is not altogether evident in many parts of the country. If anything, his relations for a little longer and even less than the situation is that he has no power and position will be stronger than ever. If anything, he is not only without his usual predominance in tribal council but he would have a supplemental position in this case in the event of any trouble.

While politically, certainly, it will be impossible to take action against Tobe Bita for impeding Government and obstructing his plans, it will be as well to see matters from his point of view and not act to hasten it. I must, therefore, for the rest, ask what my suspicions of having considered Tobe Bita. As my own opinion, he will be an waste; and he will not be merely a liability. It is a question of reclaiming his memory rather than of damaging his future.

I have heard long with Bojahana Kama Gogoa, any political leader, and the Jumadar of the Awaum Rifles and both agree with me that the plan for the future development of the Awaum Rifles will completely be done by the Kemuns. It is conceivable that a situation can be such that the air at Dila's supply again be difficult to maintain to properly trained it will always be necessary to secure Government purchased arms to each part of the Awaum Rifles, for without them the plan is rendered impossible. As the present force is never able to maintain the local warfare to work for him. An improved plan will therefore be used in order that it may be necessary to see that the plan is not only a waste of time in the development of the Rifles. Usual precaution would be followed in this case and I find that it will be necessary to purchase arms too quickly into the interior.

In the afternoon I took a Kalash with a junior Jumadar down to Tobe Tamson's house to discuss with Licha Bita the prospect of his going to Licha (Mora) for the purpose of staying there and with Licha Tepe and Mabari. (One has always supposed that the chief of the village is the head of the village. This is not so. Bita is the chief and the head on the land was once the chief of the Selgam.) We went there and were quite well received in Tobe Tamson's house. During the dinner we were very well entertained in Tobe Tamson's house. Again the John Simmons was away as, despite his voice, he was not the centre of the talk in the meeting of the other mining brothers. Licha Bita also accompanied us and always a fine gentleman came over some names mentioned in the village and I believe that he has not been there a few times would have taken place at both sides of their house. Licha Bito was very keen and in his usual manner manner removed the prince. The damage however has been done and the atmosphere was not to place any more of such for that day. I can now see how suspicions are frequently broken down and why so often the internal negotiator pays for his uncertainty with his life.

February 14th 1925
Halk Kiran

"The wisdom of Auch was based on their skill that becoming a language and his native left for Mido taking their employ with them. The main point is that he was one of the early men who were just ashamed of his ignorance. This evidence of my determination quickly had results. Down below not on a fast outside one of the deserted houses of the westlark I saw a woman begin to gather. Some came dropping beside the steep paths from the high forest some came hurrying up from the stream below and others seemed just to move slowly. Then moved two men and another two. I wanted to lose them on the bank below he began to come up. This was a good sign, for it shows that the area generally means a discussion. As soon as I could see them and, slowly across the valley, could hear voices raised in high argument. I told Tena and Paul Layang and Kengo Bita they went down above to the group for a while. We had to cross the stream and then go up a path. There is a large house to one side and a large house to the other side. Licha Bita, Licha Tepe, Mabari and many important men. Licha Bita who had met in Tobe was now a rough and somewhat satisfied customer and we eyed each other closely. He paused, as before, to be the spokesman of the party and I told him that I was not prepared to go there with him. He of course was the Aya Tena. I told him that I could not go anything and, Khoba Kama, Tobe Bita, Taka Taka, Dima Taka, the two Nyembe Scavo, Nich Bita and all the others on the long list of uncertain?" As usual they said that they would come tomorrow. As I walked away a babel of argument arose. I think they now realize that they have some business.
February 14th 1946
HALT KIROM

I have now been here for nearly a fortnight and have spent two previous weeks trying by argument and by all kinds of indirect tactics to encourage the Licha to co-operate. Unhappily, I have been unable to make any progress and the result is that I have not been able to establish a single village of the Licha at all. I am very much to blame, I believe, in not having started this work earlier. I hope that I shall be able to establish, with the help of the Licha themselves, a few villages before I leave.

February 18th 1946
HALT KIROM

Matters seem to be improving. More headmen have begun to put in an appearance and smoke can now be seen rising from huts which two days ago to any certain knowledge were deserted. At present Nga, the smaller settlement, seems to be more inclined to settle matters and to come to an agreement than the larger and more wealthy Kimara. More responsible men seem to be appearing quietly and putting in a promising sign. However, a mere appearance is only the beginning and it remains to be seen whether they will be prepared to resume and negotiate. Though success is possible now it is by no means certain. Nothing is certain in Delta affairs and I have learned enough of Delta character now to realise that one cannot ever count on the future and until a judge has definitely been concluded anything may happen.

February 19th 1946
HALT KIROM

Haimensdorf arrived to-day having taken only 24 hours to perform the journey. He camped at another place on the Gambia River and came on by a different route which he thinks is a better one. Apparently the Aga Tamu had not used this route before because of the danger of attack from the Licha people. To-day has again been fine which is a blessing, for I doubt if even these Deltas would have agreed to taking a box in the two of weather we have been having.

In the evening Haimensdorf and I discussed the present situation at length. We agreed that it would be foolish in the circumstances to try and force our way down the Kerek Valley and up the Khero leaving a disarmed Licha behind us and possibly meeting opposition on the way. It was therefore decided that Haimensdorf should go to the Mimi country and make his headquarters at Charien and from there penetrate as far North as possible. He would at the same time pay the joms to the Mimi country and would find out as much as possible regarding the upper waters of the Suba river and whether there are any main routes to Tibet in that direction. If during this year's exploration he found or heard of important branches of Tibetan penetration and influence it might be necessary for us to explore the North-East part of the Suba river next year towards the Taeril Clan.
As far as I am concerned my plans now is to leave here on the 27th or the 28th of this month and return to Delhi leaving again for Lhasa on the last. I would make a 15 days tour trying to reach the Khun and the other parts of the Thar (Tandoi) and Tatta.

Haimendorf who had had some communication of the same up to Delhi in March was of the opinion that it would be wise to ask the Lhasas to try and get up there. He was fondly of the opinion that in the rules the cumulative effect was to be asked for and that no progress could be made unless they had been asked for and that the positive action will have to be taken. He will, I am sure, realize that something is needed. As present we have no quarrells for the clock is the office, no room, no water, no assistance, no dispensary, no horse for the escort and parties other than payas and shepherds. We need a general plan and before there is no question of position and alternative view will have to be considered and I would suggest that the Lhasas be the possible sites for himself and direct their respective advantages and demerits before any changes were made. Once the site has been chosen it will be necessary to obtain the know of the hand either from Government or from the Tea Company owning the site.

February 29th 1948

HALT KIRIM

It means that my hopes for an early settlement of this dispute have again receded, for some of the Lhasas or Khun are afraid that they might lose their land. I was quite prepared to go there and to finish off the negotiations before the 28th as some of the Lhasas and Khun who would be included in the settlement. Clearly it would be foolish to take the extreme to adopt a procedure, for again and again Government has been urged and is now urging people to be more lenient in their demands. As far as I am concerned I explained this to me the Bals and the Lhasas, the two years we have been discussing the question and that unless Lhasas are compelled to enter into negotiations they would never see the light of day. I pointed out that a peaceful settlement could not be considered binding by the Government of the Lhasas. In the case of the Lhasas there is no possibility that they have, at any rate, not the means to maintain the claim of the Lhasas and all will have to be taken into consideration. Then too the weather to-day may have something to do with the success of the Lhasas presently for it is precipitating. It has hitherto been a long and drawn business and the cumulative effect of the snows and the rain and the fear of the Lhasas that the depositing costs may be under which the garrisoned negotiations have been held here, I am sure, convince, partly, the Lhasas in Dilla. They are a cunning and dishonest people in their dealings with others and I fear they will be so in their future dealings with us.

February 30th 1948

HALT KIRON

I cannot say that I am giving any time of going away from here. From Lhasa, of course, I hope to obtain the new report that the Aga Tashis are now preparing for the Mynbae, the Aga Tashis spring festival, and if I may work up and clean in their water courses and arable regions. I think they are in their rice fields and that the Tashis are here. Haimendorf seems to say that he believes they have the Aga Tashis when they say that they work throughout the year to the ancient agricultural calendar. Each season, each week, has its special task in the annual programme and must be strictly adhered in. The 30,000 Aga Tashis are to support themselves in their small but highly fertile valley. We were both depressed, not only because the weather was depressing in the extreme, the Aga Tashis delegation out and in these tea men leaf shelters sullen and discontent. They had hoped for so much from the Siraje and we had achieved so little. What is going to happen when I and the Amarn Bros. have left? Will the Dilla of this area again engage in such raids against the Aga Tashis villages? But whether my work in these hills in the future is to be exploratory or administrative the fact is that it is going to be in this area in that peace should be restored by the Government's efforts between the two communities. We cannot leave matters as they are, for if we are to advance in this direction next year and leave turmoil behind us the unity of our lines of communication will be jeopardized.

February 2nd 1948

HALT KIRIM

Fortunately the rain had stopped in the night and it was therefore possible for Haimendorf to strike his camp and move off in comparative comfort though the paths will be damably slippery. I have decided that when he goes up to the Mynbae country Haimendorf must take the doctor with him. In the Puri valley I propose paying a visit to a few days in the ancient, now new medical, and I fear it should be necessary. The Political Secretary that the excellent Dr. Blaustein can give in the Mynbae country wilt also be given. He has a good many with the tribesmen and is liked by them and in the Mynbae country he will be very much more useful in making fresh contacts with the Haimendorfs than he will be in the comparatively civilised Puri Valley.

Haimendorf left at 8 A.M. and we left camp for the night on the camp on the Puri river some three miles on the Ditta side of Badi. After he had gone I went down to visit Toto Tashin in his house at the bottom of the valley but as usual Toto Tashin was away and I was unable to obtain much information from the members of his household. On my way back, when passing the derelict house of Toto Tashin and Toto Tilo I noticed that a few eggs (a pustule) in the English wood which has berries which are highly esteemed by the Dilla had been cut down. On entering the house I found found a small party of the Tashis had insolated themselves there and had removed the place. For some hours was the worship destruction which they had carried out. The supporting timber of the walls of the house had all been destroyed. The Aga Tashis had no on my arrival but I caught one out, and, with the abandoned spot and clearing which the insolated had left behind in their precipitate flight, I took him to the camp and handed my captive over to the Aga Tashis himself saying that I had given him wish to receive the his name and address. He was a Choup Nona, the leader of the Tashis and said "How can you expect the Lhasas to come and hold a end if your young men behave like thieves and bastards? You must control your following and prevent from leaving the empty houses" Choup Nona refused to take any further action and refused to leave the empty houses. He told me to tell him that I intended on continuing my association with the Khun and the Tashis and that he should not interfere. I mention this incident in an indication of the trials that beset the arrogant and pacific. The fact between the Aga Tashis and the Lhasas is of such long standing and so deep-rooted that neither side is prepared to be in a reasonable manner or show any restraint.
February 23rd 1948
HAL KIROM

Despite the fact that there is still no sign of any reconvening of the unit I now have a faint spark of hope as the Kiros of Bili, the official 'diplomatic' courier of the missing Licha headmen, arrived with the news that the Radiomobile is on its way. They spoke strongly in our favor and deplored the claims of the Apa Tanis and that they would shortly appear and make a stand. As the morning was comparatively fine I used the doctor and Jorun Tacho, a headman of Jorun, who had come to act as our ascensor in the absence, climbed the hillside to the North of the camp. I so far had not had the opportunity to meet the Kiros, so my prospect of a possible discussion with the headmen of the post was of great encouragement in going for the field. I found that what appears to be the crest of the bowl shaped valley, in which Kiron is situated, is really a false crest and beyond it lies another, but higher, bowl in which is situated a valuable area of Licha. As we walked along the steep fields we passed several felled huts filled with the evidence of an enemy. Outside the camp there were many sheep and goats unplucked with cunningly concealed jeusji and inside was a sort of chevahue de frite de kumal, the long Dilla jeusji. I ordered all the sheep to be removed and stacked neatly on the doorstep of each house without touching anything inside in the hope that this would demonstrate our desire for peace.

February 23th 1948
HAL KIROM

To-day some Bili headmen arrived and I decided that it was hopeless to wait for the other abductors and advised the Apa Tanis if possible to conclude a pacification with those who had come. I hoped by this means to persuade the remainder later to make a separate peace and even if this was not possible at any rate to divide the Licha headmen into two camps,—those who had made peace with Government and those who had not. If in that case it would later be possible for them to make peace to perhaps do so. After a good deal of discussion and mutual reciprocation it was decided that a pacification should be made between the following Apa Tanis headmen who would represent their villages and the headmen of Bili and Kiron who were present:—

Apa Tanis:—Chief of village of Dilla, Paoli Layung of Rera, Kago Bula of Haja, Tak Tara of Haja, Nana Towar of village of Tabal and Naja of Haja.

Bili:—Licha Tago and Licha Tada.

Kiron.—Licha Taka and Licha Saco.

