HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF ASSAM AND NEIGHBOURING STATES

ORIGINAL RECORDS IN ENGLISH

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FOREWORD

Of all the regions in the World, North-East India is the most picturesque, the most enchanting and the most diverse. In this region 442 languages and dialects are spoken. All faiths exist. It is inhabited by various races. It has rich history. North-East India is a perennial source for historical research and for Social Scientists. There is plenty of material available for research in Social Sciences. Unfortunately this region was neglected. Its records were not well maintained. Several of them were lost by the gross negligence of the authorities. So far no attempt has been made to preserve these records in good condition. In these circumstances, Dr. Acharyya's efforts to select and publish some important documents is commendable.

Although the watershed between medieval and modern North-East India is the Treaty of Yandaboo of 1826, foreign entanglement in this region began in 1768 when Mr. Raush started monopoly trade in salt between Bengal and Assam.* In 1787 Captain Hugh Baillie was appointed as Superintendent of Assam trade and Collector of Goalpara. He exported from Bengal to Assam salt and cloth and in return took gold-dust, silk, pepper and spices from North East India. The various documents contain a detailed account of these commercial activities of the foreigners in North-East India.

Records throw a flood of light on the economic, social and religious conditions of North-East India.

The policy of the Government towards North-East India varied from time to time: Sometimes annexation and sometimes non-interference. Critics belonging to the Left discovered imperialism in the policy of the British in North-East. To what extent this is true. A careful reading of the documents included in the book will reveal the truth.

In recent times research in Social Sciences has assumed great importance. The establishment of the U.G.C. and regional Universities has developed a great desire in the different communities to write an authentic account of their past. But research workers are facing certain difficulties. The most important of them is the source from which material should be collected. The Record Offices of the Governments in North East India do not have classified index. In these circumstances Dr. Acharyya's publication is timely. It is an indispensable companion to all, scholars, politicians and administrators.

V. Venkata Rao

*INTRODUCTION

Assam, the north-east frontier state of India is connected with the rest of the country through a narrow strip of land below the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal. The geographical proximity of this state with Bhutan and Tibet on the north, Burma and China on the south and east, and Bangladesh on the west has provided her a special position and importance.

The fertile soil of this enchanting land is rich in forest products. Sal, Nahar, Sam, Gomari, Khair, Sissu, Tita Champa, Azar, Teak, Gansarai and Sonaru are some of the many important timbers which lavishly grow along the valley of the Brahmaputra. Besides these, the region has the largest bamboo and cane resources in the whole country. The region also proudly claims to hold the top-most position among the teaproducing states of India.

The mineral treasures and the animal and vegetable productions which are in abundance in this state provide pleasure for the tourists as well as the business minded visitors. Coal, ironore, silver, gold-dust, petroleum, natural gas, limestone and clay have given rise to a number of industries which include mineral-based, forest-based, Agro-chemical-based and engineering.

The state of Assam also boasts of her wild-life sanctuary, Kaziranga which has gained fame throughout the world as the home of the one horned Indian Rhino. Other wild animals which roam in the forests of Assam are the tigers, bears, wild buffaloes, deer and elephants.

The great legendary river, Brahmaputra runs through the heart of the state. The state is also possessed of rivers in number and extent equal at least to those of any country in the world of the same size. This tract of country is, therefore, a beautiful one and enjoys all the advantages requisite for rendering it one of the finest under the sun.

^{*} In preparing this, the other has taken special help from S.K. Chatterji's The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India, 1955.

Assam, with her interestingly chequered history, has not failed to contribute her share in evolving the civilization of her country. As a matter of fact, at certain periods in the past she was found to have enriched the civilization of India in numerous The land of Assam is a great reservoir of many Mongoloid races in India. Since the Vedic periods these have been the fourth (the other three being the Austrics, the Dravidians and the Aryans) basic element in the formation of Indian people. It was probably from the 3rd millennium B.C. onwards that the great Sino-Tibetan speaking people started to infiltrate into India mainly along the western course of the Brahmaputra. Prior to that these different branches of Sino-Tibetan speaking people had their settlement near the sources of the Yangtszekiang and the Hoang-Ho rivers. It is also believed that the establishment of the great Bodo tribe over the Brahmaputra valley had been made fairly early, and that they had subsequently extended into the North and East Bengal and into North Bihar. The North Assam tribes—the Aka, Dafla, Miri, Mishmi and Abor are presumed to have come later and made their settlements in the mountains to the north of the Brahmaputra plains which were already occupied by the Bodos, some Austrics and possibly also by some Dravidian tribes which had preceded the Mongoloid Bodos in this tract. Subsequently, all these various tribes—the Bodos, the Austrics and the Dravidians along with the Aryan speaking elements from the west and also with the Siamese-Chinese section of the Mongoloids in their Thai tribe (the Ahoms), together finally transformed themselves to the Aryan-Assamese speaking masses of the Brahmaputra valley. Incursions of some Kuki-Chin tribes in the southern region of Assam was also heard of. They were believed to have been Hinduised in Manipur and in the Tipperah states.

Assam has thus played a considerable role in absorbing this Indo-Mongoloid element in the formation of the North Indian (Hindu) people. And by doing so the state has contributed a great deal to the synthesis of culture and fusion of races that took place in India. Thus when the whole of India was brought within the pale of puranic geography, (including those of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata) Assam naturally was not left aloof. Formerly, Assam as Pragjyotisa or Kamarupa was recognised as the centre of both Buddhist and Brahmanical

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(Sakta) Tantricism, and even today, the hindu sentiment within the holy land of India accept this special character of Kamarupa or Pragiyotisa.

Assam serves as the Eastern gateway for the passage and communication of peoples, commodities and ideas China and India. The connection between the two countries started as early as the first millennium B.C. The Sanskrit name for China seems to have come to India through Assam. been presumed that the Indo-Mongoloids started to embrace Hinduism right from the later Vedic periods, and furthermore, these Indo Mongoloids seemed to be well known to the Vedic Aryans. Bhagadatta with his Kirata and Chinese followers had become an ally of the Kauravas and took part in the great Mahabharata battle. He was, however, killed by the Pandava hero, Bhima. All these, therefore, give an idea that the king of Pragjyotisa had featured in the Mahabharata probably in its first draft as an epic-herein lies the significance of Bhagadatta who had been closely connected with the Aryanisation of Assam. Apart from the mention of Pragivotisa in the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa, the Ramayana and the Vishnu and other Puranas, the earliest epigraphic reference to Assam (Kamarupa) can be found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. (C.350 A.D.) Here along with Samatata, Davaka and Nepal and other states, the names of Kamarupa has been mentioned as a frontier state outside the Gupta empire. The mention of Pragjyotisa Kamarupa has also been made by Kalidasa and according to him this was a state conquered by Raghu.

Thus, by all means, Assam, by the early centuries of the Christian era had become a part of Hindu India although a majority of its people still speak the Bodo language. The tradition that the dynasty of Naraka, which originated from Vishnu and the Earth Goddess, also becomes a great link with the rest of Hindu India.

It was in the middle of the first millennium A.D., when the intermingling of Mongoloid and Aryan and Dravidian and Austric were taking place, that the most important period of Assam's participation with the greater Indian way of life started. This became more prominent during the reign of King Bhaskaravarman. When this king had been ruling Assam, Harshavardhan, one of the most powerful and enlightened rulers of India, was the

emperor of Northern India. Both being worthy contemporaries of Hiuen Tsang, honoured the foreign traveller as a scholar of international fame. Bhaskara, apart from ruling over Western and Northern Assam (the Brahmaputra valley), probably also ruled over the Surma valley (Sylhet, where an inscription of his has been discovered). He had also succeeded in annexing Karnasuvarna in West Bengal. In those days, Assam's dominion extended over the greater part of Bengal. Thus during the middle of the 7th century A.D. a Hinduised Indo-Mongoloid empire was formed. As the ruler of the frontier state in India, adjoining area within the range of Assam, he encouraged Sino-Indian co-operation in commerce and culture. This is a clear indication of the Aryanisation of Eastern India and Assam. gifts sent by Bhaskaravarman to Harshavardhan were some of the artistic and economic products of Assam which were both rare and remarkable. The gifts included fine silk and various kinds of silk weave, books on aloe barks as well as cane and bamboo works and ivory ornaments, each more excellent than the other.

The later kings in the succeeding periods also helped to maintain a role of honour for Assam. The evidences from the Nepal inscription suggest that Bhaskaravarman's glory as a great king and conqueror was upheld by King Harsha-deva of the Salastambha line. Harsha-deva, C. 748 A.D. has been described in the Nepal record as Gauda-Odradi-Kalinga-Kosala-pati, which imply that the king ruled not only over Assam, but also over Bengal, Orissa, part of Kalinga, and in Kosala or Eastern U.P. The next rulers like Pralamba and his successors, and those of the Pala line of Kamarupa, also seem to have been Hinduised Bodos who took keen interest in Hindu religion and culture and Sanskrit studies which they had accepted as their own. Consolidation of the whole of the Brahmaputra valley into a single state, had not yet been made, and after the native dynasty of the Palas, a new and short-lived line of kings started in East Assam who were probably equal of the local Bodo origin, although they claimed to be the descendants of ancient Aryans.

After continuing uptill-1200 A.D., there opened a new speach in the history of Assam, with the beginning of the Mohammedan invasions (Turki) and the coming and establishment of the Ahoms (1228 A.D.).