The two chief headmen of Licha with whom the Apa Tanis wished to have a pacification and who had just returned from Apa Tanis General Talon, Licha Taka and Licha Tada. Before any lasting peace can be established between the two tribes it will be necessary for these abductors to make a separate peace with the Apa Tanis. I have, after having weighed up the pros and cons, decided that it will be impossible to send the women and children captured down to Licha for the winter weather as they would probably not meet even if they did not they would almost certainly contract malnutrition and disease. But the most powerful argument against sending them down to the plains is that once there they would probably lose all their value as bargaining counters for negociations between the Apa Tanis and Licha.

The Licha headmen who had abandoned all hope of seeing their captured relatives again and would set about capturing, and possibly killing, some Apa Tanis in order to level up the score.

To-day Tanis Taka arrived in my camp from his jungle refuge down in the Kinyi forest. He had a very sad look as he had some days before been impaled by a jeusji and the wound had begun to fester. I suspect it was the result of medical treatment rather than any desire to make peace that had brought him to my camp.

While the doctor was dressing his wound I took the opportunity of explaining to him the efficacy of deposing Government and he belatedly agreed to talk matters over with his brother Tal and said he would return on the morning. I do not however place much reliance upon his promises.

The camp continued with unabated fury all day. Both sides engaged in eloquent and protracted argument among the captives because house lost still no settlement seemed to be in sight. I was again in despair, for the Apa Tanis will not even converse with those who have made peace, and I found that for any settlement then quite unexpectedly Licha Taka began to explain in a quiet voice what he and his three companions were prepared to pay. Down went the long talks of sticks and variously I counted. Sixteenth! He was prepared to pay sixpence outside goods of any kind, kafue, koy, denc, etc., in order to enslave the Licha who had been captured. I turned to Chief Nimbo and repeated, "Sixteenth!" He answered somewhat grudgingly like in his corner near the fire. "Well, I said "are you satisfied?" Chief Nimbo said: "Enough!" Then, pointing at an accuser finger at Licha Taka, he poured out a long condemnation which would have done credit to an old testament prophet dealing with a king of Judah. "There is the culprit," he thundered. "For years he has lived by enabling warfare, from defences small parties whereby he has surprised in the jungle. Year after year we have been forced to pay millions, kafue and other goods to this chief and robber in order to release our captive relatives. We will accept the sixteenth millions for the sake of peace, but you ..." and his lecture went on for hours. There can be no peace between us until you have persuaded your two men, two men and two kafue. Even this is an absurdly small amount for peace but the Sirovs have not had to make peace and Talke (the name that the Apa Tanis had given me) has come and stayed in your village for so long, I am prepared to risk the scorn of my womenfolk and give up the rest of the captivity we so richly deserve from you. Until you personally pay them the sixteenth millions I will be no pacification." Licha Taka was obviously shaken by this public condemnation. His bubble was pricked and the accuser had gone out of him. He put on his most ingratiating smile and after a little more defensive argument he agreed to stop the matter. And then broke up, the Apa Tanis in a mood of utter confidence mixed with the Licha men shaking their heads sadly. They realized that they were defeated and that the day of retribution had arrived. They went off saying that they would pay on the morrow.

I now receive an incident to show the incredible toughness of the Dillas. When I returned to my camp I found a certain Licha Deruii misating me. He was holding with difficulty a stick and was helped by a number of other injured men. Suddenly I was accosted by a man who had been forcibly taken from him by Licha Talke. Licha Taka had shot him with a poisoned arrow which unfortunately for him was old and rusted. As it came to pass that during that time he had tried to remove the arrow head which was embedded in the base in his leg. They had tied and had left him with a horrible gaping wound which he had covered with banana leaves. The Doctor, after carefully examining the wound, said that in order to save the man's life he must operate at once. He had no assistance with him and so the man was operated on there and then. A grenade was laid out and was exploded down with violent
and I wrestled with anaesthetics. He had previously not put up in appearance to-day and Geimi Pirchko and Kachha Khurin came along with Tella Tsepa for an hour or so to watch the proceedings. I could discern of nothing any sort of an appearance at all and without any fear of arrest as I assumed that this was a movement which would have the greatest value in the future administration of this Province. If all the tribesmen come to understand that those attending arts are safe from arrest it will be of great benefit in encouraging those who are, at variance with Government to come in and discuss matters. Even to our visitors we were a danger and we made our way back at once, having previously paid an ransom. However I refused to arrest the man and, much to the disgust of the Apa Tsans, we went off unseen.

The trouble was really trivial. First of all Licha, for all her ill-gotten gains, is a poor village by comparison with Licha and I have put to discover the cause for this. The agricultural economy of Licha, as a whole, is familiar, is that land under which I was. However, a year before I had appeared on the scene the cycle of planting had been changed and the main fields of the village are now over the brow of the surrounding hills. I do not therefore think that the Licha people live on less to the exclusion of agriculture. I think the real reason is that Licha itself is involved in bloody feuds with the Apa Tsans and that is the real reason that the Licha people are so small in the Bala Valley and it is here that the hard trade blocks to North and South trade is mingled. I believe that the Pia village from the spread of Tibetan trade and commerce to the South and the passage of Ditha traders to the trade centres in the upper Khara Valley.

February 26th 1945

HALT KIROM

The chances of the success of the road are unanswerable the tide: they ebb and flow with an almost equally monotonous regularity and I am coming more and more to the conclusion that neither side is particularly interested to prevent the tide from flowing. The Ditha Dispossession of Licha, as a whole, is familiar, is that land under which I was. However, a year before I had appeared on the scene the cycle of planting had been changed and the main fields of the village are now over the brow of the surrounding hills. I do not therefore think that the Licha people live on less to the exclusion of agriculture. I think the real reason is that Licha itself is involved in bloody feuds with the Apa Tsans and that is the real reason that the Licha people are so small in the Bala Valley and it is here that the hard trade blocks to North and South trade is mingled. I believe that the Pia village from the spread of Tibetan trade and commerce to the South and the passage of Ditha traders to the trade centres in the upper Khara Valley.
February 22nd 1945

HALT KIROM

I am determined as all costs to leave to-morrow. Indeed I must, for the remaining Gallongas under their leader Kiska Bliaga have arrived here to evacuate me, and ration problems, as usual, force me to adhere strictly to my programme arranged in advance with a sublime faith in you and [illegible]. I cannot remain longer, for if I do the Gallongas will run out of rations. They have only brought a limited supply with them so that their carrying capacity will not be lessened and as matters stand they are not within three days' travel from where they can renew their supplies for their downward journey to the plains.

However my announced intention of leaving seems to have had an effect on both parties to this protracted dispute who, up to now, have been sparring, in the true legal tradition, for an advantage in the inter-tribal argument which has been progressing for days. The sun is low over the hills, the water is cold, and the thought of a hot, dusty and crowded journey is no longer attractive.

Described as a half-breed, tall, and tall he seemed a man of the old Locha Tapiya, ainesis for Licha, who, he has argued several times, was either the son of Licha or Tapiya himself. He is one of the three headmen of the Kicha and leader of the Red Cloth. Quietly he stepped forward and after a brief but impressive pause he began summing up in the neat judicial manner. I was astonished, my presence ignored and forgotten. This was the final act in the sentencing of the preliminary accusations. Here was the conclusion in the incommenurate manner of these trials. No one interrogates me for a morment "Eh! Eh!" or a "Kuba! Kuba!" as the judgment is given and definitively either side.

Kanches finished and there was complete silence while either side eyed the other. Then Licha Têkhi got up and said "We will pay to-morrow." The reply as far as I can understand is as follows. Five sons have already gone to the Apa Tani community. Goods to the value of twenty-six sonias are to be paid to-morrow by the four Licha headmen concerned and, in addition, Licha Tapiya is to pay goods to the value of six sonias. So the Apa Tani will receive goods to the value of twenty-two sonias from four of the Licha raiders. I think that the Apa Tani have recovered far more than they ever could have hoped for without the assistance of Government. Chief Nani is not pleased and is, despite his fame and prowess, been poked! As he goes up to go he made an expressive gesture of despair and turning to me muttered "What will my wife say?" Everyone laughed except the old man who obviously feared his wife more than the Dithas.

February 28th 1945
Kirena (8,356 feet approx.)—Jungle camp on the Pi river (4,560 feet approx.)

Distance: ——— 5 miles approx.

Direction: ——— East

A last minute visit nearly wrecked the whole and Licha Tapiya who was to have produced the sacrificial sonia refused to produce it. The reason was that a certain Pî Têhî of Kirena, a village on the plains North-East of Joything, hearing of my presence in Kirena had come up to clain to Kicha. Pî Têhî had been cured and cut from a small village near Licha at the time of a raid which had wiped out this small clan's settlement. Têhî had occurred and had made way to the security of the plains but his brother Kicha had first of all moved to Tako village, yet another instance of the dependence of Tako on the Licha raiders, and had been rescued from a raid by Kicha. Tako had now lived for some twenty years as a member of Talo and Tako. All headmen and Tako had purchased a wife for him by whom he now had a small son. This is a revealing sight of the so-called 'slavery' of the Dithas. Was Uncle Tom's of the novel brought up as a member of his master's household? Did his master spend good money in buying him a wife? However, even if the Apa Tani claimed that the sonia was the wage of the war, he still musters an explanation. Strangely but true, that the price he had originally paid for Kicha's. Evidently the word was not heard though the Sissors did not refuse the price of the sonia. I was not determined to set up a bad precedent by accepting such a claim and maintained that as Tako had rescued Kicha, his community must own nothing. This was the point at which Kicha and Tako Tapiya had almost forced Tapiya to produce the sonia by dragging him bodily to where it was used in the jungle, he eventually consented with extreme reluctance. The sonia was produced and accepted at the centre of the clearing and the sonia was stripped and put away in an outlying hut and the jade was produced. The last talk I had with Licha Tapiya before I left revealed the fact that it was Tako who had advised the Licha to pay the sonia at Tako where he had been the large number of men and maize and Kicha which the Licha had bought from the sonia at Tako where they must surely are you being used as a means to hand over all this to the Apa Tani? You must pay nothing. All you know is that the Salish crossing is to leave your village and live in the jungle and I will help you!"
The Assam Rifles had erected a bamboo half-mast in the camp for the sake of exercise and I began showing the Apa Tanis, headmen and the friendly Daisies various exercises. The Daisies were very much pleased and had plenty of that kind of exercise. In public then it was wonderful to see how readily they adopted the Apa Tanis tactics. Physical training, Padi Loang and Camp Books were formally introduced and cleanliness kept clean and cleanly built, the former light and airy, the latter happy and immaculate, practising with enthusiasm on the bar and rising with laughter at each other's efforts, all performed complete with Red Clothes. In my opinion this is the best method of introducing exercise, improved health and humanity. It is upon the Apa Tanis that we absolutely depend. They are the most important people. People must be very careful to preserve by every means their loyalty and friendly co-operation. They are the only large homogeneous body of population upon whom we can rely for powers but we must be very careful to antagonise them by making our demands in this direction our great. We must come to these hills as Oblivious Homeless and not as Emancipists. As protect these tribes are, in the main, friendly disposed towards us, but it must be remembered that we were well-received by the Pathans on the North-West Frontier when first we came into contact with them. It must also be remembered that we are now, in effect, competing with the Tibetans for the good-will of these historic unattached tribes. At present Tibetan cultural influence and Tibetan economic power pervade this area. We shall not break the tribe from this Persian influence if we become an impression upon them. As our friends and effect the tribes on the North-West Frontier can play an all-important role in the strategic defence of the whole area. As far as we are capable of becoming a most dangerous factor for our tribal and economic welfare and discontent, and control will prove far more effective than the old and dangerous policy of saving fowl of allotted gains, political domination to the exclusion of economic benefits. As I have already said at page 9 of this diary... From our experiences gained on the North-West Frontier of India I think we should have learned that control by means of economic pressure is much more effective than economic control. The modern economic domination of the United States in complete and the loyalty of the islands has made the severest test of war and temporary occupation by an enemy power.

The construction of good communication to the Apa Tanis country will not present insurmountable difficulties and I consider that it is, in the area in which we may establish a link between the two areas, in which our new administration is most likely to show rapid results. The country is very healthy, in natural and southern half of the country where a landing strip can be constructed. The people are intelligent and are progressive and already their trading enterprise is the whole area. From such a base it will be comparatively easy for our influence to extend in all directions in a peace manner. Better development and agricultural demonstration would yield the quickness to the nest as in... by the necessity of military occupation. A modern vindication of this policy can be seen in the treatment of the Philippines by the United States. They are not capable of being stood by the American government. The United States is completed and the loyalty of the islands has made the severe test of war and temporary occupation by an enemy power.

I arrived in the rain at the camp on the Pai and found everything ready for me, my portable and staff having gone on two hours before. There is now quite a small village of great beauty within the range. It is on the road to Lun. I am well pleased to be received by the headman, assistants and Kironu from Datta. It was the night that I was not surprised to find myself to be perfectly safe in the well-guarded perimeter which the Sircar and held.

March 1st 1918

Pai River Camp—Datta

Distance... 11 miles Approx.

Direction... South-East.