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The next step of Assam was her stubborn resistance to the Turki and Mughal aggressions for centuries together, deserves praise because she had participated in the history and well being The Ahoms, having conquered the whole of the Brahmaputra valley, subjugated not only their powerful Bodo predecessors and rivals like the Chutiyas and the Dimasas (i.e., Kacharis), but also the hill tribes like the Nagas and the Mikirs. During their days of glory (as between 1680-1720) the Ahoms had defeated the Khasis and Jaintias too. The western Bodo tribes of West Assam and North Bengal (among whom the Koches were prominent) were the only ones whom the Ahoms failed to conquer for the whole of the 16th century, the two efficient kings of the Koches, Vishwa Singha and Naranarayan (aided by his brother, Sukladhwai), formed their great empire in East India and checked the attack of the Ahoms from time to time, keeping them within their territories in Central and Eastern Assam. For about 450 years the Ahoms and the Bodos fought for supremacy, and in the end both gradually merged into a single Assamese speaking people. Today, the Ahom language has become extinct in character and the Ahoms are duly surviving as a caste of Hindu Assamese, and the Bodos too are faring no better although a fairly wide survival of their language has been instrumental in reviving a Bodo consciousness and a Bodo nationalism to some extent, even in present day Assam, with its dominant Aryan language.

The Ahom ruler Rudra Singha, (1696-1714) had clearly revealed excellent farsightedness and a well knit scheme of operation in his task of opposing the Muslim aggression in the eastern region of India, and in doing so he has been ranked as one of the greatest patriotic kings of Hindu India. Circumstances forced Rudra Singha to interfere in an intrigue and later on a war between the Khasis (Jaintias) and the Kacharis. The war resulted in his gaining mastery over both these tribes and the greater part of the hilly tracts on the southern part of the Brahmaputra valley. Then, with a view to fight the troublesome Mughals and other Muslims from Bengal, Rudra Singha chalked out a great scheme. And even in this task he was further actuated by a spirit which sought to defend the Hindus and their religion against the onslaughts of Islam.

With a view to achieve complete success Rudra Singha,

formed a league with the Hindu princes and feudatories as well as the big barons of Bengal and Bihar. After having built up the confederacy he started action against the Mughals in Bengal and Eastern India. Certainly, not only Assam, but the whole of India today feel proud of Rudra Singha, Sukhrung—pha, the Ahom king, whose personality has an all India significance.

The whole of the 18th century saw a gradual decay of the Ahom power since, after Rudra Singha, there was not a single king who could place himself on the same footing with Rudra Singha. There arose religious wars between the Saktas and the Vaishnavas and between the different sects of the Vaishnavas, each party or sect having a king or a member of the nobility to back it. It was the Burmese who inflicted the final blow by invading Assam, inflicting untold and most savage sufferings upon the people, paving the way for the final annexation of Assam by the British and making it a part of the province of Bengal, with Assam being administered from Calcutta.

Assam produced a number of successful generals and note-worthy statesmen and great saints and poets during the six hundred years of Ahom rule, i.e., during the late medieval period in the history of Assam say from 1200 to 1800 A.D. Incessant warfare and administration of the country being in the hands of the kings who were but half-way Hindus right up to the end of the 17th century could hardly be propitious to the development of Sanskrit studies, and Assam has not much to boast of in this regard. But the Assamese literature came into being in the form of the other sister Indo-Aryan speeches, and the literary output of the people of this border land has been quite note-worthy.

Assam in the medieval times had produced two great poets of exceptional quality who were in the Pan-Indian Bhakti tradition, viz; Sankaradeva and Madhavadeva whose importance in the life and culture of Assam is of the first rate. Through tremendous effort they transformed Assam into a country of an advanced humanism from a land of primitive animism which was being affiliated to Saivism and the Saktism of the Tantras. Assam's isolation through her long independence, along with geographical isolation, served as a handicap for her association with other states of North India under the yoke of Muslim hegemony, but Hindu influences were closely operative between

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Assam on the one hand and Bengal and other states to her west on the other. On the one hand the period was characterised by the stabilisation of her people in its language and culture as an Aryan speaking Hindu people under the leadership of the Ahoms, who themselves had in the past spoken the Sino-Tibetan Thai language, and also by the obstinate and finally successful resistance which was offered by the Ahom rulers to Muhammedan aggression from Bengal.

Assam witnessed a centralised, peaceful and orderly rule during those years when the administrative machinery of the land was tackled by the efficient and powerful Ahoms. Various tribes merged into a single Assamese-speaking nation of medieval India under the cultural leadership of the Brahmins and later of the Vaishnavas, and these were further supplied with the military and political lead and organisation by the Ahoms. The part played by the Ahoms in the racial and cultural synthesis of the region is of tremendous significance. Among the gifts of the Ahoms to Assam and India, mention must be made of the name Ahom—Assam, their high sense of history—Buranji tradition, their military invincibility which paved the way for the unification of Assam and their unique system of administrative arrangement.

For the first time in many decades the British who came to power in lower Assam as a result of the Yandaboo treaty in 1826, introduced peace and harmony in Assam, and while doing so they were very carefully bringing the whole of the region under their sway. As newer and newer tracts to the North and South of the Brahmaputra Valley were being brought under the British the following were placed within the administrative unit of Assam: Cachar (1832), Khasi State (1833), Jaintia Hills (1835), the Eastern Brahmaputra Valley as an integral part of Assam proper (1838), the Lushai Hills (1872), the Garo Hills (1873) and the Bhutan Duars, the Aka and Dafla country and the Naga Hills (which were slowly brought under the British rule the process extending right up to 1878).

Gradually in Assam, the British were linking up the frontier tribes with their own Government. It was the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal who at the very beginning had ruled Assam and the North-Eastern Frontier tracts since they had been added to the British Indian Empire. But when the vast and compli-

cated province of Bengal began to take up the whole attention of the Government and left Assam neglected it was settled that for the welfare and progress of Assam the province should be separated into an administrative unit independent of Bengal. Thus in the year 1874, Assam was formed into a Chief Commissionership after necessary alterations. In the north-east any new additions to the British Indian territory was added to Bengal. But it was in 1898 that the whole of the north-eastern India as province of Assam was finally placed under a Chief Commissioner who was responsible to the British India Government under the Vice-roy, in Calcutta and then in Delhi. Assam gained the honour of a new and self-contained state. Then from 1905 to 1912, Assam and East Bengal were merged as one and was ruled by a Lieutenant Governor as a result of the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. After the Bengal partition was annulled, Assam was once again separated from Bengal and a Chief Commissionership was formed in the state which lasted from 1912 to 1921, after which it was changed to that of a governorship in 1921.

The introduction of the English system of education and the medium of the English language, the establishment of the Post and Telegraph and also the Railways completely broke down the early handicap of Assam's isolation and revived a new spirit among the masses. Thus the remarkably distinct culture of the various tribes of Assam, their different artistic creations like the fine silk and cotton weaves of both the plain and hill areas, the melodious Bihu Songs and colourful dances of the Brahmaputra Valley and also the distinctive dances of the Manipuris, the Nagas, the Khasis and others are gradually being recognised as a living entity of all-Indian importance.

All these factors, therefore, in course of time unfolded an entirely new world before the eager eyes of the Assamese who had already witnessed rich cultural heritage in the past. The picture was an encouraging one, depicting vividly a type of moral and material glory which was new to Assam. Apart from providing a new orientation to social and political thoughts in Assam, the spread of western doctrines supplied a new sense of value for judging human institutions. The people regained their self-consciousness and recovered their keen sensibility and, for the first time, began to discover themselves in the light that was thus

cast by the western literature and philosophy. As a consequence Assam began to witness an intellectual unrest. Numerous Newspapers and Journals began to be published which aimed at overthrowing the foreign rulers who, in the name of establishing law and order, were actually curbing down the rights of free expression and independent thoughts. "Jonaki", "Bijuli", "Assam", "Citizen", "Advocate of Assam", "Times of Assam", "Assam Chronicle", and "Dipti" are a few of the many journals which, through balanced and cautious editorial comments pleaded for the creation of a new Assam where perfection in politics and lawis fully envisaged in its fitness to produce prosperity and happiness.

The western education also played a significant role in the task of awakening Assam and in connecting the Assamese with the English thought of the best kind, and in this regard the works of Milton, Shakespeare, Burke, Mill, Macaulay, Spencer and others are worth-mentioning. Later the link of Assam with the west was made more thorough by actual personal contact of the Assamese with the Western World. Anundoram Barooah a worthy son of the Nineteenth century Assam went to England to complete his education and had returned prestigiously as an I.C.S.

There were also a good number of scholars, administrators, explorers and armymen of the Western World who had done great work in revealing the majestic wealth of this enchanting region in the north-east. They worked on the history, culture and economic resources of Assam and highly praised the tradition and civilisation of this land. J.P. Wade, James Rennell, Francis Hamilton, Walter Hamilton, David Scott, Captain Fisher, Francis Jenkins, R.B. Pemberton, John M'Cosh. M. Martin, William Robinson. Nathan Brown, John Butler, B.H. Hodgson, A.J.M. Mills, M. Bronson, Rev. J. Long, R.G. Woodthorpe, E.T. Dalton, H.Blochmann, W.W. Hunter, John F. Michell, Alexander Mackenzie, C.A. Sopitt, B.C. Allen, E.A. Gait, T.C. Hodson, Rev. S. Endle, C.U. Aitchison, W.K. Firminger, A. Playfair, L.W. Shakespear, A.M. Meerwarth, J.H. Hutton and J.P. Mills are the names of those scholars and administrators who had devoted themselves to the cause of Assam.

The works of these pioneers immediately drew the attention of the students, political workers and statesmen of Assam, who

came to the fore-front in the field of India's struggle for independence. Thus Assam Association was formed in 1906 and the people of Assam started to act in the domain of political regeneration. In 1912 Assam joined the Congress Movement and thus became one with the rest of India in the country's struggle for freedom. The result was the acute participation of Assam in the programme of the Indian National Congress, the annual session of which was held at Gauhati in 1926. After India became a free country, Assam has produced a large number of statesmen and scholars who have greatly contributed in establishing a proud India, and in moulding her history for the better and in promoting her civilisation in the present World.

The feelings of fraternity have always been a strong unifying force in the North-East India. The indigenous ethnic stocks of the region were the guiding force of this consciousness. This factor thwarted the designs of the early invaders in the North-East sentinel of India. In the middle of the first millennium A.D. the attempts of Yasodharman of Malwa (6th century Mahasenagupta a successor of the Great Guptas (6th century A.D.) and Yasovarman of Kanaui (8th century A.D.) to subjugate the land and its people miserably failed before the strong determination of the people of Assam. The Ahoms were also very conscious of this bond of fraternity amongst the peoples of both the hills and plains of Assam. Multitudes of warriors from the neighbouring hills and plains of Assam joined the historic battle of Saraighat against the Muhammedans under the illustrious Ahom generals. This ideology of solidarity and unity had inspired the Ahom King Rudra Singha to visualise a federation of the constituent kingdoms of the region. At times suspicions and doubts embittered the traditional ties of relationship but such designs had failed to produce harmful effects upon agewhich still old attachments survive in spite numerous obstacles. Thus in the recent years Assam witnessed within her territorial jurisdictions creation of a number of states; Nagaland in 1963, Arunachal and Meghalaya in 1972 and Mizoram in 1973. Besides these there are also some neighbouring political units encircling Assam viz., Tripura, Manipur. Bhutan, Sikkim and Cooch Behar (now a district of West Bengal). But for geographical, historical, political, and economic reasons the entire North-East of India develops a keen

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desire to assimilate and combine its diverse elements into a single organic conception. Thus in the freedom struggle against the British, during the foreign invasions of 1962, 1965, 1967 and during the days of war with Pakistan in 1971-1972, the people of the region unitedly reacted against the antinational forces which were constantly at work within.

Assam with its chequered history, has taken her share in the evolution of the civilisation of India, and at particular periods she has contributed to the enrichment of Indian civilisation in various ways. Assam's most intense period of participation appears to have been in the middle of the first millennium A.D., when the fusion of Aryan and Mongoloid and Austric and Dravidian was well underway-particularly during the reign of king Bhaskaravarman. Assam was the great reservoir of the Mongoloid elements in the formation of the great Indian population. She was the oldest route for India's cultural connection with the great country of China, the art of preparing silk and silk cloth having entered India through Assam. Tantrik Saktism as a component element in Hinduism seems to have developed along the lines in which we find it in Eastern India on the soil of Assam. Assam then participated in the common religious life of post-Turki India, through Bhakti and the cult of chanting God's name. The isolation of Assam through her independence combined with her geographical location at an extreme end of India, were a handicap for the cause of her association with other states of North India brought together under the yoke of the Delhi Sultanate, but Hindu influences were mutually operative between Assam on the one hand and Bengal and other states to her west on the other. Thus the act of Assam's endeavour towards enriching Indian civilisation is a historical truth and the people of this entire North-East are engaged in a common effort to attain material advancement and full flowering of their cultures with a view to realizing the greater goal of all-round progress and prosperity of the great land of India as a whole.

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On Assam

1. Memorandum of Proceedings regarding Assam, about 1792.

The Rajah of Assam having complained to this Government of the Dringh Rajah and of some sepoys and burkundazes, natives of Bengal, who assisted the latter Rajah to recover possession of his country, the Governor General advised, as well from motives of humanity as from a wish to be better informed of the interior state of Assam, its commerce, &c., to send an active and prudent officer with six companies of sepoys to Gualparah, but to defer giving him detailed instructions until he should transmit every information that he could obtain when near the scene that related to the objects of his future operations.

In consequence of the adoption of this proposition by the Board, Captain Welsh, the officer selected for this service, proceeded to Gualparah where he arrived on the 8th November 1792, with three companies of sepoys. At this place he was received by the nominal Rajah of Dringh (minister to the Assam Rajah), who was very urgent with Captain Welsh to march to the relief of his master, who this time was closely pressed by Kissnarain the real Rajah of Dringh and the Bengal burkundaz-It appears to have been the intention of Captain Welsh to have proceeded with all possible expedition, as soon as the other part of the detachment joined, to Gowhatty, the town in which the Assam Rajah was besieged, where he intended to hear the representations of all parties, and for this purpose took with him a vakeel of Rajah Kissnarain; but on his march he was met by the Rajah of Assam who had been surprised by a Gosain, commonly called Burje Rajah, and obliged to fly from Gowhatty.

Notwithstanding this unforeseen flight of the person at whose requisition the detachment was sent, Captain Welsh determined to proceed to Gowhatty in order to reinstate the Rajah.

At the first interview Captain Welsh had with Surjee Deo, the Assam Rajah, it appeared very plainly that his views in soliciting aid from our Government were not confined to get rid of the Bengal burkundazes, but that he expected or wished to be assisted by our troops against all enemies, who, by his own account, were numerous, and in this hope was encouraged by Captain Welsh. Gowhatty was taken possession of by our troops on the 21st November 1792. Surjee Deo's enemies being easily dispersed. From this place Captain Welsh addressed a letter to the Jemadars commanding the burkundazes, as also to Kissnarain, directing them to retire into Bengal, with threats of imprisoning the families of the Bengalees in the event of disobedience to his order. The answers were evasive.

On the 26th of November 1792, the Governor General sent some general instructions to Captain Welsh, leaving him, however, a discretion to adopt the most eligible means for executing the same. These instructions are grounded on the supposition that the Dringh Rajah was entirely under the control of a body of the burkundazes whom he invited to assist him against the Rajah of Assam, and that these troops constituted the principal strength of the Dringh Rajah's army.

On these grounds, and to avoid bloodshed, his Lordship advices that the disturbances should, if possible, be settled by mediation with the Rajah of Dringh and the chiefs of the burkundazes. But the safety of the Assam Rajah is recommended as the primary object, and Captain Welsh is directed to use force should conciliatory measures prove fruitless. His Lordship declines giving any detailed instructions for want of sufficient local knowledge and information of the country.

A short time after the Rajah had joined our detachment, Captain Welsh discovered him to be a very weak man on whom no dependence could be placed, he being generally intoxicated with opium, and when sober totally incapable of all business, which was transacted by his Ministers. These men, Captain Welsh describes as devoid of honesty, inimical to their master, injuriously rapacious to the country, and, in short, more destructive to the Rajah's interests than his avowed enemies. To one

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of these Ministers Captain Welsh expressed a wish that Kissnarain should be restored to the Rajah of Dringh which had been possessed by his father who had forfeited it, together with his life, for some crime, because it appeared that Kissnarain had a considerable force independent of the Bengal burkundazes against whom solely he, Captain Welsh, was instructed to act. Captain Welsh also hinted at the necessity of a large force in the event of the Assam Rajah persisting to continue at enmity with Kissnarain, and the necessity of the Rajah's reimbursing the company for the additional expense they would incur on that account. To all these suggestions, evasive answers were returned by this minister as well as by others who were afterwards deputed by the Rajah to confer with Captain Welsh on the state of the country. On considering the reputed strength of Kissnarain's forces, and the necessity of securing the command of the river, Captain Welsh recommends that one battalion, in addition to the force he recommended, should be sent to join him, and another be detached to Bissnee to Dringh or Gowhatty, as the service might acquire also two six-pounders with draught and carriage cattle for the whole detachment.

Lord Cornwallis, in reply to Captain Welsh's opinions and statements, observes that it is not consistent with the line of conduct which has been prescribed for the Company to attempt the conquest of a country from which we have received no injury nor is it even the wish of this Government to acquire an influence in the internal management of the affairs of Assam. That it is therefore particularly necessary that our temporary influence should be confined to the objects which were originally expected from the detachment, viz. to drive the Bengal banditti out of the country of Assam and to endeavour to establish, by Captain Welsh's presence and countenance, the Rajah in the exercise of his lawful authority. The first object Lord Cornwallis deemed practicable, but the last difficult on account of the profligacy of the Ministers and the Rajah's imbecility; he therefore advices Captain Welsh to act with caution, to secure the the safety of the detachment and to avoid taking any measures that might commit Government further in the business than was compatible with their intentions and the general rules of the policy. His Lordship recommends, should circumstances admit of the explanation, that the Rajah and his Ministers should

be informed of the above sentiments in general terms, and that it was required, as a preliminary to Captain Welsh's taking any further concern about them, that the Dringh Rajah shall be restored to the quiet possession of the rights of his ancestors, on the condition however, of his assisting in re-establishing the Assam Rajah's authority over the other parts of his dominions. On the part of the Dringh Rajah, Captain Welsh is instructed to assure him that should he accede to the above terms, Government will never act against him should the Assam Rajah hereafter disturb him in the possession of the ancient rights of his family.

Now Captain Welsh finding himself only amused by Kissnarain and the jemadars of the burkundazes came to the resolution of attacking them, which he effected with great conduct and drove the Rajah with his banditti into Bhootan. Thus the first object of the expedition, driving the Bengal burkundazes out of Assam, was effected. But it appeared impracticable to Captain Welsh to accomplish the second, to re-establish the Rajah in the exercise of his lawful authority without interfering in the internal management of the country. First, because the Rajah had all influence from his imbecility; second, because his ministers were traitors and universally detested.

On these accounts the most enlightened of the inhabitants at Gowhatty declared it to be their opinion that until the Rajah was in some degree under Captain Welsh's management, he would never be able to assert his rights.