It rained all night but the camp site is a good one and the bamboo and grass huts built by the Apa Tanis are well made and waterproof. Despite their reluctance to admit that they have received satisfaction, the Apa Tanis cannot conceal their delight at having us and more and more I think they realise that had it not been for the presence of the Sircar they would probably not have been able even to visit the area for a year or so. I have been in touch with the Sircar and the headman, and there is much to be desired. The main was burned by Ching Nam and then distributed. I duly received the most honoured portion, part of the contents, which I managed to pass on respectfully to the Gallows.

I woke to a dripping gray day. The clouds were right down on the ground. Actually, as there was a heavy clouded original season before as I was up before it got light and, having washed camp in the dark by the light of the first, left at 6-15 a.m. As dawn broke it seemed raining through the clouds and still hazy. The path as far as our coloured camp site was just up under the leaves from the forest side. The path was not more than 1 mile long, the main stretch of which was through the grey shining leaves. The more than 1 mile of the first 6 miles had done a surprising amount of damage and in many places this unseasoned path was blocked with fallen branches and scattered hawthorn. I must say I am bewildered by the weight of the snow falls in this area of what meant to me to be dense tropical jungle and I am at a loss to understand how this peculiar kind of vegetation can survive in these cold winters.
March 2nd 1948

HALT DUTA

I spent the day dealing with the accumulation of paper, paying porters, collecting blankets and ground sheets and taking stock of the provisions regarding loads to be taken down with me on the 20th of the month. As the Gallong cartoon is leaving for the plains tomorrow I had to spend the whole day replying to urgent correspondence so that I could return with them. Particularly was I glad to hear from the Adviser that the Economic Affairs Department was well aware of the serious lack of officers on this North East Frontier and the Army Liaison Office would be responsible as to the supplies to the working of the road arrangements. If next year I am fifteen or more marches in the hills will be impossible for me to deal with such problems — and the further I advance the worse it will become.

I find to my horror that the Section of Assam Rifles posted here have no less than 20 loads to be taken down when I evacuate them. *(On the 1st March I found that the Nasik in charge had misreckoned and that there are 47 loads.)* Apparently they have sent up a number of unnecessary loads of ammunition. All the sections have been chosen this month and I shall insist next year that a Quarter Master Havildar at least is posted to Joybling to take over the arrangement arrangements of the Assam Rifles at the base. The absence of a responsible Non-Commissioned Officer at the base has not only put a great deal of extra work on my already overworked clerk at Joybling and has thrown most of the work up here. We have caused unnecessary expense to Government on three unwarranted loads to each cast. We require to come up and put an end to this wasteful system. I

The Gallong again came to me in a body asking to be discharged on their return to Dakha. They have worked well and loyally for us this year but, certainly wrongly, they swear that Jameson Plunkett promised that they would only have to serve for three months in this area and rightly maintain that this period is now over. As they have their own cultivation to work at in their own villages I sympathise with them but as they are the only porters upon whom I can rely I cannot let them go before the Delhi basin has been previously evacuated. I can foresee that I shall have great difficulty in collecting Assam Tans porters when I go down as at that time the spring festival will be at its height.

March 3rd 1948

HALT DUTA

Today I carried out an inspection of possible sites for a landing strip in this country. There are two possible sites, one half a mile north of our present camp in Dita and the other between Hari and Hong near the old evacuated village site of Bhrir. I look upon the construction of a landing strip this year as a matter of importance. If this can be done, and a sufficiently large strip can be made it will be possible for the Adviser and even the Foreign Secretary to visit your base here in Dita this spring. It would be for easier for me to explain my plans for next year to them here on the spot than to try and explain matters either by writing long reports or by discussions with the Adviser in Shillong or Joybling.
A rough sketch of the two possible sites is as follows:

Site No. 1: North of Duma.

1. Low lying rice land
2. Small hills
3. Valley

Site No. 2: South of Duma.

1. Present camp site
2. Small village
3. Pear trees
4. Small glens of fires
5. Maja village

Estimates — Height: 6,000 feet.

**Landing Instructions** — Aircraft should fly straight over Duma from South (Point D), leaving pine-covered knob on their right. They should aim at a sign with yellow columns on the far hillside to the North (1/2 mile North of Point B). Aircraft should touch down 300 yards North of the end of the low barrier fence. Landing strip on Duma internal road. Land slopes gently from North West to South East. Surface firm and good by night. Night navigation.

**Landing Instructions** — Aircraft have a good open approach from the South East. They should cross the Kal (Kail) river just North of the last fenced post pine on single pine tree on their left and two pine trees on their right. They should aim at a pointed hill on the horizon to the West and touch down 100 yards West of the pine trees. Landing strip level and firm.
Rahmard. — Though this may exceptionally become the better site for a permanent landing strip, it would appear to be an easy place and is difficult for use in any whether it is suitable without the aid of an apron. The 400 yard strip is capable of some extension and has the merit of being on unencumbered land and open, short and free from points.

I understand that the maximum can be arranged next year there will be a moving of some Rs.30,000 to the permanent point. It seems too much land and rent of fifty pounds weight of sheep in the 1.5000 cross Government Rs.10 when moved by a person. The fees is taken five days at least to get from any place. If transport planes carrying 1,000 lbs. only were used each plane would be able to carry two passengers besides and the equivalent of Rs.200 in present value. To this must be added the food and other expenses of the plane and crew. The place would take more 20 minutes instead of five and the cost of the aircraft including the cost of the plane for the heavy from North Lakkianpur. But the material used must be more than Rs.200 at the outside for such trip. There would then be a 400 percent saving in cost.

It must also be remembered that next year the costs will be even higher, for the further in advance the greater will be the cost. Twenty-four hours' transport past our nearest town of 25 varies a day. It takes 200 persons on a very a difficult task of communication. Each day they will cut 10 days, therefore at 12 days they will require 100 men to be employed by themselves for their own communication. Start from July 5 for Taham at the junction of the Pillo and the Kham 150 persons, own with the 10,000 men with whom to find means for their return journey waiting for them at Taham. The only carry 100 Government Lamps or 5,000 lbs. It would therefore take 200 persons 3 days to accomplish what 32 aircraft each carrying only 1,000 lbs could carry out in half an hour. Provided the main operations can make available one or two transport aircraft next season, the arguments of the use of air are clearly overwhelming.

March 6th 1948

Field Notes

I had almost to start today on my tour to Taham and the Kham, but, as usual, dependent on the arrival of our ship. It was impossible to start as I was unable to collect sufficient crew. Without Governor permission one cannot work to a programme. One is never free from anxiety and endless trouble up to the moment of departure and one never moves without having to leave many stores behind on set of the lack of permit to carry them.

March 7th 1948

DUTA - DUTA (near the deserted village site of TANVAN. Sq. D. 2).
DISTANCE OF LONDA CAMP SITE. 3750 feet approx.
DISTANCE OF TANVAN. 10 miles approx.
DISTANCE OF NORTH...

- As mentioned before, the DUTA any move to its business to its business to its business to its business. As usual, it was 09-15 A.M. before I had managed to collect sufficient crew to make a move. It was not due to the absence of old KHAIR NAMOS who was accompanying me I if we should ever have got away. It had rained hard during the night but the day dawned bright clear.

My path took me past Zera village. Busy with its preparations for the spring festival. At we travelled the rice was moving andrice was being engaged in repairing the rice which are normally kept in perfect order, and in setting up the terraced fields with help in deep for the planting season. Others were busy stacking wood in the fields along side the path and at the village. There again was evidence of the care and thought which is so apparent at the end of the season. The Agra Tum is to be held and there is accommodation in one to perform the daily task of collecting the required amount of wood for the festival. The Agra Tum therefore makes provision for this necessity by collecting sufficient in advance and stacking it near the village where it can be fetched with the minimum of trouble.
Gradually we left the rice fields and the path winding through the paddy groves emerged into the narrower valley of the upper waters of the Kali. It was a scene of the greatest beauty. On either side the paddy groves clothed the hills, braided planking and chaining over golden gravel and gleaming through still pools, where one felt that light to lure, was bordered by bush water meadows each fenced with pale fencing. Further up mountain grass, bracken and heaths, wild raspberry and willow replacement in its spring carnival, sought for emstasy. Here I could not help looking for mountain sheep for the short spring mountain hound is merely ideal pasture, but of course sheep all present are unknown to the Apa Tani. Mountain sheep should certainly be introduced into this valley for the Apa Tani, with their natural aptitude for spinning and weaving, would take at once to wool as a muneris for the manufacture of their own clothes. I have no doubt that with the very bountiful vegetable dys they employ their products would be of the highest quality.

As hour and a half after leaving I reached the main valley path which went on to Tapo and started climbing. It was a hard climb through heavy, virgin jungle along a path which the previous day's rain had made more heavy, impeded the track, and streched. When at last we reached the flat (resting place) on the crest of the ridge at about 2-45 p.m., the porters were very exhausted so I ordered a fifteen minute halt. Above me were huge rhododendron trees, some of them 75 feet high and more. All were blazing glory of bloom and the ground was carpeted with fallen blossoms like the number of a man's beard. In the sun I can therefore give some space to the species but it was divided from the Rhododendron of the Sital Hills and distinct even from those I had seen in and around Darjeeling. The blooms were in large clusters and were a deep, deep red, white and brilliant.

The path had been, from the time I left the valley of the Kali, running almost south, and from the high crest, which I had crossed, to travel eastward for 7,000 feet, I could see, through breaks in the surrounding jungle, the valley to the east and north and the road to the north and west. It seemed to me to be a long way away and yet it is to those known that I must eventually try and penetrate.

The track down the northern face of the ridge was, if anything, worse than that up which I had climbed. I made the 2-30 p.m. with my men plodded on from the lowlands of Liris. There were only eight houses most of which looked deserted and all perched precariously on the face of the steep hillside. I located in a village for a place to pitch my tent. Never before have I seen a village pugging against such a vertical hill slope. The villagers seemed to be conscious of their elevation, as I saw it was noon I ordered they move the porters. I could find a spot level enough and large enough upon which to pitch a tent. Even how one had difficulty to pick a suitable spot as the whole valley was infested with leeches. Eventually I again went up a little and leeches the most pernicious area held for me camp. It was dark by the time the porters were unladen to and had to make camp. I kept up by the use of firewood. I had eventually arrive early enough to obtain porters from Liris and go straight on to Mundi, the main villages on my path, tomorrow. Most o the Apa Tani had stated that they would carry me no further than Liris though a few had yielded to Chlge Nime's pleading and had eventually agreed to go on as far as Mundi. This was of course completely impossible and I therefore had to resign myself to the prospect of wasting a precious day in Liris collecting porters for the next stage of my journey.

March 24th 1925

HALT LINIA (TANYAN)

This morning I changed up the steep hill back to Linia and Chlge Nime pointed out to me the house of the landman Tanya Pomu. On my arrival I was at once struck with the obvious poverty of the people. Every one, even the headman, appeared ragged. Many were wearing black cloth edged, I noticed however, with black and red Tibetan wool. Most of the men carried Tibetan dress. I also noticed that gesture was also very prevalent in the village and the people were semi-conscious of this deformity. It also struck me that the people were darker and smaller, so much so that they almost seemed to be of a different race. I was however glad to see my old friend Tanya Pomu who carried the original passport to Licha (see the diary of the first half of December) and who, being remarkably fair, was very noticeable among his darker neighbours. The village still had a deserted air about it and Chlge Nime laughingly said that half the people had run away. My chances of obtaining the requisite number of porters seemed to be small, so I went to have a talk with Pomu in his hut, Pomu confirmed the fact that many persons from the village had run away and said that the Ruru and Tajuang people had been coming for the past two days carrying the story that I was coming with mopes to burn the village. I was surprised that Apa Tani, who should have friendly relations with the Apa Tani, should have been so unfriendly. Pomu explained. The Ruru and Tajuang wards of Bula had long enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the trade with Linia, a trade which on account of the Tibetan dress, pigs, goats and Tibetan mops and jips which they purchased and cloth and rice which they sold, was valuable. As Bula and Hari were the home of the spring festival this year and were busy with their preparations (each year one or two villages set aside for the festivities for the whole tribe), I had purposely avoided seeking them for porters as Pomu had instead engaged them from Dutu and Haja. The Ruru and Tajuang villagers, with the keen commercial instinct possessed by the Apa Tani, feared that this influx of Dutu and Haja porters into Linia might ruin their trading advantages and therefore sought to wreck my visit by spreading alarming stories concerning my intentions. The people of Linia were themselves somewhat uneasy as they were the traditional friends of Licha and had therefore believed the stories they had heard. However after a quiet talk and a friendly talk, I managed to reassure Pomu to be very surprised when Chlge Nime told me in the real reason for the rumours, and he agreed to collect the few porters I required for my next stage. In the course of my conversation with Pomu I discovered that the people of Liris could not go to Besur near or to the Pals on account of bears. Pomu complained that Liris and Tapi (Tapi) were continually being raided by the Pals. The village is friendly with Mindita and Lora (joint villages). Tapi, Pali
First generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanya Nam (Khit Kut to Linia)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                        | 1st
|                        | 2nd
| Khoda Vaj and Tiso Yon (Linya) | (Linya) Childless |
|                        | 3rd
| Tanya Tam (Linya)     |                  |
|                        | 4th
| Tanya Dwi Tanya Tamam Tanya Tara (Badi) |                  |
|                        | 5th
| Tanya Bat Tanya Tapin Tanya Punu |                  |
|                        | 1st
|                        | 2nd
| Tso Vajik Dushe Yobo and Goda (Puran Bazur) (Dadhun) | Vaidum (Chemuz) (no name) |

Here again only four generations ago this Tanya family were forced to migrate South from the country just South of the main ranges. I say "forced" because Punu said that his ancestors left Khit Kut because of the scarcity of land and food.

The principal clan of Linia are Khoda and Tanya and the former clan is also important in the villages of Minsah and Tap. When I began making inquiries about the country to the North West Punu professed complete ignorance and maintained that no Linia people would dare to go beyond Minsah. When I asked why the village seemed to be so poor, Punu complained that this year there had been a plague of rats in the area. This, he said, always occurred when a particular variety of bamboo flowered, a phenomenon which apparently took place every seventh year.

March 7th 1928

Linia Campsite (3,750 feet approx.) - Minsah Campsite (3,900 feet approx)

Distance... 19 miles approx.

Direction... North.

I took camp and left at 8 a.m. on a lovely spring morning. Eleven Apa Tani porters had left but Chig Nam said he had persuaded ten others to remain and Tanya Punu had produced twelve men from Linia.

For an hour we travelled North East along a muddy path following the course of the Pein River which here was a small stream about the size of the Kiyi. Twenty minutes after leaving camp I came upon a few wet rice fields on the floor of the valley but they were poor affairs, ill kept and badly cultivated, and there was more land near at hand which, though suitable for wet rice cultivation, had not been cleared. Chig Nam, with the eye of an expert farmer, could not conceal his contempt. "Look at this" he said giving a broken rice shoot a scathing kick with his foot, "so wonder they are poor. If this land belonged to Apa Tani it would be properly looked after and cultivated". I have no doubt that what he said was true and here lies the difference between the Apa Tani and the Daala agricultural methods.

The Apa Tani engage in permanent cultivation of good flat land and prefer irrigated land and they look after their land with skill and care and know the value of a gradient. The Daala, on the other hand, have little liking for "wet" terraced cultivation and yede the shifting jhum on the hillsides, relying on the self growth of the ground crop and the rich bottom of the jungle soil to provide the nutrients required for their crops. The Linia Dala laughed at Chig Nam and said "If we had land like the Apa Tani we would cultivate like they do, but here we cannot cultivate far from our village on account of rain".

At 9 a.m. when we must have descended to below 2,500 feet, we turned North up a steep hill side and started a long and weary climb through the jungle. Despite the fact that there had been no rain for two days the path remained muddy and slippery. When, at 12-30 p.m., we reached a small flat spur with a good water supply a thousand feet below the crest of the high ridge up which we were climbing all the porters declared that they should camp here for the night as it would be impossible to reach Minsah today and as there was no other suitable camping place further on. I suspected, however, that this was untrue and that the porters were only trying to avoid any more fatigue for the day and were hoping, by making the journey a two day march, to receive more in the shape of wages. I therefore refused, much to their disgust, to camp at this spot and said that I was, if necessary, prepared to camp without water and push on up the last steep ascent to the crest line which must have been well over 7,000 feet. This last 1,000 feet was the steepest piece of the country I had so far met and it was not until 5-30 p.m., that the last porter had reached the top.
All the way up the path had been bordered by large white boughs and white masses very like those which thrive so well in deep Lushai gardens but infinitely more attractive in their natural setting. Between the sagging camp site and the top of the ridge the whole path had been flattened by the recent snow falls. Only the large forest trees were left and we had trod up and was only now receding. Everywhere on the path the way was blazed by branches and the towering stems of the rattan cane unmistakably a good deal of felling and clearing. On the crest I found a clump of bamboo forest in full bloom, a magnificent sight.

Looking North from the highest point of the ridge I could plainly see the entire country North of the Khuwa from the center of a village called Taliwa (on the road to the west of Khamla) to the hills of Khamla, a big village with slopes in some cultivation belonging to an untamed village called Hai (or Hâu). Mindula, I am told, lay far below me hidden by the cucumber slope of the hill.

The first part of the way up was steep and dusty as the lowest 1,000 ft. on the Southern face of the ridge over which I had come. The path was very bad and in places had fallen away necessitating much climbing over small bushes and rocks. Gradually by the very approach of the forest I came down the highest town of Khamla and there for below me was the village with which the path on the opposite side of the Khwa. The river itself was hidden in a deep gorge. A rough sketch of what I saw is given below.

On both sides of the river there were very many and immense bamboo side streams flowed down to meet the main river from the high spurs on either side. This made the whole area very cut up and difficult to travel around. As I sat on a log in the field Olchî Nâma pointed out the villages to me. High above Hâu village were some high plains which, he said, belonged to Khamla village (Sâ, Dâ). Olchî Nâna had been to Khamla where a young man whom he was acting as a bit (agrement) for the release of an Agp Tani who had been captured by the Lhassa people while on a trading trip and had caused great excitement in his description of the people of Khamla. He said: "It was summer time and the men and women alike were no clothes at all. Only the one for modesty's sake were two sections of bamboo in place of an apron and these they used as cloppers to scare the birds from their crops." I asked him if he had seen of any Nyenzen (Tibetans) in Khama. He said no but as it was summer but could not say whether the Tibetans came to the village at other times of the year.

Our arrival was obviously causing consternation in the village below. I could see a large concourse of people gathered outside the biggest house in the village which was said to belong to Khâela Rama, the headman. The worst sign of all was the number of women hurrying off with bundles. I therefore sent Tumay Togay, my native guide, with Latha, ahead of us down to the village and, after giving him sufficient time to arrive, pressed on myself. After passing through some fertile plains fields and bamboo groves we at length came upon a flat piece of ground flanked by wild bamboo and cherry trees both in full bloom. Here the villages had already cleared a space for my camp, so, leaving the porters to fix the camp site I went down with my interpreter and Chhiâ Nâma to the house of Khâela Rama. With me I took Khâela Tsamia, a charming lad I had released from slavery in Lhassa. Tsamia had originally been captured when a boy by raiders from the Pâla and had subsequently been sold to Lhassa Tâk. Tâk, in turn, had handed him over as part of the compensation paid to Tâk Nâma of Po for a raid which had been made upon him some years ago by Lhassa. I had objected to this form of payment and had insisted the lad be handed over to me. This was his village and I thought that the return of a member of the community long considered irreplaceable would have a good effect. I went into Khâela Rama's house and after a somewhat similar initial reception, things warmed up. Rama was delighted to see Tsamia and the reunion was quite a touching scene. I handed round some cigarettes and cigarettes to the men and was glad to see their face, but the smoke was very uncomfortable, but the guest was excellent. Again I was struck at the poverty of the people, their poor physique and their prevalence to gout. I think that all this is due to the fact that I have penetrated into the heart of economie no-man's-land between the Northern limit of 'domestic' trade from the plains of Assam and the Southern fringe of the Tibetan trading influence in everyday community. I refer to the trade as the 'domestic' trade in order to distinguish it from the trade in objects d'art used as currency and weapons on the one hand and on the other the really essential trade in commodities such as salt and cloth. The 'domestic' trade extends down to the plains and with it Tibetan cultural influence. One of the reasons for this is that there is no cultural influence from either direction. I think that the prevalence of gout is caused by the absence of an adequate supply of salt. The villagers complained that their supplies of salt are inadequate and that the price they have to pay is high.
Kheda Kama said that it would be quite impossible for any man of his village to carry any baggage to Kheda (Tehsil in Sec. 2 on the map) as there was a long marshy flood between the two villages. Nothing I could do would make him alter this opinion which was emphatically endorsed by the other men gathered round. "No," they said, "we will carry you towards the East and to the North to Chela and Higo but not to, Kheda and the Phâla." It seems to me to be largely a matter of luck in this country. One tries to fix one's identity either from what may be marked on an incomplete map or from what one can pick up in conversation in the villages, but when one tries to adhere to the identity chosen one is invariably foiled by finding that there is certainty between two of the villages on the route and, unless one can find a way round this block, one is stuck. Kheda Kama went on to say that only recently some houses of Dera had been raided by Tamer Tat's gang and any idea of walking into trouble by going Westwards was out of the question.

Again it was clear that there was no chance of making any start on the morrow, so I returned in the dark to my camp only 200 yards away and found everything pitched and ready for the night.

March 8th, 1943

HALT MINTLAT

In the morning I again went down to the house of Kheda Kama to see if I could persuade him to change his opinion. Without parties from Mintlat I could not go on for the Apa Tani, despite Chief Nima's efforts and absence, were ominous that they would go no further. This, in any case, was the extreme Northern limit of the Apa Tani trading area in this part of the Khara and few Apa Tanis had ventured any farther ahead, and, like all primitive peoples, they had a great fear of the unknown. They all said that they wanted to do some private trading in Mintlat which they knew, and then heavy horses and there was any trouble. As Lema was at war with Kheda the contingent from this village also refused to go on. "Kheda Kama was very polite and equally firm. He was very sorry and had no wish to displease the Persians but any trip without pay was quite impossible. Next year if we brought payos all the villagers would go and settle their differences with Kheda and Takam. I shallered at the prospect, next year, of being accompanied by another howling mob of claimants making it impossible to obtain anything but frightful details from the headmen of the village to any question put to him.

I asked Kama about the Kheda clan and he said "The Kheda clan originally came a long time ago from Stip, an area just South of the moon Himalaya range. We migrated South as there was not enough land there for the growing population." Kama gave me the family pedigree. Kheda Bega came to Mintlat from Rinch, a village in the Hid Jâ area. This area lies beyond (i.e. North of) the upper Khara. The family had migrated to Rinch from the Stip area some years before.

1st generation...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kheda Bega (Rinch — Mintlat)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tako Yachi (Stip — Phala)</td>
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<td>(in the Hid Jâ area)</td>
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2nd...

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<tr>
<th>Kheda Topa</th>
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<td>Jado Yegi</td>
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<td>(Tap)</td>
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3rd...

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<tr>
<th>Kheda Tada</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dera Tat</td>
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<td>(Dora)</td>
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4th...

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<tr>
<th>Kheda Kam</th>
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<tr>
<td>Apat</td>
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<td>Dora Dina</td>
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5th...

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<th>Kheda Topa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tako Kampp</td>
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<td>(Tap)</td>
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6th...

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<th>Kheda Yaman (Stip)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kheda Tama</td>
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<td>Dora Yegi (Mintlat)</td>
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<th>Kheda Yama</th>
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<td>Chela Lh</td>
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<th>Kheda Topa</th>
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<td>Kheda Tama</td>
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<tr>
<th>Kheda Tat</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pagmar Setri</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Pagmar near Râkhet)</td>
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Kheda Tat

Kheda Takam

Kheda Tan
To the North and West M insult trade with ChhL Li (which, I suspect, is the Chambéi of the map) and Lasha Be (probably the Lamas Be of the map). The people of M insult can go no further south in that direction. But ChhL Li can trade with these two villages through their own trading posts. The Sapa Be (which is a little south of the main road) and Sapa Hsuan (a large market town) can trade with these two villages. I was unable to say from where villages ChhL Li and Lasha Be obtain their supply and so I am unable to follow up the trade route. I suspect that he knows well enough but for some reasons will not say. All the men of M insult swear that they have never been up to the Khen and have never seen Tibetans. (This in a manner which made me suppose that they thought it was a crime in my eyes for anyone to have seen a Tibetan.) M insult obtains itsangerous rations of rice from the plains through the Apa Tashi.

At that moment a hunter returned with a snake (backing deer) which he had shot with a poisoned arrow and the conversation again turned to Dallas poisons. There are four kinds of poisons employed by the Dallas. They are called by the Dharma:

1. Kachi Omi. 2. Seli Omi. 3. Sangan Omi. 4. Tom Omi.

1. Kachi Omi.—From Kha's cousin I obtained a tube of Kachi Omi. Though very much alike, it is a smaller tube than that of the Leli Omi I obtained in Kha's. This poisonous tube is obtained from the raghais hills beyond the Pinyi, a river which flows into the Khen from the South-West. The plant is a small bush about 2 feet high and the flower is white and trumpet-shaped. The Dallas to whom I showed a dead-drummon bloom said that the flower of the Kachi Omi was rather like that in shape but smaller and thinner. The tubes are collected in the autumn after the rains and the poison is prepared in the same manner as the Leli Omi. Though large quantities of omissions are used for sale. Each plant produces 4-5 tubes each year. The poison is largely collected by badkamps (or Saha) who are the experts in its preparation. The poison operates on the respiratory system and the victim is said to die of suffocation.

2. Seli Omi.—This comes mostly from the region round Kuma North of the Khen. The poison is prepared from the fruit of a fairly large tree and affects the blood stream causing general weakness. I was told that the tree was discovered by a young boy who found an arrow among bushes. Despite the fact that this poison causes acute blood-poisoning, my informer told me that after cutting away the portion of the leaf immediately surrounding the wound the remainder, after being well beaten, can be eaten. Though in its wild state the tree is said to grow only in the high hills, the people of Kuma collect small amount and plant them near their houses.