In conformity with Lord Cornwallis' instructions, Captain Welsh insisted on and obtained the re-instatement of Kissnarain in his ancient rights, of which he informed the said Kissnarain, with assurances from Governments similar to those above-mentioned as forming part of Lord Cornwallis' orders; on this head Captain Welsh soon after this, discovered that the Rajah, whom he had hitherto regarded as weak only, was a monster of cruelty, and that his Ministers had endeavoured to prevent all communication between him and the said Rajah. In consequence of those discoveries, Captain Welsh thought proper to confine two of the ministers and to acquaint the Rajah Surjee Deo that whilst he continued to countenance acts of oppression and cruelty, and employed such infamous people (meaning the Rajah's Ministers) to manage the country, he, Captain Welsh,

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could give him no protection. In conclusion, he required the dismission, of the Rajah's ministers. Captain Welsh, however, gives it as his opinion to Lord Cornwallis, that should the Rajah even assent to this dismission, still it would be absolutely necessary to help the Burra Burwa Prime Minister in conement, or otherwise the inhabitants, who dread his vengeance when the detachment leaves Assam will never think their lives safe. For these and other reasons, Captain Welsh thought proper to publish a manifesto, informing the inhabitants of the dismission of the Ministers, stating the oppression they had for a long while been subject to, assuring them of future protection, and requesting them to attend the durbars with all such complaints as they might have to prefer. Captain Welsh also addressed a circular letter to the different Rajahs and Chiefs of Assam, inviting them to a conference at Gowhatty in order to fix on some plans of Government that might be productive of public good. Captain Welsh observes to Lord Cornwallis that though the measures he had adopted might appear short and even harsh yet he trusted they were justifiable from the necessity he was under of depriving the worthless and cruel Ministers of the power to do harm, which could only be effecting by abridging their liberty.

In reply to Captain Welsh's statement of these measures Lord Cornwallis says he does not see how Government can reconcile it to any principle of justice and humanity to establish by force the authority of the wretched Rajah and his worthless Ministers in Assam. His Lordship recommends a convention of the Rajahs and the powerful chiefs to concert with Captain Welsh the best means to prevent the country from being totally ruined. Lord Cornwallis adds that he cannot at present judge what stipulations it would be proper to make in favour of Surjee Deo, but at all events he must previously be required to dismiss his Ministers.

Before Captain Welsh had however received the above instructions from His Lordship, he had discovered a particular act of cruelty, too shocking to relate, committed by the Rajah, who, in a conference with Captain Welsh, declared that if he was deprived of the power of killing and mutilating his subjects at pleasure, he would resign his raj. He exonerated his Ministers from the odium of committing acts of cruelty and oppression,

taking the same on himself, and concluded with positively refusing to dismiss them from his service. In consequence of this declaration, and in consideration of other circumstances, Captain Welsh restricted the number of the Rajah's attendants to one hundred, and informed him by letter that he had forbidden his subjects from having any intercourse or communication with him until the Rajahs and the Chiefs were assembled. Captain Welsh also, in a manifesto he addressed to the people of Assam, after stating the Rajah's misconduct, restricts all intercourse with him as above mentioned.

Lord Cornwallis approved of this measures, and authorised Captain Welsh to assure the inhabitants that they shall not be abandoned to the Rajah's savage cruelty and informs him (Welsh) of a reinforcement being ordered to Assam.

From this period, of course, Surjee Deo's power was annihilated, and all authority rested with Captain Welsh, who, conformably to Lord Cornwallis' instruction has endeavoured to inspire the disaffected chiefs with confidence, and to bring them to general meeting for the purposes already mentioned. In some degree he has succeeded, Kissnarain being reinstated in the raj of Dringh, and other Chiefs of consequence giving hopes of coming in, the Gosains in particular. But as yet there has been no convention, consequently the country remains in the same distracted state it was in when we first interfered, with an exception of those parts where our troops are stationed.

2. Markham Narratives on Bogle Mission on Early Anglo-Assamese Relations

Bogle's recommendations concerning Assam, however, express a diametrically opposite viewpoint. And they too are important for our subject, because this region and its teas played important parts in the later efforts of the British to open Tibet to trade.

Assam itself is an open country of great extent, and by all accounts well cultivated and inhabited; the road into it either by land or the Brahmaputra lies open.......As the great objection against entering Nepal, &c., arises from the difficulty of keeping open the communications; so, on the other hand, the easy access to Assam, whether by land or water, invites us to the attempt.

Assam, yields many valuable articles for exportation. Gold is a considerable article of inland trade.......when the restrictions against exportation are taken off, it must give the balance of trade in our favour. Supposing it should not turn out so great an object as I have represented, still it cannot with reason be doubted that it would more than reimburse the Company, by the advantageous terms they would be glad to give us in point of the question; and I make no doubt but that, a few months after our entering Assam, the troops might be paid and provisioned without making any demands on the Company's treasury.

Such an aggresive attitude on the part of officials of an expanding empire could not be easily concealed from the people of the surrounding nations. And it would probably have been difficult to convince the Bhutanese or the Tibetans that a policy directed against others might not some day be directed against them. Especially since the former had already enjoyed a somewhat too intimate experience with it.

3. Commercial Treaty concluded by Captain Welsh with Gaurinath Singh; February 28, 1793.

Article 1st. That there shall henceforth be a reciprocal and entire liberty of commerce between the subjects of Bengal and those of Assam for all and singular goods and merchandizes on the conditions and in such manner as is settled in the following rules.

Article 2nd. That to facilitate this full intercourse the subjects of both nations, those of Bengal and Assam, fulfilling the conditions hereafter prescribed, be permitted to proceed with their boats loaded with merchandizes into Assam and to expose their goods for sale at any place or in any manner that may best suit their purpose without being subject to any other duties than are established by these articles.

Article 3rd. That a regular impost be levied on all goods or merchandizes whether of export or import, and that they be fixed as follows:

Imports

1. That the salt of Bengal be subject to an impost of 10 per cent, on the supposed prime cost, reckoning that invariably at

400 rupees per 100 maunds of 84 tolas weight to the seer.

- 2. That the broad cloths of Europe, the cotton cloths of Bengal, carpets, copper. lead, tin, pearls, hardware, jewellery, spices and the various other goods imported into Assam pay an equal impost of 10 per cent, on the invoice price.
- 3. The warlike implements and military stores be considered contraband and liable to confiscation excepting the supplies of those articles which may be required for the company's troops stationed in Assam, which and every other matter of convenience for the said troops whether of clothing or provisions are in all cases to be exempt from duties.

Exports

1. That the duties to be levied on all articles of export (except in such cases as are hereafter mentioned) be invariable 10 per cent. reckoning agreeable to the rates hereby annexed to each.

Mooga Dhoteis per maund of 84 tolas to the			
seerRs.	95	0	0
Mooga thread	7 0	0	0
Paper			
Elephants's Teeth	50	0	0
Cutern Lac	4	0	0
Chuprah and quryzai	3	8	0
Monjut	4	0	0
Cotton			

2. That all articles of exports not herein specified (with the exception of the following) and for which no certain calculation be made be subject to an equal impost in such instances always to be paid in kind and with respect to those articles which have been particularised that the duties be received either in money or kind as may be most convenient to the merchant; but as it may happen that a temporary scarcity of grain may secure within Bengal and Assam, to provide against which rise every description of grain to be exempt from duties.

Article 4th. That any person or persons detected in attempting to defraud the Sugeo Deo of the duties hereby established shall be liable to confiscation of his/their property and for ever after debarred the privilege of the trade.

Article 5th. That for the purpose of collecting the said duties agents be appointed and custom houses established, for

the present one at the Candahar Chokey and one at Gowhatty.

Article 6th. That it be the business of the agents to be stationed at the Candahar Chokey to collect the duties on all imports, and on all exports, that the produce of the country to the westward of Gowhatty for which they are to be held responsible (?) they are to examine all boats passing specifying the number and quantity of each article, copy of which they are to forward without delay to the agent at Gowhatty whether or further if it be necessary the merchant may proceed under sanction off said pay.

Article 7th. That it be the business of the agents stationed at Gowhatty to collect the duties on all exports the produce of the country parallel to it North and South, and also on all exports the produce of the country to the eastwards as far as Now Gong, for which in like manner they are to be held responsible. They are to examine all boats passing down the River and to grant passport to the proprietor, copy of which to be forwarded to the agents at the Candahar Chokey who are to reexamine the cargo lest on the way between Gowhatty and this station the merchant may have taken goods on board which could not be specified in the pass granted at that place

Article 8th. That as an incitement to the agents to be industrious in the discharge of this duty, a recompence be made to them bearing a proportion to the amount of the collections and that for the present it be fixed at 12 per cent. on the said collections which is calculated to defray all incidental expenses.

Article 9th. That the said agents be required to be securities for each other and that the whole be bound by engagement to the Surgeo Deo not only for the purity of their conduct in the collection but also that they abstain from having any concern either directly or indirectly, in trade.

Article 10th. That a copy of their accounts be produced on or before the 10th of every month and that the payment of the collections be made into the funds of any person the Surgeo Deo may appoint to receive it at the expiration of every quarter.

Article 11th. That the standard weight hereafter for exports and imports be 40 seers to the maund and 84 sicca weight to the seer.

Article 12th. That as much political inconvenience might arise to both Governments from granting a general license to

the Subjects of Bengal to settle in Assam no European merchant or adventurers of any description be allowed to fix their residence in Assam without having previously obtained the permission of the English Government and that of the Surgeo Deo.