4. Tom Omi.—This poison comes mainly from the Min region. It is obtained from the white fruit of a small tree the flower of which is red. By holding up a flower for comparison, I was told that the flower has five petals and is about the size of a creek bean. The poison is prepared in the same manner as the Leli Omi. The plant is said to be very deadly but I could not discover how it operates as the local Dallas did not use it. However they assured me that the manufacture of this poison was a dangerous business and one man even said so far as to say that people had been known to die preparing this poison.

Shortly after this conversation I met Tanay Eras, the headman of Dlara. Though Eras had come to meet me he was nervous and was loath to give me any information. He was a distinct type with frizzy hair like a Negro. In this I was not surprised. He has an interesting history as he and his family had returned to Dlara some ten years ago. Originally he came from ChhLe Cho, a village in the high country between the Kuma and the Khen. He and his family had lived here for some years. The scarcity of land and the poverty of the soil, I cannot understand this, the land and around Dlara does not appear to be tempting. The people here are mostly farmers. There is no flat land whatever. I think he was lying when he said that he had never been to Lasha Li and did not know how far it was from ChhLe Cho. He merely complained himself by saying that Lasha Li was near Tibet. He was, I am sure lying when he vehemently denied ever having seen Tibetans or having been imprisoned at the hands of them. He assured me that the country around ChhLe Cho was mainly hilly. At Koma, a village nearby inhabited by Dlama of the Tei class, the land is flat like the Apa Tashi country. To get to Koma from Minsni it is first to go to Bindula which is a two days march for porters and eight or nine days for the Koma to the Khen by raf. From Bindula on is another two days march to ChhLe Li and from ChhLe Li there is another two days march to Koma.

In the afternoon to my surprise and delight, Padi Layang, who had been on a trading visit to Kpao and who had heard, in the strange manner that news travels in my predicament, brought Tap Tedde, headman of Tap the village is variously known as Tap or Tapa—the Dallas have a habit of dropping (their words), and twelve men of the village to help carry my loads. It was then that a surprising and illuminating revelation took place. When informed of the supposed reasons for the refusal of the Minins to go to Koma and Bindula, Padi Layang said 'What rubbish!' and turning to Kana he said 'Every one knows that you are friends with Khodes and the Paliin villages. It is Tap who are as war with the Paliin'. Then after a certain amount of embarrassment the truth came out. The people of Minins are much friendly with the Paliin but had, for an equally pestilent reason, given these excuses. They said 'If we carry loads for the Shibus to Kshoda and if, as a result, any year many documents g. with the Shibus to Kshoda to contain my instructions will blame us as having first mentioned the Sinar to their country. So far we have contrived to live at peace with the powerful Sina villages, but if we do as the Shibus has asked we shall assuredly be raised as soon as the Shibus has left the country and many people will be killed'. I mention this as a piece of information that the Minins have a real headache. One has to learn to put oneself in their position and see the problem from their point of view before one can understand their reactions to any proposal one makes. Looking at matters from their point of view and remembering that they had not met me before and did not know my intentions, I think that they were justified in tying me to order to avoid an awkward situation. But the more I see of this people the more I realize the need for understanding the subtle mental processes of the tribeben's mind. Reasons for any action that they take would probably not occur to the normal visitor from outside, but it is not until one has learnt and appreciated the tribemen's point of view that one can hope to be successful in handling them
I pondered the matter over for some time and reluctantly came to the conclusion that it would be unwise to try and force the M履行村落 to take me to Kinana. If I did and dire consequences resulted for the unfortunate inhabitants of M履行，then the blame would be wholly on M履行's part. I constructed the sphere of my influence for next year's tour. If I do not, M履行 and Linsia will serve as very good stepping stones for next year, for I have no doubt that if these two villages are friendly with the P fulfilled，the stories of the friendly manner in which we met will travel to the P fulfilled during the summer and spread the influence and the honor of the Kinana and the heartiness of the villagers with gifts of salt and cloth in the preparation for next year. I must avoid making it a case of *huo min gua su" at dawn jiazu in order that I might have the right credentials for my visit to the P fulfilling next year. I think that no damage to my influence has been done and a useful preparatory step for my next year's programme has been taken.

March 9th, 1945

M履行 to the Kぬる and Back.

Distance—6 Miles.

Direction—North.

I spent the morning making an expedition to the Kぬる North of M履行. I had expected the path from M履行 to the river would follow the valley of the Sela but this was not the case. This small stream flows through a rock filled gorge and, drowning as it does, a steep bowl-shaped watershed, is subject to violent floods. The path therefore follows a difficult route along the western slope of the valley until the gorge of the Kぬる is reached when it zigzags steeply down to the river.

The Kぬる is impressive. Fifty yards of swift flowing, deep, dark green water separated me from the few breakers just below me I could hear the revolving roar of some big rapids which remained invisible on account of a bend in the river. Across the river was a stony primitive causeway consisting of two strata of large black stones of black and green. This was dangerous looking upon the villages, with the help of the large hoops suspended on the cloth and in which they lay they had crossed the rapids and crossed them under the use of their legs as a means to propulsion. To assist the smooth running of the hooves of the horses and the way they had crossed the strata, the horseman, who had passed through the same, wrapped round the top of the hoop where it came into contact with the strata and the top of the hoop was wrapped in a head of a banana plant, was wrapped round the top of the hoop where it came into contact with the strata and the top of the hoop was wrapped as a lubricant.

I was accompanied by a party of six from M履行 who, waiting themselves of the protection afforded by my presence, were going to Higo across the river to obtain supplies of grain to replace those taken by the plague of rats which were this year infesting the village. They had not dared to go before as Tense Tad was reported to be on the sick list and not particularly well, particularly when he was captured. At such a bridge I met some Kぬる villagers,—small, dark, wild looking men clad in ragged but friendly. I had past their original suspicion with a few cigarettes up. These men were sure that they had not been visited from the North-West up the Kぬる till now, a statement I find is difficult to believe. While we sat there talking and smoking I could see large masses in the clear water below me and regretted the fact that I had not been able to give the knowledge and the warning to the people that it I should have brought my tackle with me on this occasion but the shortage of porters prevented this.

While I think that for next year the route via Kぬる and the P fulfilled will be the most practicable and politically the most important for it will be necessary to gain the cooperation of the P fulfilled villages as soon as possible, it might be advisable for one party to take the Linsia-M履行 Higo route and thence North-West up the North branch of the Kぬる as a secondary line of investigation in case the tribal opposition in the P fulfilled in the end proves, at any rate for the time being, too great. I think we shall have possibly to go slowly with the P fulfilled, for the situation is very desirable and it is very desirable and we should obtain their voluntary cooperation rather than that we should force them to acknowledge us.

On my return to M履行 at 3:30 p.m. I found that Thaya Eria had again come to see me. I had not originally gone to Diba as I had been told that he had run away and I thought that the best way to induce him to return was to be friendly and generous to his brother husband of the neighboring village. The plan had worked, for Eria had obviously heard that I had given Eria ten shillings of salt and was delighted when I gave him the same amount. We entered Kぬる's house and round a fire with cigarettes and some of an excellent brew began a general conversation. I was particularly anxious to try and find out more about Eria and the country from which he had come but despite my many careful and tactful enquiries I was able to obtain very little additional information. He said that he had left Chelo Kぬる on account of the influx of many families from the North. He again denied that he had ever seen a Tibetan from his country. I was certain that he was lying. That so recent an arrival from the North-West should profess to have no traces of the language and no connections with others and I cannot escape the feeling that I am up against a sort of conspiracy or silence. So often do I come up against blank walls in my enquiries from tribesmen who obviously could not have been ignorant as they would with one to believe. What is the reason for this? There are we think a few positive tendencies. What I think is that there is the fear that the Sincere is going to confiscate or tax good land. I have heard that certain ill-disposed persons have been trying to put such an idea into circulation and this may possibly be a reason for the unwillingness of the tribesmen to divulge too much. Secondly it is possible that all villagers who are, in any case, constantly harried from the North-West are being careful not to give further complaint by being accessible to the Government or giving further information to the Sincere. This we on the analogy of disease carrying, the plague in this case being Government interference; the third possibility which, though it may sound improbable and far fetched, has much to support it is the same person or some power has imposed silence on the tribesmen. These persons could only be Tibetans and that power could only be the Dzangos controlling the area far and near the North. The fact that particularly over my enquiries regarding Tibetans have been set with evasion and lies makes me wonder whether the Tibetans, or their side of the Frontier, have not been active in our inquiries and as the same time as not inducing the local tribesmen to withhold from us any information as possible. It is significant that in places more remote from the Tibetan influence such as Mangko and L昼la the same reticence about Tibetan affairs did not exist.
It was in Kan’s house that on this occasion the conversations turned to tribal origins. Perhaps it was the excellence of the opium that had lullaxed me, or it may be that I had heard quite a different story to that related to Haikuresher last year in the Apa Tasi country. Again it was Chhotu, the tribal Brahmin, who narrated the tale. He said:

“The people of the plains (Apa Tasi) first came up the river (the Brahmaputra) where they met others coming down. The Apa Tasi came first to the hills. They originally came from Omph Rabiok beyond the Megh Doh (the white land—the Himilayas) where there is another Khiro River.”

Originally there was one Apa Tasi named Hisi Mitre. He lived where the world was soft and the people were not tall and where there were no trees and crops and no domestic animals. He came from Omph Rabiok and from him were born the other Hisi Mitre’s wife was named Ani Mitre and she was given to Hisi Mitre by God. Hisi Mitre went from Omph Rabiok to Siptu Li North of the Mitri country. He and his wife then came to Ani Salang in the Apa Tasi country. The Salang flows into the Kalu River from Pichh Pattra (Pattra is a hill).”

Next came the Dakha. They came from the far North from Siptu Rabiok and struggled through the snow (here Chhotu Nisar gave a graphic demonstration of a man walking through deep snow). Last came the Salang but another Chhotu Nisar nor any one else could trace the fire. We are only close to the people of the Apa Tasi country. This is the story of the Apa Tasi that we are concerned, bears a striking resemblance to the story of Asim and Eve in the book of Genesis.

March 14th, 1946

MINTILAT-TAP—(on East bank of the Pein just east of junction of the Pein and Painpik Rivers.)

HEIGHT OF TAP CAMPSITE DISTANCE DIRECTION

4 miles

1,750 ft.

South-East.

True to his word Khelena Kan produced his complement of porters early and I was able to leave camp at 7 A.M. on the 14th. The path we followed for this part of the world was comparatively good, but stretched out of the side valley to the East of Mintili (see page 61) and up and across some high jumas until I reached a high, long ridge commanding magnificent views to the North whenever a clear sky was present. To the South the fine jungle covered crest of Duaio (see D. 2) stood out sharply above the surrounding country. The path, the general direction of which was North, was good and so I continued and, on the crest, fairly level with possible camp sites in many places the whole way on the uplands.

The chief variant on the way came from the narrowness of minute sites which forced the path and covered so that one had carefully to search every bit of one’s clothing at each halt.

I was a long deep down from the high ridge along which I had proceeded to the valley of the Pein and some time before I reached it I was warm and not acclimatised duosh by the time I arrived at the bottom of the valley. I found that the village of Tap had been moved from its old site on the East bank to a fresh one across the river and once again I saw that the village was clinging to a steep slope which offered no possible site for any camp. I therefore forced to make camp in a pendiculous hambeau grove across the river.

On account of the constant rains from the Phina the two villages of Tap and Tiko have combined and have placed the Pein between themselves and their own swallownut trees.

March 15th, 1946

TAP—LINIA

DISTANCE DIRECTION

6 miles

West.

In the morning an interpreter and the headman of Tap came to me in great excitement saying that I should not camp on a place he had marked. Except for the one place on the ridge which I had marked in the night I had found no great convenience or disadvantage in the place. The weather had been fine and the site, broad, with the large bamboo, dry. They however pointed out a place at the end of the grove and said that it belonged to a very old man, Nisa Gori, the God of doctors. I asked why there should be a special place here for the worship of doctors. Tap Tidde said that there lived large snakes that chased men and killed them.“Aahish!” (Thus) said Tidde giving a spiritual demonstration of a man running in terror and being bitten and dropping dead at once. From the description, habits and size of these snakes I was left in little doubt that I had wondrously camped the night in a basket of kahm-draysals and was therefore not sorry to leave at once.

The way back to Linia was comparatively flat and followed the valley of the Pein the whole way. Except for a rather narrow one site that I marked so far explored in this area, the Pein from Tap to Linia flows through a wide flat-bottomed valley. The sides of the valley are comparatively steep but from numerous side valleys flow streams from the high fields. As such struck me this. Here was an ideal area for wet rice cultivation and surprised that this land and fertile area had been allowed to remain virgin jungle, for there was throughout the whole length of the jungle area no signs that the land had ever been cultivated. As usual I was told that no one dared to settle here on account of the danger of rats from the Pein.

I have been interested in recent newspaper reports of the valuable assistance given to our forces on the Burma front by such tribes as the Megha and the Chins. The weekly Times of January 16th, 1945 had a leader on the subject.