Article 13th. That as Captain Welsh, the representative of the said English Government, in consideration of the Surgeo Deo having removed the prohibitory restrictions which have hitherto existed to the detriment of a free intercourse, has signified his intention of bringing to punishment all persons from Bengal offending against the established laws of Assam or infringing these articles, so the Surgeo Deo on his part declares he will punish all abuses in his subjects tending to obstruct or discourage the reciprocal intercourse this system is designed to promote.

Article 14th. That copies of these articles be affixed at every public place throughout Assam that none may plead ignorance and that Captain Welsh be requested to send one officially to his government.

Note. On February 6, 1794, Captain Welsh reported to the Government of Bengal as follows:—

"The commercial regulations rather between the Rajah and myself are in full force, but the principal benefit which arises from them is the demolition of an iniquitous monopoly, which ultimately must be productive of great pecuniary advantage, and in the meantime removes the distress of the people. From the collections of the Candahar Chokey the sum of Arcot Rupees 12,012-2-6 has been received, during the space of nine months, after defraying the incidental expenses, and from this source the Rajah is to receive annually Rupees 12000...the overplus is destined to defray part of the expense of the detachment.

I am of opinion that this commercial compact will admit of considerable alteration with a view to the the improvement of trade between the two states but the efficacy of such alteration depends in the first instance on the restoration of order, and in the second, on the degree of influence the Hon'ble Board may be desirous of obtaining in the affairs."

ON ASSAM

Treaty with King Gaurinath Singha, Feb 20, 1793

Captain Welsh's expedition to Assam ended in the conclusion of a treaty with King Gaurinath Singha on February 20, 1793. The Assam Rajah "highly sensible of the benefit he has experienced from the aid which has been afforded to him by the English Government, and desirous not only of cementing the harmony and friendship which subsist between him and that power, but also of extending the beneficial effects thereof, in general, to the subjects of Bengal and Assam, has at the recommendation of Captain Welsh, the representative at his court of the said English Government, agreed to abolish the injudicious system of commerce which has heretofore been pursued". The treaty provided for "a reciprocal and entire liberty of commerce between the subjects of Bengal and those of Assam". But we learn "that the Government never ratified or published the treaty on the ground that the Raja's Government was not sufficiently strong to ensure its operation".

In the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India, there is a manuscript 'agreement with Raja Surgeo Deo of Assam, requiring him to defray the expenses of the East India Company's troops serving in Assam, bearing the seals of the Raja and his Minister the Burra Fogan, (Pol. Con. 24 Feb/1794, No. 16). It is worthwhile to investigate and bring to light the terms of this hitherto unknown treaty.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND GAURINATH SINGHA

Kolliabar, 12th February, 1794 Agreement entered into with Surgeo Deo.

The Burra Fogan is to pay from the Districts under his Jurisdiction from Kolliabar to the Candahar Chokey (the Collections of that place included the annual sum of One Lakh and Fifty Thousands Rajah Moury Rupees towards defraying the Expense of the Hon'ble Company's Troops serving in Assam to Commence from the 1st of February 1794.

The Burra Fogans Seal.

Witnesses,
The Kargarish Fogun
Kisstnaut Gossein.
Sri Attaram,
Rudram Burwah,
Beeka Mozumdar

Sri Bika Ram Mazundar.

Rajah Maury.

Amount of sum to be collected by the Burra Fogan from the different districts for the year 1794 including supposed Collections from the Candahar Chokey:—

	Rs.
Doomriah	5.000
Kamroop	80,00
Derungh	50,00
Beltolah	2,500
Rannygong	6,000
Noadewar	15,000
Chatgurriah	2,000
Chuttiah	2,000
Chardewar	6,000
Gillidary	3,000
Maingin Panbary	400
Dhing	2,000
Saatrajeah	1,000
Paunchrajeah and Babajeah	1,000
Noagong	2,000
Corringile	2,000
Chundorriah	400
Doorea	400
Candahar Chokey supposed collections	20,000
Total amount of collection	2,00,700
Amount to be paid by the Burra	1,50,000
Fogan	
Balance remaining for the Surgo	
Deo's	50,700
	Thos. Welsh.

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Remarks...—The above document, mentioned on page 15 ant. is published here for the first time from the original manuscript record in possession of the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, with permission of the Government of India, obtained through Mr. A.F.M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, communicated in his letters No. III of February 13 and No. 217 of April 3, 1928. The preamble in English over the signature of Captain Welsh is translation of the material portion of the terms of the Agreement, embodies in the vernacular passage signed by Sivadatta Barphukan. This Agreement is highly valuable as showing the approximate revenues of the Ahom Government from Lower Assam representing the area governed by the Barphukan, which extended from Kaliabar to Hadirachowki. Bikaram Mojumdar, and attestor of the Agreement, is mentioned in Rai Bhadur Gunabhiram Borooah's Assam Buranji as one of the envoys of the Ahom king, Gaurinath Singha, deputed in 1792 to Lord Cornwallis, to solicit the latter's help to suppress local disturbances. The statement of revenues realised by the Ahom Government from various sources, during the Prime Mininistership of Purnananda Buragohain, which synchronises with the period of the Agreement, can be reproduced here for purposes of comparison, from the memorial submitted to Mr. A.F. Moffatt Mills by Ghanakanta Singha Juvaraj and others through Maniram Datta Barua Dewan :-

"Sairat Revenue including Commission Dastooree", etc.,

		Rs.
From Bungal Haut		60,000
Buttakoochee Dooar	6,000	
Solal Phat		6,000
Gobah and Sonapoor	Rahajagee	6,000
Gowhatty and other H	lauts	12,000 .
Namsang Haut		5,00
Jorehath		11,000
Teeneemoonee Phat	*** *** * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	3,000
Panee Mussooree	********	3,600
Fisheries		7,000
Panee Phat Kucharee I	Haut	18,000
and other Khoor dan.		•
Ferries, supposed amou	5,000	

Total						1,49,000																				
	•										•	•							•	•	•		•	•	•	•

Rajdhonee (Royal Rev	enue)	
Chengadsonhunee	•••••	4,500
Chooteea, Chatgong K	Curreeapara	6,000
Authooreea		2,100
Chaee Dooar		6,600
Jumoonamookh		5,000
Cacharee, Sonwal and	Sonwal	21,000
Mureeas		5,400
Kullungeea, etc, Mood	ihees	5,000
Jaeegeeree		44,000
Dooars, etc.		9,000
	**********	107 600
	Total	107,000
•	Grand total	2,56,600

WELSH'S REPORT ON ASSAM, 1794

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

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

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

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

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

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

The monarchy was possessed by the descendants of Sookapah, being partly hereditary and partly elective. It

Monarchy. was hereditary in the fraternal line. In failure of
brothers in the direct line of the Monarch's sons,
in failure of these in the sons of the brothers next in seniority.
Beyond this line, the aristocracy exercised a latitude of election
among the nearest relations of the late monarch with some
attention to the claims of nearer consanguinity, but more to
those of personal merit.

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

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

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

In the provinces allotted to each, they exercised most of the

independent rights of sovereignty. In the execution of sentence of death, their order could not sanction a form in which the blood of the criminal might be shed but they could authorize his death by drowning. In the event of war or the construction of public works they furnished their proportion of militia or men. They likewise supplied some trifing articles for the King's stores, but paid no other revenue. They ruled their provinces on the principles of the general system. The pre-eminence was possessed by the Gohains who obtained from the Monarch the title of Roye and the additional services of 2,000 men.

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

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

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

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

The civil establishment was composed of the officers who superintended the various arts, sciences, trades, sources of

Departments of Government, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical public revenues, employments of the King's household, and numerous other departments. About 12 Fogons and 20 Burwahs were allott ed for these offices, and were chosen from the nine families of hereditary nobility. They were amenable for their conduct to the Monarch only.

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

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

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

Twenty men were commanded by a Burra, one hundred by a Khotkea, one thousand by a Hazaree, three thousand by a Rajekoar, and six thousand by a Fogon. The Burra Burwa and Burra Fogon as Commanders-in-Chief, had each the particular command of a body of twelve thousand men. The Fogons, Rajekoars, and Hazarees were nominated by the Monarch, but with the advice and concurrence of the Gohains. The Khotkeas and Burras were appointed by their respective Fogons and

Rajekoars. The privates might demand through the regular channel and the dismission of their Burras and Khotkeas, and the appointment of an officer of their own nomination. Each officer administered justice to the men under his command with an appeal to his superior officer, and ultimately to the Neeay Khodah Fogon.

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

Military stores were under the superintendence of the Kargoriah Fogon.

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

The creation of three lesser Gohains from the same families as the former appears to have been the Alterations of principal legal alteration in the Civil and the original Military Departments. The office of Burra system. Fogon was of later creation also. The recent Gohains are the Suddea Koa Gohains,

Governor of the eastern confines or Suddea; the Moorung Koa Gohain, Governor of the confines towards Naga and Kossaree; the Solal Gohain, Governor of Kolliabar.

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

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

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

The power of the State and the direction of the Royal Councils were now completely diverted from the lawful channel of the Gohains. The secret machinations of the latter co-operating with the general struggle for power under a weak and vicious

administration and with the discontents of the people seem to have excited the Maran and Maimaria insurrections.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This question has been partly answered. It Relative Authority remains to notice the western Rajahs of of the Rajah and Doomriah, Derangh, Beltolah, Rannygong the different Chiefs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. By proceeding to the capital I shall have an opportunity of requiring the personal attendance of all those Chiefs who are stationed in our route, and who only agreeably

to prescriptive rules are necessary to establish the original form of Government. Convinced of the impossibility of prosecuting with success their ambitious designs, and of being protected by the mediating power against the tyranny of the Surgee Deo they will, I doubt not, unite and agree to a plan for the settlement and tranquillity of the country. The period required to effect this depends upon adventitious circumstances.

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

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

- 5. Kissnarain, since his admission to the Raje of Derugh, has behaved with proper submission to the Surgee Deo, or rather has acted in compliance with my wishes, in every instance. I do not think his regard for the intresests of the Surgee Deo would induce him to contribute his assistance, but I can rely upon Kissnarain's affording his services, whenever, required by me.
- 6. The late Ministers, and other interested advisers, represented to their infatuated Monarch the danger of returning to his capital, and to their successful attempts to awaken his fears I partly attribute the delay. But the Rajah's extreme indolence and impotence, both of body and mind, would naturally render him averse to a measure, which must be attended with some degree of personal exertion. He is now, however, on his way thither.
- 7. The Commercial Regulations settled between the Rajah and myself are in full force, but the principal benefit which has arisen from them is the demolition of an iniquitous monopoly, which ultimately must be productive of great pecuniary advantage, and in the meantime removes the distresses of the people. Resulting from the collections at the Candahar Chokey the sum of Arcott Rs. 12,012-2-9 has been received during the space of nine months, after defraying incidental expenses, and from this source the Rajah is to receive annually Rs. 12,000, and the overplus is destined to defray part of the expense of the detachment.

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

- 8. From a knowledge of the Rajah's character, and the views of many individuals in power and favour, whose personal interests are affected by the stipulations entered into with him, I am decidedly of opinion that none would be observed, supposing the detachment and all control on the part of the British Government is withdrawn.
- 9. This query may be considered under three distinct heads, viz:—

1st-The consequences of the recall of the detachment with respect to commerce which will be noticed in my reply to the 13th query.

2nd-The articles of commerce.

3rd-The probable extent, and actual state of commerce.

IMPORTS

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

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

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

From the western confines or Bengal, copper and other metals, red lead, woollens of Europe, chiefly of the coarser kind, cottons of Bengal, chiefly of the coarser kind, chinty particularly kinkhobs, cloves nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, blue vitriol,

assafoetida, alum, darmook, orpiment, a variety of drugs, salt.

EXPORTS

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

1st- The produce of the other confines.

2nd.- The produce of Assam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tobacco was procured in luxuriance in the Lower Provinces

and of a superior quality in the higher. It was formerly an article of export.

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

Ginger is produced everywhere in abundance.

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

Mineral among the sands of the Burrampooter and production other streams which flow from the northern and southern mountains. It was formerly a source of considerable revenue to the monarch.

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

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

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

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

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

Rhinoceros's horn was a trifling article of export. Buffalo's hide has not hitherto proved an article of export.

Deer's skins—The animal abounds in Assam. Until the geography, and other particulars of this and the neigh-

Probable extent and actual state of the commerce

bouring countries, be more particularly known, no decided judgment can be offered relative to the probable extent of the future commerce with Assam. It is

certain that an intercourse of some kind has existed with all the neighbouring nations, particularly with Jainta, Kossaree, and even Sylhet, with the people of Mooglo, now in the possession of the king of Burma or Ava. It is possible that a communication with all the neighbouring nations might be rendered beneficial to commerce, with proper encouragement, during a considerable lapse of time, hitherto, we may suppose it has been very inconsiderable, unless perhaps, in the single article of Bengal salt.

Commercial intercourse is much facilitated by the number of navigable streams, which intersect Assam in every direction, especially in the season of the rains, including a period of seven or eight months. Some of these flow from the mountains on the northern and southern confines. Beyond the eastern confines, the great stream flows to a very great distance; but whether be any navigation or commerce on that river beyond the limits of Assam is doubtful.

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

- 10. The pecuniary commutation in lieu of the levy of men proposed by the Rajahs of Derungh and eltola in June 1793 is so far carried into effect, that since the period before mentioned, the service of men has not been exacted from them; and of the stipulated annual sum of Rs. 51,600 to be paid by them and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of the detachment, I have received Rs. 10,000.
- 11. In making a calculation of the extraordinary expense attending the detachment and deputation, I have been careful not to omit any allowance, which I conceive to be incident to

their situation. I have supposed the European officers to be on an average entitle to full batta and the Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates, to half time of full and half, of half batta,

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

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

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

13. The contest for influence, power and independence, would revive among the first officers of State, the dependent Rajahs and the petty Chiefs of districts and towns. The same confusion, devastation and massacre would ensue. Assam would experience a State of desolation, greater in proportion to the temporary restraints, which the British influence had imposed on the inhumanity of the monarch, the ambition and resentment of the Chiefs, and the vengeance of the people. Kissnarain would either abandon his country or recall

his Burkandazes, for in defiance of any possible stipulation in his favour, he might ressonably expect and would certainly fear private assasination. The obnoxious ministers and favorites would be immediately restored to their offices. Every individual, who had been observed to cultivate the friendship of the British, would flee the country, with the well-grounded apprehension of destruction from the ministers, or their connections. Commerce would again be suppressed by the confusion prevalent in the country, and the monopoly would revive in its pristine vigour. The monarch, whose person is too sacred for assasination, would probably be compelled to abandon his kingdom again.

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

P.S.—Ommission under the head of monarchy.

To absolve the monarch from the lesser and to assist him in the greater cares of Government, two executive officers were added to the monarchy, viz, the Teepaum and Seringh Rajahs. Their titles are derived from the districts annexed to their Office their jurisdiction in their respective districts was similar to the Gohains.

Their rank next to the monarch, their duties to communicate the deliberations or decrees of the aristocracy to the monarch, to receive, promunicate the deliberations or decrees of the aristoracy to the monarch, to receive, promulgate, or carry

European Officers, & c., & c.	Average of half month half batta to the Troops exclusive of European Commissioned Officers	Expense of the detechment in Assem		Extra expenses incurred by the
1 Captain	:	0		180 0
•	:	0		0
1 Adjutant, including his staff allowance		0	485 0 0	0
I Sergeant Major	2 8 0	2 0 0		œ
I Quarter Master Sergeant	∞ .	0	:	∞
epartments of	0		:	73,412 0 0
Guida Drabals amount for Lact all and		:		C
coluces, recognic anional for boar anowance to 9 subalterns 16th Battali on		:	:	
Detachment 27th Battalion			:	

2 Lieutenants	• > •	574 0 0	766 O O	192	0 0
The different Banks and Departments of this					
Detachment.	234 12 0	469 8 0	•••	234 1	2 0
Probable amount for boat allowance to					
2 Subalterns.	•••	•••	•••	160	0 0
Detachment Staff.					
1 Adjutant's staff allowance, & c.	•••	287 O O	485 0 0	198	0 0
1 Quarter Master	•••	•••		157	
1 Assistant Surgeon	•••	287 0 0	383 0 0	96	0 0
1 Quarter Master Sergeant	280	25 0 0		22	8 0
Quarter Master's Establishment.	•••	•••	•••	158	4 0
1 Tindal and 9 Lascars of Artillery	63 4 0	74 4 0	•••	11	0 0
Boats for the transportation of the Troops on					
an average.	• • •		•••	2,300	0 0
Expenses incident to the Deputation				,.	
Captain Welsh's salary Sicca Rs. 1, 500.	•••	•••	•••	567	9 1
Ditto average of contingent bill for Durbar charges.	•••	•-•	•••	850	0 0
Captain Welsh's probable boat allowance.	•••	•••			0 0
,, ., ., for transporting public servants.	•••	•••	•••		0 0
Assistant to the deputation, his salary Sicca				- •	-
Rs. 200.	•••	•••	•••	209	0 2
Assistant to the deputation, his probable boat					· -
allowances.	***	•••		145	0 0
Mr. S.P. Wade, his salary Sicca Rs. 100	•••	***	•••	104	
Ditto, his probable boat allowances	•••	•••	•••		0 0
Total amount of extra expences attending the					
detachment and deputation monthly.				0.490	5 4
Total ditto ditto annuall/	•••	•••	•••	1,13,872	
	41			1,13,072	. 0 0
Abstract of the sums to be paid annually for	the purpose of defra	ying part of the expen	ise of the detachme		ъ
By the joint-Raighs of Devusch :	- lion of the laws of		Rs.	Α.	P.
By the joint-Rajahs of Derungh in By the Beltolah Rajah		en	50,000	0	0
By Bisnarain, from Kamroop	ditto ditto	,	1,600	0	0
By Collections of the Condebase	Shakari an assaults	-fabra o ED 404	51,000	0	0
By Collections of the Candahar C	nokey, an overplus	of the sum of Rs. 12,0		_	•
to be baid to the Rajah the ar	nount not yet ascertai	nea).	0	0	_0

Total amount

1,02,600

0

into execution, his consequent orders. On less important occasions the decrees of the aristocracy might be promulgated by these officers, without application to the monarch.

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

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

Company's Report on Assam, 1797

"The country of Assam is represented as abounding in the most valuable products, and it were therefore an object of public interest to take measures for restoring it to peace and quiet, with the view to promote the intercourse of commerce, now so much impeded by the depredations that the defenceless state of the inhabitants and the barbarism of the Government subject it to. By all accounts they are a very peaceable and an industrious people, and if not molested by these annual marauders would in a short time bring the country into a flourishing state; whilst the trade, if laid under proper restrictions which should secure them from imposition and violence, would, in all probability, become very extensive and beneficial by creating a demand for articles, the produce of Europe and Bengal, and supplying this country and Europe with a valuable return in bullion and other products of the country.

Report related to Assam in 1797, made by the Persian Translator, Neil Penjamin Edmonstone.