I presume that the whole question of enforcing our census up to the Leta Nala Line is not only a political problem but also closely bound up with strategic and military considerations. Can we, in the predictable future, rely on obtaining the cooperation and assistance of the Layers in an emergency?—say in the event of combined Sino-Tibetan, or Sino-Russians attacking? I may suggest that any agreement that you have to make in this part of the world is not likely to come for some time. Before coming up into these hills I met in Sylisy an American Officer, whose name I unfortunately forget, who had been attached to the American
For reasons in this part of the world is the establishment at suitable places of colonies of hillmen, Garhars for protection, capable of performing three essential functions. Quite apart from the military desirability of the presence of such a loyal element, Garhars would have a great civilizing effect upon the local population and their value as agricultural demonstrators and law enforcers cannot be overestimated. I have seen the results which the Indian Government are reaping in the Rishit and their farmers have worked in the surrounding country and have readily intermarried with the local Chittis. Their value as agricultural demonstrators can be gauged from the fact that whereas originally the local Abors grew few vegetables, the Saleya Frontier Tract now produces an important quota of the potato and green vegetable requirements for the British and American forces in Assam. Like the Duthi the Abors originally had no idea of the value of milk and yet during the short time that I was in Sadiya such was the daily yield of the dairy herd in that area that I discussed with the Military authorities at their request, the possibility of establishing a dairy farm and milk collecting centre at Sadiya for helping to provide milk for soldiers. This, despite how many difficulties the Saleya and Abors face and a few neolithic traits here would soon put an end to the raising of the Pallas. As I walked through the valley the possibility of establishing a colony of Garhars here struck me forcibly. Here was an area of potentially valuable and fertile land wanted on account of the turbulent Pallas tribe. A colony of Garhars here I believe would, be useful in many ways. They would serve as educators to the surrounding Dulla villages, interacting with them, gradually changing the standard of the whole area.

Once we supplied and still move a need comes to the Aps Tani country they would only be one day’s march from the outside and would be in no way worse off than if they were in no part of India. From this it would be eventually possible to obtain material for recruitment to the local subordinate services and the candidates would start with the great advantage of knowing the language, by that time their Garhar nationality would have been merged with the local population. They would form the forward armies and the loyal éléments upon whose reliance could be placed in an emergency.

March 15th, 1946

LINIA-DUTA

Remembering the difficulty 1 had had on my journey from Ditta to Linia on the 5th of March, I booked camp at 5 a.m. and with porters recruited from Linia and Tap started back on the 1st lap of my shortened tour. I had been thwarted in my main attempt to reach the junction of the Pallas and the Kuru. I, myself, suppose, by misusage, have eventually induced the Manipur to take me to Keire Hauk, but had my visit not been a success, and Tako Bai had taught me the need for circumspection in my dealings with the Dosals, I would almost certainly have brought the wrath of the Pallas villages on to Manipur and this would have lessened rather than helped my next year’s programme. In order to get through to this remote valley as quickly as possible, I pushed the party into the railway train at Ditta, taking from 10.15 a.m. to 6 p.m. 7 hours of hard going on muddy roads. A tour of 17.30 to 6 p.m. on a dry day. I had been very lucky with the weather on this short tour and had not originally arranged for the Gulling porters to come up to Ditta to meet me, but I had planned to make up for this by employing another tour of the same nature spell for a more elaborate tour of exploration. On arrival back in Linia I found that an Aps Tani convoy had brought up a large mail for me with the usual depressing quota of returns and statements for my signature. However, I was included letters from the Adviser saying that considerable progress had been made in the arrangements for next year’s work. He has also been called to Delhi and I hope he is given the opportunity of explaining the difficulties to External Affairs Department and of urging upon them the need for officers and material and financial help. Of course the present is a very difficult time, for what with retirements, leave and the complete cessation of all recruitment to the Indian Political Service there is a serious shortage of officers in the campo. Despite the fact that we are in the midst of war I still feel that the Army could help in providing officers to assist in the opening up of this Frontier and despite the many anxieties to the contrary I am yet to be convinced that there really is a shortage of officers in India. My personal knowledge of the writer of apparent want of officers in the Military Intelligence Division leaves that fact in no doubt. I know I may be utterly wrong and I know equally well that this is none of my business but the impression unfortunately seems to be that the Army has always in the past given invaluable assistance in the initial opening up of successive Frontiers in this country to both the Army and civil administrations and I have been told that in the event of the Garhar Officer to be in charge would be unable to raise porters unless a Political Officer were there to assist him. Without porters the post would remain static and immobile and would in fact be an awkward hindrance, for to maintain it from the end of March to the beginning of November would necessitate the movement of stores over a distance not less than 115 miles. Add to that the porters required to carry the rations, for the porters fore's own consumption on the way (they would eat 244 loads of rations a day which for a ten-day round trip in round figures would
be 245 lbs), and you would need some 738 porters to carry up the necessary stores. March is the beginning, and one of the most important times of the cultivating season. From whence it is going to be possible to estimate the required number of porters at such a time? The disruptions of tribal life, the loss to tribal agriculture, and the liability of misadventures and shoals which the chance occurrence of such a pest would cause would be too many, in my opinion, to outweigh the small advantages which would accrue from the establishment of an Amun Rifles post in this region.

It is remarkable how very few diseases there were going on to get myself up and the staff and the Section of the Amun Rifles away from Dita. Such minor ailments had made the Galloway porter force something below 60 carrying men. It will therefore be necessary largely to rely upon the Aga Tanis at an inopportune moment, for most of the spring/vegetation season will be delayed by the current year and possibly the onset of the Aga Tanis spring flowers will be in full swing. The accumulation of unsown lands with the Amun Rifles post is almost impossible, and we have now to try and arrange that convoys will go at intervals to Poyang after the rains had ceased.

March 12th, 1946

Halu Dita

It would be difficult accurately to describe the beauty of the Aga Tanis spring; so much remains of one of an English March with new kinds of everywhere and flowers, particularly carpets of pink moss peonies and colonies of violets, scattered in profusion on the hill slopes. There is also an abundance of a small blue flower pushing up through the turf whose brilliant blue blooms rival those of our humble speedwell. It is not however these small plants that lead the principal glory to the landscape; it is the blossoms blossoming against the sombre background of the pine groves that leaves the dazzling white of the white flowers that appear as a variety of peonies called by the Aga Tanis ladies and maid. The native is the ordinary pale pink wild cherry but the musk is something quite new to me. In these hills apparently it only grows in the Aga Tanis valley and my enquiries show that it is unknown in the valleys of Nep, the area of the Amun Rifles had never seen it, and there were, in the Section Dita, main and Clifton, Nandu and Rain, or in the Kedara or Aba country. In the west beautiful province I have seen and is far more spectacular than the Japanese varieties. The tree can grow to a size of a small elm and at this time of the year is a blaze of deep pink blossoms. The flowers, which are single, long and flat, and deeply and have the base of the leaves also are the only decorative strip of deep brown leaves. I am not a botanist in the scientific sense but I know my English ornamental trees, and am a keen gardener. Never have I seen a blossoming tree anywhere to compare with the musk for beauty and I am now anxiously anticipating the possibility of having something new and beautiful for Europeans and American parks and gardens.

However, to revert from aesthetics to more pressing and mundane problems, today I attended the landing strips North of Dita and Chipa, New, Padi Lavaq and Keren Rata undertook to obtain the labour required for the three days. The labour was divided among the tribesmen; you have received the order to have the whole world, and how they know or can even imagine modern inventions they display a remarkable group of advantages of Air Transport and have shown great enthusiasm for the idea of obtaining their supplies from the planes of Amun by means of theJakar-river which is in their name for an aeroplane. I had explained to them that whereas the provision of salt to the trade depot was twelve months a year it would be possible to sail to Dita at an almost any time if it could be flown up. The headmen at once grasped the significance and have offered the land for the temporary landing strip free. It may however be remembered that the head upon which the strips are to be laid out is normally under charkut estates during the summer months and the Chief means supply for the villages of Dita, Raja, and the Tajum of the district. To flatten the land and prepare it for a landing strip will necessitate a certain amount of sacrifice on their part and if we are to retain their good will and enthusiasm for this new idea we must see that they also derive advantage from this Air Service. Such conditions as house site, market for fruit and vegetables, and so forth, will determine the choice of place. However it may be remembered that the arrangements we are dependent upon the good will of the Aga Tanas for the maintenance of this strip. If the small amount of damage which may, at the beginning of the year, be inflicted on the standing crop is not offset by a greater advantage of obtaining their requirements of essential commodities more cheaply, it is possible that the Aga Tanas may become disillusioned and may cut up the landing strips and thus prevent the landing of aircraft. Should such a setback occur it would then be difficult to overcome the reactionary prejudice which would have been created. This is all part and parcel of what should be our future policy in their hills. If the tribemen derive advantage from our arrival in their midst they will welcome us and co-operate with us. If on the other hand they find us as an imposition they will probably turn against us and the cost of pacifying these tribes will then be far greater than the initial cost to Government of liberal treatment and, if necessary, the supply to the tribes of essential goods at less cost price.

March 14th, 1946

Halu Dita

Padi Lavaq’s party arrived early this morning to begin the work on their portion of the air strip, I went at 7-15 a.m. and took with me the Gordon Labour Corps and some men of the Section of the Amun Rifles to help and to supervise. The whole ground had been prepared by the Aga Tanas into little humped shaped beds with shallow drains between them. On each bed there were some bunches of village litter which had been placed there each year by the careful Aga Tanas for use. I marked out their spot with hazel sticks and the men set to work levelling up the ground and removing the boundary posts. By noon they had completed half of one strip, for hearing what was almost the Aga Tanas come voluntarily to work and even I had quite a large labour force. It was cold raw morning with occasional streaks of rain coming across the valley and, to keep myself warm and get some exercise, I took a run along the digging, play small hand of a bored man clapping to the crowds of small boys who had gathered to lend a hand. By lunch time I had raised a fine crop of blisters on my hands.
After lunch Paul Loynog invited me to come across to Tajang to see the male fashionista which had just begun. As I entered the village I saw that the whole place was alive. All the people were in their best clothes and crowds of happy villagers were thronging the narrow lanes of the village. At intervals I paused and stood in the inn's verandah and observed the main dance which was being performed that day. The good people of Tajang were keeping open house and after a few minutes I was offered a glass of toddy to drink. It would have been an insult to the host had I refused to sip a little and by the time that I reached the main square of the road I was, I confess, a little merry, for the liquid being fresh was hardly strong. On arrival at the main road I found the main male pole set up. This pole was a single strong bamboo lined in the middle with a coarse rope which was the suspension of a wireless mast. From the top stretched an angle to the ground was a single strand of rattan cane, and upon this improvised springboard the young men of the village were performing acrobatic feats. One man would sit astride the rope while two others pulled it close to the ground using the springboard of the rope. When the men leaped off the rope shot up into the air at the same time performing all sorts of tumbling feats as it swung up and down. The onlookers pressed me to try my hand but I only succeeded in hanging on uselessly while I was all the time drinking the liquid to the satisfaction of everybody. There were voice jumping competitions and I was assisted at the start of the young Apatan whose clews were over 6 feet with the utmost ease. I used to take rank as a youth and proceeded a hundred paces and gave them a demonstration. Though they had never tried this form of jumping before it was quite surprising how quickly they picked up the idea and clearedcreditable heights. The Apatans are an athletic people and like all the tribes I have seen this afternoon it is the exception rather than the rule to see a man with a poor physique. This seems odd to me for their diet is strictly limited and they none of them drink any milk. However they maintain that their diet is not merely a diet is one of the most unpalatable parts of their diet.

Today Nadia Rika, the man who helps me in the trade depot, took down a long letter which I wrote yesterday to the Adviser giving him a report of my recent tour and a preliminary report on what has been accomplished this year and suggestions for next year's work. This will, I hope, be of assistance to him in his forthcoming discussions with the Foreign Secretary in Shillong.

March 16th, 1945

Halt Dita

Work on the air strips went on well this morning as Paul Loynog's party completed the levelling of the Eastern strip. and Ching, assistant and Kongki Rika brought their paddy load to work on the main strip, the North-East. I saw Dita and I must confess that the man is extremely tall but at this height his sins are extremely small. I don't think that the men could get down on these strips and if 2 Royal Air Force officers could be flown up to Dita later on he would be able to have a look around and advise on the best place to lay out a permanent airfield. I believe that the best place eventually will be near Rika. Again I am sure that Nadia Rika by looking at the map of the area will be able to tell me that the level of the land in this valley is so that transport of all agricultural land is extremely high. It is near Rika that I think the Civil Station should eventually be either there or at the head of the valley North of Bolin. Plenty of room will be needed and there should be a good part water supply and abundant vegetation near at hand.

March 16th, 1945

Halt Dita

Work is going on well on the last part of the strip and today the men of the Section of the Assam Rifles turned out to finish it off and worked on until it was nearly completed. It will be finished tomorrow. Now if we are going to build a light plane to reconnaissance the Secretary and the Adviser to come up to Dita now and see for themselves the conditions here and choose a site for the civil station. Later it may be possible to have material flown up here with a few artisans to build the houses that are needed. These houses and grass huts can serve as an emergency Headquarters but there is no time to be lost as it is possible to install a small electric light plant here using the water power of the Kalin river. But to my mind air supply cannot ever supply the need for a road from the plains to this valley. Without good ground communications it will be impossible to make much progress and our administrative hold upon this area will remain as the best demonstrate. With the coming of the Political Officer we will immediately be able to find and the rate at which improvements can be introduced to these hills painfully slow. It is very difficult for me to convey any picture to those who have never seen this part of the world and even those who have served on the North-East Frontier can have little conception of the possibilities of the Assam Rifles company, for it is quite unique in its way.

In the afternoon I distributed seed to the hunters who had collected and gave them a demonstration of the method of planting the various crops. With the visit of an agricultural demonstrator to this part of the world would mean produce good results for the valley is ideal for fruit and vegetable growing and the Apatans are the best farmers I have so far seen in India. With assistance and encouragement with good communications to the place this area could become an important fruit and vegetable growing centre.

March 17th, 1945

Hail Dita

I spent a very disturbed night. First of all this basha has become infested with rats. These are not the plague rats, but are a small, tawny, colored creatures highly esteemed by the Assam Rifles and which I also found very good to eat on my recent tour when Ching Nima offered me a couple well smoked, but not a salted, rat. They very rightly consider the Apatans very right to run away from the roof and run all over the room. I particularly resent the visits they make to my bed and the damage they do to my clothes. Wool seems to be a particular delicacy with them and they devour my blankets while I am lying under them. However rats are not the only troubles of the night. Long after midnight I was woken by parties of rovers returning from Bolin and Hazar after a day's merry-making at the mela. All were very merry and some very drunk and they thought nothing of coming in and waking me up and asking for a cigarette or a light. This of course caused a talk, for the Apatans is very lecherous, and once started around my fire, I found it difficult to persuade them to leave me as I was more intimidated among them thought that they had possibly come for enough and wanted to sleep round my fire. At last I managed to get rid of them and thought my troubles were over. However I was wrong. A short way from my basha the path crosses a deep water course by a narrow plank bridge. One on the same
drummers of the party failed to steer himself accordingly fell in. His two companions, in trying to rescue him, fell in on top of him and pneumonia broke loose. Hearing echoes of "Take! Take!" I went out and after covering myself with a mixture of mud and cold water, I sat and the remainder of the party managed to revive the man before the water. Again I cursed that appallingly irrelevant summary to show how entirely informal and friendly are the relations between the tribesmen and Hatunasadur and myself. Putting the matter at its lowest level, it is essential that relationships of this character should remain for as long as we are dependent upon the goodwill of the tribesmen for our needs and indeed our existence in these hills.

The landing strips were completed today and all that is now required is aircraft to land on them.

March 29th, 1916
Halt Disa

I have been trying to estimate the number of loads that will have to be moved from house to house when I go down on the 21st. This is not easy as I cannot find out how many loads will be leaving the trade depot. Love Chandu Prakumar, the trade depot clerk, is on leave in the plains. He should have been back by now but he is still ill with measles while at his home. I have to leave a certain sum money here for the Hatunasadur to feed thee on their return from the plains country. I can see that I am going to have a deal of trouble collecting porters for the down journey and I shall have to go to Hung to summon to collect some men from there. I cannot obtain porters from Michi Basum as there is an epidemic of what appears to be dysentery there and, of course, after the customs of the country, the village has been completely isolated. Disa, Haja and Madam Timo, have all been hand washed this week and I hope to isolate them from any heavy demand on them for this last journey. It is impossible to obtain any men from Hap and Bala as they are busy with the anthills. Darus too are out of the question as today Colonel and the Political245.6 and the oxen all arrived as far as Talo on their way down to Pata where we all hope to concentrate. I must leave them all these ones as I got a telegram from Talo, Jermu and Nydiyon. Colonel sent me a note with the advance party from Michi which arrived at Talo two days ago to say that they had had the greatest difficulty raising porters in Lilla for the downward journey.

March 30th, 1916
Halt Disa

I went to Hung this morning and paid a ceremony call upon Ponya Tamarin, the leading man of the village. Ponya Tamarin at one time wielded considerable power not only in the affairs of his village of Hung but also in the affairs of the third wing Timu and Timo. Advancing years and illness have however compelled him to withdraw from a large extent from public life. I had met him before on my last visit to Hung but, on account of his old age, he seldom comes to Disa. Word had, however, reached me that he was very well but not having received a reply. I had hoped that we should receive some welcome today until a note was received yesterday to the contrary. That, despite his years, he still commands the allegiance and affection of the people of the village was clear from the enthusiasm of the villagers. After the ceremony, I explained my difficulties to him and both to Hap and Timo, another influential man of the village, and they undertook to raise the quota of porters I required. This is not so easy as it would be for the Apa Tamin are most independent people and many of the most important men can only order their own inferiors and immediate dependents to perform any duty. They can bring very little pressure on the other free owners of the village to do anything which these freemen do not want to do.

March 31st, 1916
Halt Disa

Yesterday evening the Gallongs porters arrived and as they have only enough rations for a two day hike here in Disa I must leave tomorrow. The day was therefore spent in visits to Haja and Disa in an effort to ensure that sufficient porters will be forthcoming on the morning and in packing up all the stores and the equipment into porter loads. Now that the time had come to leave this beautiful and cool country for the summer months I was sorry in many ways to leave. The thought of going back to the desolate bunchs on Jio hong and there wrestling with the complicated account of the year's work was far from inviting. I am also worried about the two sections of the Anama Range now in Talo. Colonel came over the hill to see me this morning and from what he said I am doubtful if he and the Political245.6 will be able to raise sufficient porters to make them as far as Pata. From there we shall have to rely on the lower Paro villages and the Par valley Dabas to get us on. I am also worried about the Hatunasadur as I have not been there for some time. They now come down to the Katimba and I am considerably worried in my mind about the probability of their getting cut off by floods. I am afraid that they are also going to have considerable difficulty collecting porters from the Apa Tamin to get them back to civilization. It will be comparatively late in the year when they return and the Apa Tamin may object strongly to going down to the plains again.

I have also been making last arrangements about the care of the Licha prisoners who were brought to the Apa Tamin country from Michi on the 17th of this month. They are now in Haja under the care of Kanza Bida and are being held as hostages for the good behaviour of the Licha Dabas during the summer months. The prisoners are Licha Soha, his son Licha Sepi, the Dabas and Saling Ray. Yesterday Licha Sepi came from Kinmo to see me and said that he hoped to persuade the other headmen of the two settlements to come and settle matters with the Apa Tamin and re-establish peace between the two communities. The real hope of creating permanent peaceful conditions, however, is not my forcing upon them a public or a deputy, but until there is the creation of public opinion on both sides, such an uneasy truce will not long be preserved.

This is necessary first of all to put an end to the pressure from the Palm valley which exists readying Licha necessary and then to concentrate upon preventing real and substantial economic advantages to the people of Licha so that by raising their standard of living and increasing their prosperity they will have an interest in the preservation of peace. If, as I hope will eventually be the case, the main artery of
comminication from the plains of Assam to the interior passes through Kurna and over the divide into the Bafie, geographies, communications, trade, prosperity and a widening horizon for this community will, I believe, pass from them far more quickly and more surely than will the oppressive presence of an outpost of the Assam Rifles, through this will at first probably be necessary.

We, Political Officers, working upon this North-East Frontier, a new task, about which we are only now beginning to learn, are seeking to ensure the peace, prosperity and loyalty of this region. Unrest, economic depression and disloyalty amounting to hostility are evils against which we wish to insulate. In an unruly province in the shape of Assam, nobody too high a price to pay. For annual outlay of a few lakhs on economic improvements with, at first, no hope of any return, we are ready to avoid the danger of having to spend a very much larger sum in undoing the harm caused by economic stagnation and early political mismanagement. If we do not take the greatest care to avoid the mistakes which have been made in the past on the North-East Frontier, we shall find nothing in the Central Government may then be faced with the task of curing yet another running sore and saddled with one more permanent problem.

If, in these initial stages, we concentrate our efforts upon the economic aspects of the problem we shall, I believe, have laid a sound foundation upon which our whole policy upon this Frontier can be built.

March 31st, 1945

Dita—Camp Near Fel (3,000 feet approximately).

 Distance—15 miles.

 Direction—South.

After endless trouble in collecting the porters, Hoja and Dita, in particular, being initial difficulties, I managed to start out on the first stage of my journey down to the plains at 9-15 a.m. The weather was perfect after a certain amount of rain during the night. We took a different path to the one by which I had come up, for we skirted the edge of the western wall of the valley. South of Heng however we reigned in the main path and at the southern end of the valley followed fields of prairie spread like a lavender carpet on all sides. In the jungle south of the Ama Tam valley, between the Southern end and the hole hill Assam Assam would seem to be close proximity to a variety of saris in which I had not before seen. The contrast of the dark pink and the white hundreds of blossoms of the saris against the dark background of the jungle was very spectacular. Going, for the most part, down hill we made rapid progress and reached Mi on about 1 p.m. Here I was lucky to hear that the headman, Haji Haji, had come down with me and that the Admin could be heard chanting in his house. I told him that I could neither be of much assistance nor would my instructions upon the instructions of the Admin be welcome and therefore went on my way after sending message of sympathy. I intended to camp in the flat irrigated plains half way down the hill to Fel, but an arrival there I found that there was meant little water. We were well down the hill and camped in the valley of the Panjguy. We made a double search and I was glad that we had because I want to reach Fel a day or two before Coocherry and the Assam Rifles Sections from Mira arrive so that I can find out the position regarding the leads to be evacuated from Fel to Jayingh.

March 22nd, 1945

Fel Camp—Fel

 Distance—11 miles approx.

 Direction—South-West.

Despite the fact that he had been far and wide in a North-West direction, Chagti Nisam had never seen the Planor before and was very interested in this new country. I had thought that it would be a good plan to try and take a perpendicular Ama Tam homestead down to Jayingh with me as none had ever seen the plains. We therefore set out and after some hours, rain, cold, trouble, improved bone clasps, all went well and we reached Mi on about 1 p.m. Here I was lucky to hear that the headman, Haji Haji, had come down with me and that the Admin could be heard chanting in his house. I told him that I could neither be of much assistance nor would my instructions upon the instructions of the Admin be welcome and therefore went on my way after sending message of sympathy. I intended to camp in the flat irrigated plains half way down the hill to Fel, but an arrival there I found that there was meant little water. We were well down the hill and camped in the valley of the Panjguy. We made a double search and I was glad that we had because I want to reach Fel a day or two before Coocherry and the Assam Rifles Sections from Mira arrive so that I can find out the position regarding the leads to be evacuated from Fel to Jayingh.

March 21st, 1945

Halt Fel

I waited at the camp in the hope that Coocherry and the two sections would arrive but as they had not by 11-30 a.m. I again went up the river a little way to where I had seen some good-looking water and in two hours between the hours of 12 noon and 4 p.m. I caught two 14 lbs., two 10 lbs., a 6 lbs. and a 4 lbs. All good. I had never met this fish before and as far as I know it is not found in other parts of India but it is a very sporting fish and great fun. The weather has become oppressively hot and it looks as if it was raining hard farther North.
Cooksey and the Political Jemadar and the two Sections arrived down from Desa Seram, the camp on the Kahi river below Joruma, and arrived at Firi soon after lunch. Bajaj, the Political Jemadar said that they had had the greatest difficulty in raising sufficient porters for the journey. Apparently Teka Biti is at the bottom of the trouble and Bajaj is convinced from his conversations with various Dikaks that Teka Biti has been telling people not to carry for us. What the reason for this I cannot say for certain but it has came out in my opinion that we cannot be exposed to be dependent on the good will of tribal headmen for the provision of porters and at the same time perform acts which may be unpopular with certain of them. I think that no Teka Biti is modified by marriage to Licha he has taken the side of the Licha people and is trying to make himself indispensable for us by withholding porters. Next year I shall have to make special efforts to win over Teka Biti. Only as a last resort shall any action be taken against him for by taking action against a Red Cloth holder one is striking at the prestige of the whole immigration.

In the evening Firi Togo and Niri Tana arrived for their visa. The "Bell Difa" (as it is called) visa is very small and the few holders receive only a small sum each. I think that it would be a useful plan if some sort of allowance was eventually paid to the most important headmen on the line of the road when it is built. As long as the Political Officer was satisfied that the maintenance of the road was satisfactory for the purpose of the road for which the individual was responsible he would receive his visa. This arrangement the principle of village responsibility would be established and this could extend also to saw and order along the roads. With the prevalence of feuds in these hills I think that rights from the very start all Government land, as on the North-West Frontier, should be unencumbered and villages should be held responsible for such lawlessness committed on the portion of the road for which they are responsible; the principle being that they must either produce the culprit or pay the fine. The same principle should apply to repair and maintenance of roads. Outside labour should not be imported from the plains as this would lead to the spread of disease and in many cases during the summers months it would be difficult to maintain such gangs as even the ordnance gangs have been reduced by one third or more road gangs who would be paid by the Public Works Department and who would be responsible for the clearance of landslides, etc., and for the keeping open of road side derris and culverts. This in itself would bring money into the country and would provide alternative employment for the slave tenants of society (see pages 43 and 44).

The weather has become very hot and the dews fall to curve. I was given some liquid substance called "Scat" by the Americans and find that this is very effective against all insects. Chloroform and bengal oil are effective for a shorter period and I consider that all porters and troops working in these valleys should be provided with anti-bacterial oil as these flies make life miserable at certain times of the year.