In the year, in consequence of complaints preferred by the late Rajah of Assam that bedies of armed men styled Bengal burkundazes made it a practice to enter his country, commit depredations and excite commotions by fermenting rebellion among his subjects, who in various parts of his country had resisted and almost wholly superseded his authority, and in the hope that by restoring order to that distracted kingdom a valuable trade would be opened, and further that by the deputation of an intelligent officer with a sufficient force to quell the prevailing disturbances, such information might be obtained

respecting the produce of the country and the character of the natives as would enable Government to establish a beneficial system of commerce. Marquis Cornwallis thought it advisable to depute Captain Welsh with a battle of sepoys to effect these objects. Though successful in suppressing the insurrections and restoring tranquility to the country, yet the cruel disposition of the reigning Rajah, his total ignorance of the arts of government, and his want of power to enforce subordination rendered abortive Captain Welsh's efforts to form a permanent settlement; and his recall was followed by a recurrence of the calamities which occasioned his deputation. After the death, however, of the Rajah and the succession of his nephew (a minor) the administration fell into the hands of the Burra Gohain, the principal Minister of state, who found means to concilate or subject the immediate dependants of the kingdom to his authority; but the country still continued to be infected by parties of armed men who made annual incursions into it from the Companies districts, and against whom the Rajah's troops were utterly incapable of making head, principally from their ignorance of the use of fire-arms which, till Captain Welsh's deputation, appears to be utterly unknown amongst them. Captain Welsh indeed, at the Rajah's desire, allowed a few sepoys to instruct some of his people in the use of the firelock, and he has since had about 500 men sufficiently well trained. with the assistance of his own rabble, to maintain his authority over his subjects and repel the attacks of his neighbouring Since Captain Welsh's the Rajah has repeatedly sent vakeels to this Government soliciting their aid to prevent the incursions of banditti from the Company's territories, but Government, not deeming it proper again to employ a military force, furnished them with arms which though, as the Rajah asserts, they have been of much use to him in maintaining his authority over his own subjects, have not enabled him to repel the invaders from the companies territory.

These banditti are represented to be a set of vagabonds and dacoits who, having or chosing no means of subsistence but by plunder, rally under the standard of any one who has influence enough to collect them, and forming themselves into parties in the neighbourhood of Assam towards the close of the rains, take the advantage of the fall of the waters to enter the country,

where they oblige the Rajah or his officers to entertain them as sepoys upon their own terms by threatening to overrun the country if refused, and when entertained act wholly without subordination, and commit every species of outrage upon the defenceless inhabitants. By late accounts from Gwalpara it appears that there is at this moment a large body of men assembled under one Kunnuck Sing, which only waits the fall of the Burrampooter to march into Assam. The enormities committed by these people are represented as shocking to humanity; rapine and murder are practiced without control; the country is deserted; whenever they appear, cultivation is impeded, and commerce almost wholly at a stand.

As the desolation that prevails in Assam is thus wholly owing to the predatory incursions of subjects of the company the Rajah naturally seeks redress from their Government. If it be admitted that it is incumbent upon the Government to put a stop to these enormities, it remains to provide the means of doing it more effectually than is practicable merely through the medium of the police establishment in Cooch Behar.

If care were taken to prevent armed men from assembling within the Company's territory, the evil would in a great measure be prevented. To this end a party of sepoys might (as was formerly the case at Jugigopah) be stationed at Gwalpara and employed to disperse any number of armed men that should be collecting in the district, and generally to assist as occasion may require in maintaining peace and good order; or should it be inconvenient to employ regular sepoys, sebundies might be raised for the purpose. The Commissioner at Cooch Behar at the same time might be directed to give the strongest injunctions to the thannadars within his jurisdiction to prevent the assembly of armed men, and to disperse them whenever found assembled; for that purpose to be authorised to call for the aid military force to be stationed at Gwalpara. The orders of Government upon this head should be made as public as possible, as many persons suppose that they are at liberty to commit depredations in Assam with impunity, and when it shall be universally known that Government is determined to put a stop to these practices, and the above precautionary measures shall have been adopted, in all probability no attempts will be made in opposition to their orders.

The vakeels lately arrived from Assam have directions from their masters to solicit the recall of all the natives of Bengal now residing in Assam; numbers remain within the country under the presence of commerce or taking service, and commit all sorts of violence and oppression. But to cause their return within the Company's territories unless a force be sent in pursuit, does not appear practicable. The Assam Government further complains of the injury and injustice the inhabitants are subjected to from the liberty has for some years past been allowed to all persons, European or native, to enter Assam and carry on trade by violence, and propose that, as formerly, all merchants to carry on their commerce with the Assamese at the Candor Chokey, commonly called the Bengal market.

The country of Assam is represented as abounding in the most valuable products, and it were therefore an object of public interest to take measures for restoring it to peace and quiet, with the view to promote the intercource of commerce, now so much impeded by the depredations that defenceless state of the inhabitants and the barbarism of its Government subject it to. By all accounts they are a very peaceable and an industrious people, and if not molested by these annual marauders, would in a short time bring the country into a flourishing state; whilst the trade, if laid under proper restrictions which should secure them from imposition and violence, would, in all probability, become very extensive and beneficial by creating a demand for articles, the produce of Europe and Bengal, and supplying this country and Europe with a valuable return in bullion and other products of the country.

Note by Dr, J.P. Wade on the Geography of Assam, 1800 A.D.

The jealous spirit of the Chinese government, accompanied the conquerors of Assam, who have now retained possession of that country, during a period of one thousand years; and must have emigrated originally from the confines of the former kingdom; strangers of every description and country, were scrupulously denied admission into Assam, which does not appear to have been visited even, by the indefatigable footsteps of the missionary.

It is on record that two Europeans have obtained access

into the kingdom, one at an early period, who attended the Mogul army, was taken prisoner and conducted to the capital, and afterwards liberated. There is reason to suppose he was a native of Holland, and has published some account of his involuntary travels to the court of the Monarch. The second traveller was a Frenchman whose name will not easily be erased from the memory of many gentlemen of property in Bengal. Chevalier, who at a later period obtained the government of Chandernagore, embarked a considerable property it is said at Dacca on a fleet of boats, and proceeded to the confines of Assam. Permission was obtained from court, and he advanced with his fleet as far as the Capital, Rongpoor Gurgown, under an escort which deprived him of all intercourse with the natives; and confined his personal observations within the limits of his barge. At length he obtained his liberty by a stratagem. He has left some information relative to the Geography of the country; or, more probably, of the banks of the river which lay in his course.

From such sources the Geography of Assam could not receive much improvement. The few hints which Major Rennell seems to have obtained from the conversation of the notes of Chevalier, are marked by such obvious errors, that we cannot regret his information from this quarter, has not proved more copious.

The Persian tract, published and probably translated by Mr. Venzittart contains a few remarks on the divisions of the country, which are accurate though as usual, in Asiatic writers involved in much hyperbolical description.

Major Rennell has undoubtedly made the best use of his materials, but little was in his power; his superior talents, his opportunities and his information have not concurred to give any degree of perfection to the geography of the country.

Mr. Wood of the Corps of Engineers an attentive and intelligent gentleman, who accompanied the deputation in the capacity of surveyor, has presented government, with the only correct map of the course of the Berhampooter (Brahmapootra), and of such parts of the country as lay within the limits of his survey, as far as the capital of Rungpoor-Gurgown.

At the desire of the late Govenor-general, Lord Teignmouth, Captain Colbrooks, the surveyor General obligingly favoured me with a copy of Mr. Wood's map to be prefixed to the history of the reign of Gaurinath Singh late monarch of Assam, which was transmitted to Europe for publication in the year 1796.

As far as my sources of information extend, these are the only public Documents which exist on the subject of Assam. If my personal exertions, during a residence of nearly two years, and my intercourse with the most intelligent and best informed natives, shall enable me to add something to the valuable information contained in Mr. Wood's map, I shall esteem the labour and expense (for neither has been spared) which attended my researches most amply repaid.

Exclusively attached until the period in question, to the study and the practice of my profession, I had not acquired the requisite and scientific accomplishment which might have rendered my opportunities of acquiring geographical knowledge of more utility to government or to the public, yet I shall venture to hope that the general and unscientific sketch of the country contained in the following sheets will not prove entirely unexceptionable when it is considered that no Europeans have ever explored or probably ever will explore the provinces of Assam, with the consent of the government of that country.

Note by Dr. J.P. Wade on the History of Assam, 1800 A.D

To

Lt. Col. Kirkpatrick.

My dear Sir,

I solicit your acceptance of a part—it is but a small part—of my literary labours during a residence of 18 months in Assam. I presume that an authentic History of a Country entirely unknown and inaccessible to Europeans and scarcely ever visited even by the subjects of Bengal might possess some small interest in the eyes of a person, whose life has been succest fully dedicated to Asiatic Literature and Politics; but I am sensible that official duties allow little leisure for literary labour or recreation at present and I candidly acknowledge that I offer these sheets to you less with the hope of engaging the slightest portion of your attention to them, than with an anxious and I trust, a laudable desire to interest your good will in favour of

the uninterrupted exertion of professional and literary industry; which (excuse the humble beast of industry) has pervaded every period of my life, since my first entrance into this service

I will not occupy such of your valuable time. You will but undoubtedly expect a short account of the following pages.

The original History of Assam exists in two distinct languages. The first is termed the Bailoongh or Ahum, being the language of the race of Swurgeedeo the conquerors of Assam. The other is termed the Bakha (Bassa) being a dialect of the Bengalee.

The Bailoongh History is singularly curious; it is written in Cotton Cloth and in a character utterly unknown to the Pandits of Bengal. It is now in the possession of Lord Teignmouth, and I believe it to be the only copy extent either in Assam or elsewhere. One Family only in that country, the hereditary Minister of the Bailoongh Religion and literature could persue the characters. With their assistance, I translated the dedicatory preamble and endeavoured to express sounds—of the original letters and words in Roman characters.