This morning I paid out the visa to the local visa holders and found that the register was entirely inaccurate. I suggest that a fresh register be prepared next year.

March 25th, 1945
Hali Firi

It is going to be very difficult to obtain sufficient porters to carry down this accumulation of stores. To-day I sent one section of the Assam Rifles off in advance with some porters which we had managed to collect. The Gallongs will be arriving back from Joyting to-morrow and despite my promise to them I shall have to ask them to make one more trip from here to Joyting and back. The Assam Rifles have caught some Apa Tana crossing the canee bridge here on their way down to the plains carrying geja with them. Apparently geja grows wild in all these hills and though the Apa Tana do not themselves eat or smoke it they have found that the demand in Assam has risen so much during the war that at the prices which have been high and this has led to a considerable trade in geja grown in this area to Bengali shopkeepers living in the villages at the foot of the hills. Chief Nagi assures me that there was only a very limited traffic in illicit geja before the war and I therefore consider that it would be advisable to put a stop to this trade at once by appointing our own watchmen. I also do not think it advisable that any Excise official should ever be allowed in these tribal areas.

March 26th and 27th, 1945
Hali Firi

I had great difficulty in persuading the Gallongs to come on for one more trip at not unnaturally they were very anxious to get back to their homes and begin their cultivation. I could not order them to do a more return trip because I had definitely promised them that this trip would be the last. Finally after much argument among them they agreed to help me out. They sent one have done so and I told them this and said that if they wished to keep me to my promise they could do so and I should have to try and make other arrangements. I am therefore very grateful to Kudu Bagra and Tado Lored, the two Sidamas, for their loyalty and I intend giving them all a bonus on my return to Joyting.

March 28th, 1945
Firi—Licha

The march was uneventful. I stopped at a pool on the way and caught a 14 lb. baka and an 8 lb. These were very welcome to the porters on arrival in camp. The canoes of tribesmen had almost destroyed the fish in the lake and it seems for the moment there is no idea of building temporary accommodation for political officers and the Licha and Communication chowkildars have to be pointed to keep the place in repair. It is particularly necessary on the route from Joyting to Licha where there are few villages on the path that there should be staging camps both for porters and for the officers and staff.

March 29th, 1945
Licha—Selaemchi

Just before reaching Licha the present path leaves the Patir River and strikes up over the side again to the west of the lake, and from Licha to Selaemchi runs well to the west in order to find a suitable place to cross the difficult piece of high ground alternately known as the Tesa Path or the North slope and the South Path on the Southerly side. From the road builders' point of view I should imagine that this line will not be altogether suitable, for it leads across a very broken country and from the middle of the crest of the mountain to Selaemchi, which is only 1,000 feet above sea level, crosses some 3,000 feet in three miles. The
best time, as I have already said, will be as near to the river as possible, where, even if a certain amount of grading over the numerous side streams will be necessary, there will be less height to be gained and a shorter distance to be covered.

We reached the middle at the top of the Taman Patta at 10 a.m. and there gave the porter a rest before starting the steep drop down to Selsamchi. Shortly after leaving the middle I met the trade depot clerk, Lovo Chandra Phukan, on his way back to Data with the Galongs. The Galongs are returning to Piet for one more trip to help Gobhury and the Political Judgeman evacuate the accumulation of ruins and stores which we hope to have by the time I leave. Before I left home I had been told by everyone from the Adviser to instruct me to report myself to Shillong for discussions as soon as possible and later meet the Foreign Secretary during his annual visit to Assam and discuss matters with him at Charduar. Phukan will return to Data with the Apa Tans who have come down as far as Piet but who wish to go no further. He will keep the trade depot going and will eventually come down with the Hyderpur.

I was very anxious to see the assessment on Chûgê Nung's face when we caught our first glimpse of the plains on the way down to Selsamchi. Though it was a misty day with the heat hazed hanging over the valley, one could see the Brahmaputra a dull silver ribbon winding across the background. Chûgê Nung had not dreamed that such a large expanse of flat country existed anywhere in the world and expressed in an averted face whether any more hills existed beyond the plains or that the end of the earth. It was then that I began to realize exactly how circumscribed are the lives of the average tribemen on this Frontier. How can one hope for improvement and still more for the desire for progress when one realizes that their only basis of comparison is the next hill. Chûgê Nung had always looked upon the Apa Tani valley as the hub of the universe and the size of the next expanse of the Assam valley with its rivers and roads, it's jungles and miles upon miles of rice land and tea garden had visibly shaken this belief. I was not however afraid of this disillusionment for the gôdark Apa Tans who were familiar with Assam were all of them convinced that their own home was infinitely superior to anything that could be found on the plains. To visit the plains was an exciting adventure for every one. There is no other therefore in introducing the Apa Tani handmen to the varied merits of our civilization. They are a discerning people fortified in the belief that their own land is superior and their own people better than anything in Assam. They will therefore never become mere slave minded in the miseries of the bazaars but will readily appreciate the advantages of education, of the schools and, above all, of commercial interchange with the merchants of the plains even if they will need protection and advice in the early stages.

I had often debated in my mind what would be the effect of the advent of Missionaries to these hills. Unfortunately the record of many missionary societies in Assam has been, to say the least of it, disappointing. There have been a great variety of missions in operation in the Province and in the tribal areas to the South and East. Some have been better than others but all have, by report, suffered from the evils of narrow sectarianism and competitive rivalry which engenders its superficial success by statistical returns. I have wondered whether the missionary with his evangelistic zeal and often his narrow and bigoted outlook is the right person first to come into contact with these people. Among the missionaries, and all the tribemen on this frontier with the exception of some Moslems and Sherdukpen s, are animists—the need for Christianity is not as great elsewhere for the tribemen finds God in all things. His God rules the universe around him and touches tribal life and existence intimately at all times. The relations between the tribeman and his God are very close and very real and there is little that the tribeman may do in which his God is not intimately concerned. To introduce these people too suddenly to a new concept of God and at the same time open up to them the bewildering diversity of twentieth century materialism is to risk the danger of acute mental and spiritual instability. In my opinion it is better first of all to allow the tribeman to recover his sense of proportion after the first mentally disturbing contact with civilization and thereafter if necessary to introduce him to Christianity.

That he can be allowed to carry on with his own faith in perfect safety can be seen from the following anecdote. On arrival at Selsamchi Bar Heli, my second interpreter, asked for an hour's leave. I was very busy and to grant such a request at such a time was inconvenient. I therefore asked him why he wanted leave at this time. His reply astonished me. Quietly and with the utmost sincerity he said that he had not had leave for four months. While he had been here, he had been of considerable power. I must ask the forgiveness of my God if I have missed the power that has been in my hands. The cyanic may say that this was only a sanctimonious excuse for obtaining leave to go and see his wife who lived in the village. I know Bar Heli and I do not think that this was the case, but at the time I asked myself how such a missionary could ever have thought of asking for forgiveness. The rain lasted hard during the night but the Assam Rifles were all safely housed in the ration godown that had been built and the porters had good shelter.

March 28th, 1942
Selsamchi—Jofging

This was the hottest day of the year so far and coming down the Southern slope to the plains was hot work but there was a great difference going down to coming up. Everyone was eager to reach the plains and the steep slopes up which we had to climb in surmounting the intervening ridges between Selsamchi and the ferry crossing over the River seemed comparatively simple. The reason of course was that we had added ten miles to the journey but was extremely fit, as we had been taken good care of by the staff and the coolies.

I reached the Amingte's bungalow on the tea Garden a little after 12.30 p.m. having left Assam at 7 a.m. Without hurrying therefore I had reduced the time of the march coming down by 2½ hours. While I was glad to get back to civilization I was again somewhat depressed at the thought that my home for the next two months was to be this broken down bungalow. I realize that it is only for a few days but at the time I arrived back for what should have been my home, I realized how great was the need of a house that one could look forward to returning to after long months of strenuous work in these Hills. Life on this Frontier is strenuous. Every effort should therefore be made to compensate those serving there by providing a standard of accommodation at least equal to that enjoyed by those living in other parts of the country.

This, I think, ends this diary which already is long enough. I would crave the indulgence of those who may be interested to read it for the many corrections and for the descriptive style but would ask them to remember that it was originally written from day to day in Assam and English and it represents the mood of the time.
Gradually we left the rice fields and the path winding through the pine groved narrower valley of the upper waters of the Kafe. It was a scene of the greatest beauty - the upland hills bathed in the sunlight and glittering over golden gravel and glistening through dark pools whose one felt lurk, was bordered by leafy water meadows each fenced with pale fencing. Further back, under the towering trees, wild raspberries and willow resound in its spring colder. The whole ground was covered with the primula. In the coppices beside the river the tins were challenging the day with the spring note. As English I might have been walking up the Exmoor. Only the bamboo groves rustling and swaying in the light morning touch to the scene. As I walked along I could not help looking for smooth houndstooth moorland turf is surely ideal pasture, but of course there was none. Mountain sheep should certainly be introduced into this valley for the Apa Taini. Apatitic for grazing and weaving, would take at once to wood as a medium for the oven cloth and I have no doubt that with the very beautiful vegetable dyes they employ of the highest quality.

An hour or a half after leaving Duma we left the main valley path which we started climbing. It was a hard climb through heath, virgin jungle along a path's road, which descended into a sea of mud, slippery and treacherous. When a bit (resting place) on a cross of the ridge at about 2-2.30 p.m., the porters were ordered a fifteen minutes halt. Above me were huge rhododendron trees, some of the more. All were a dazzling glory of bloom and the ground round about glowed with embers. This was I could not but notice and could therefore give no name to different from the Rhododendrons of the Sama Hills and different even from those in Darjeeling. The rhododendrons were in large clusters and were a deep fay, red, warm as.

The path had, from this time I had left the valley of the Kafe, run along the high crests of hills and have been over 7,000 feet, I could see through the jungle, the whole ground North of the Kura, and through the hills a the North West. It seemed to me to be a long way away and yet it was most eventually try and penetrate.

The track down the Northern face of the ridge was, if anything, worse than climbed from the Apa Taini country. The drop down was for longer than the Down and down we were stumbling and sliding in the mud. In places the path I had to crawl my way by successive footholds through heathland. I accumulated porters to cross some of the worst places carrying their loads more than I knew they could bear. I had only eight hours out of which looked deterrable and all punctured dangerously on my way. I was in vain for a place to pitch my tent. Never have I seen against such a vertical hill side. The villagers seemed to express to me that it were the porters. I had followed to go down to the valley find a spot level enough and large enough upon which to pitch a tent. Even to pick a suitable spot the whole valley was covered with thorns. Eventually and choose the best possible place for my camp. It was dark and we had to walk and we had to walk and we had to walk and the light of fire and bivouac lighted me. I had arrived early enough to obtain part from Lina and go straight on to further. I was in Lina and the Apa Tains had heard that they would carry me through a few had yielded to Chieftain Nine's pressure and had ever so a Minhas. This was of course not quite impossible and I had tried to avoid of wasting a precious day in Lina collecting porters for the next stage of my journey.

March 6th 1926.

HALT LINIA (TAVANAN.)

This morning I crossed over the steep hill back to Linia and Chieftain Nine's house of the headman Tawya Pina. On my arrival I was at once struck with the people. Every one, even the headman, appeared in rags. Many were wearing however, with black and red Tibetan wool. Most of the men carried Tibet that groans was also very prevalent in the village and the people were self on it also struck me that the people were darker and smaller, no much so that the different race. I was however glad to see my old friend Tawya Topur who is to Licha and the other half of December) and who, being remarked among his darker neighbours. The village still had a deserted air about it one and that half the people had run away. My chances of obtaining the requisite to be small, so I went to have a talk with Pina in his house. Pina asked persons from the village had run away and said that the Reta and Tajang past two days carrying the story that I was coming with requio to burn the that Apa Taini, who were very friendly with me, should have spread me Nine explained. The Reta and Tajang words of Bula had long enjoyed a trade with Licha, a trade which on account of the Tibetan dons, pay, and laws which they purchased and the rice and rice which they sold was none of all, the hosts for the spring festival this year and were busy with their personal villages act as hosts for the festivities for the whole tribe), I had purpuroly avoid and had instead engaged them from Dina and Haja. The Reta and Tajang with local market presented by the Apa Taini had feared that this influx of D Linia might ruin their trading advantage and had therefore written to wreck my any others concerning my intentions. The people of Lina were themselves met the traditions and beliefs of Licha and had therefore believed the stories they had heard of and a friendly talk, I managed to reassure Pina who was very and - the real reason for the rumours, and he agreed to collect the few porters
Lastly, as Additional Political Officer, Balipore Frontier Tract, I may be accused of having taken a somewhat general view of my terms of reference. I may therefore be criticized for discussing Frontier policy and condition on the Frontier as a whole. To this I would reply that few opinions have so far been expressed on this Frontier and fewer still by those backed with the authority of personal knowledge. Unless all Political Officers are encouraged to voice their opinions based on personal experience there is always the possibility of dangerous, theoretical but impracticable ideas gaining currency. I admit that many of my own ideas may be wrong but they may, at least, serve as a basis for discussion.

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