I have prefixed both those specimens to the history with some copies of such narrative maps and other Documents.

The History of which, the following pages contain a translation, is written in the Bakha of Assam, a language of easy acquisition. The original was presented to Col. Welsh when the translation was completed and is, still I believe, in his possession.

It appears from the History that the conquerors of Assam probably emigrated from countries contiguous to the Western confines of China, that an intercourse existed between Assam and numerous as well as populous Nations that the Ava or Burmah Dominions were subdued by the conquerors of Assam, and that consequently the Berhampooter river which flows through the whole extent of that country might equally afford the subjects of Bengal an easy channel of communication with those nations, that the Berhampocter flows so far from the eastward as either to communicate with the Siri Looicheh Noh-Dihingh (Siri Looit Nonkisow) or other Ava rivers or to afford positive proofs of the inaccuracy of the existing maps of those countries. The Sampoo or the great River of Thibet which leaves the walls of Lassa, does in all probability discharges its

water into the Berhampooter, but from every information procurable in Assam, it is only a tributary stream and by no means the principal source of the Berhampooter which flows from a more easterly direction and is indebted for its magnitude to the great number of its tributary streams.

That the soil and climate of Assam partaking in a moderate degree of the rainy seasons of the northern and southern mountains during seven or eight months of the year and of the benefits derived from numerous rivers, are in the highest degree favourable to a luxuriant vegetation nor has a scarcity ever occurred in that country from natural causes.

That the civil constitution of the kingdom is partly Monarchical and partly Aristocratical exhibiting a system highly artificial, regular and novel, however defective in other respects.

That the military arrangement is founded on feudal tenure with respect to the Tributary Princes, but on a militia within the limits of the kingdom.

That the present religious establishment is certainly derived from the conversion of the Monarch and his subjects to the Hindu faith by the Brahmans of Santipoor, Nuddea and other Western districts. This fact merits particular notice, as the Literati in general and even Sir William Jones have adopted an erroneous opinion that the Hindu religion rejects both persecution and proselytism, a notion utterly incomprehensible with the diffusion of those Doctrine over a large portion of the Globe; unless we suppose the faith of Brahma to have diffused its rays at once like flush of lightning by general inspiration over innumerable nations. Nor does it appear that they are entirely exempt from a spirit of persecution, while the ancient ecclesiastical establishment seems to have admitted a gradation of Ranks in the Priest-hood similar to our own in a considerable degree.

That the Kingdom of Assam was at an earlier period flourishing and powerful and capable of sending forth an army of four hundred thousand men. That the kingdom of Bootan and Nepal were subdued by the Monarchs of Assam, who extended their conquests to the banks of the Ganges by the capture of Gour and that Tipera, Coosbeyhar and the countries to the east of the Gorotia river formed a part of their dominions.

That the frequent invasion of the Musselmans invariably failed although in one instance the Monarch was driven from capital...the invader was at length compelled to retire from the country with the miserable remains of his army.

I will not intrude further on your indulgence particularly as the most curious and interesting circumstances relative to Assam are exhibited at some length in the continuation of this history, containing the reign of the late Monarch Swurgee Deo Gowrinath Singh, I have compiled the memoirs of his reign from authentic documents and despatched the book to Europe for publication in the month of April, 1796 with the approbation of Lord Teignmouth but I have not as yet received any account of it and not having retained a copy I am deprived of the pleasure of sending it to you.

KISHENGUNGE March 20th, 1800 I remain,
My dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant
JOHN PETER WADE

Francis (Buchanan) Hamilton's Report on Assam, 1807-14

This is a report which resulted from long and labourious survey undertaken during 1807-14 at a cost of £30,000 (Rs. 5 Lacs). Enquiries covered topography, history, antiquities of the country, condition of the inhabitants, sanitation, costumes, food, medical treatment, education, religion, customs, priests, natural production, animal, vegetables, minerals, agriculture, implements of husbandry, manure, measures for flood and inundation, domestic animals, fences, farms, landed property, land-tenure, commerce, exports, imports, weight and measure and transport. The work is divided into two parts. First part is devoted on Assam and describes the history of the Ahom period to 1803, form of government, local geography, king and his residence, central and provincial government, management of revenue, justice, division of people, religious divisions, production, manufacture and labourers. The second part deals with the history and culture of the countries adjoining Assam countries north of the Brahmaputra, such as Bhutan, Dalimkot, lukiduar, Buxaduar etc. Countries south or left of the

Brahmaputra, such as Tripura, Manipur, Jaintia, Cachar, Ava It also discusses the history and culture of the and Bong. following people—the Garos, Nora, Miri, Naga, Dafla, Khampti, Abor and Singphos. It also discusses the general view of the history of old Kingdom of Kamarupa and Kamata Pithas. Some of the details are Kichok, Gopichandra, Brahmapal, colony of Brahman, Nilambar, Muslim invasion, Chandan and Madan. Hajo, Hira and Jira, Parikshit's visit of Agra, unsuccessful invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla, Nara Narayan and his dynasty, Vihar Raja's application for Company's assistance and also aspects of history and culture of the kingdoms of Cooch Behar and Bijnee and the British districts of Goalpara Rangpur and Dinajpur. This is an important contribution on political condition, economic resources and social life of the people of Assam and adjoining lands in the beginning of the 19th century before the Burmese invasion of Assam in 1818.

Water Hamilton's Report on the Kingdom of Assam, 1820

This remote country adjoins the province of Bengal at the north-eastern corner, about the 91st degree of E. longitude, from whence it stretches in an easterly direction to an undefined extent: but it is probable that about the 96th degree of east longitude, it meets the northern territories of Ava, and separated by an intervening space of about 180 miles from the province of Yunan in China. In this direction it follows the course of the Brahmaputra, and is in fact the valley through which that noble srteam flows. The average breadth of the valley may be estimated at 70 miles, although in a few places of Upper Assam, where the mountains recede furthest, the breadth considerably exceeds that extent. In its greatest dimensions Assam may be estimated at 350 miles in length by 60 the average breadth; divided into three provinces, Camroop on the west, Assam Proper in the centre, and Sodiya at the eastern extermity.

The present territory of the Assam Raja nowhere reaches the northern hills, the Deb Raja of Bootan having taken possession of all the territory adjacent thereto, which is a modern usurpation since the breaking out of the disturbances that have so long desolated this unhappy province. The western province, named Camroop, with several subordinate or intermixed petty jurisdictions, extends from the British boundary to near the celebrated temple of Middle Kamakhya, 1at 26° 36' N. long. 92° 56' E being about 130 miles in length. boundary opposite to Goalpara to Nogorbera, a distance of 21 miles, the Assamese possess only the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, so that on the south side the length of this province is only 109 miles. Its width on the south side of the river may be reckoned at from 15 to 30, and on the north side on an average about 30 miles. About 104 miles above Gowhati which stands in long. 91° 48' E. the Brahmaputra separates into two branches, and encloses an island five day's journey in length and about one in width. This province contains many low hills covered with woods, and also a great extent of fine low land, all susceptible of cultivation.

Assam Proper, the middle province of the kingdom, is of greater extent than the western; but no European having penetrated far beyond the capital, Gowhati, situated at its western extremity, there is no accurate data for ascertaining its length. The portion to the north of the Brahmaputra, named Charidwar, probably exceeds 200 miles in length and 20 in average breadth; but the length on the south side of that river is less considerable. It commences near the Middle Kamakhya, about 130 miles E, from Goalpara, and reaches to the Upper Kamakhya, which is said to be 10 miles below Tikliya Potar Mukh. Within these limits it comprehends the upper half of the western island formed by the Brahmaputra, and includes the whole of the very large island, named Majuli, between the main Brahmaputra and a branch named the Dehing. The province of Assam Proper is of a higher and a better soil than that of Camroop, and is said to contain few hills or woods. Of the third and most remote province, nothing is known, except that it is a small and insignificant tract on the west side of the Dikrong river, about long. 95° 10' E. In Mahommedan geography, Assam is considered as separated by the Brahmaputra into three grand divisions, called Ootercole, Dukhincole, and Majuli, which by Abul Fazel, in 1582, are described as follows: "The dominions of Assam join to Camroop: he is a very powerful prince, lives in great state; and when he dies his principal attendants, both male and female, are voluntarily buried alive along with his corpse."

From the confines of Bengal, at the Kandar custom house, the valley, as well as the river and mountains, preserve a northern direction to a considerable distance, and incline to the east by north; and the valley throughout its whole length is divided by the Brahmaputra into longitudinal portions, that to the south having generally the greatest breadth. The river Cailasi is alleged to have been formerly the boundary between the British territory and Assam; but now no part of that river passes through the British dominions. This encroachment of the Assamese is said to have taken place sometime between the years 1770 and 1780, when six small districts were taken from the Bijnee Raja then tributary to Bengal. At present, the Assam territory, where it is entered from Bengal, commences on the north of the Brahmaputra at Kandar, and on the south at the Nogurbera hill. On the north, Assam is bounded by the successive mountainous ranges of Bootan, Auka, Duffala, and Miree, and on the south by the Garrow mountains which rise in proportion to their progress eastward, and change the name of Garrow to that of Naga.

The number and magnitude of the rivers in Assam probably exceed those of any other country in the world of equal extent. They are in general of a sufficient depth at all seasons to admit of a commercial intercourse in shallow boats, and, during the rains. boats of the largest size find sufficient depth of water. The number of rivers, of which the existence has been ascertained, amounts to 61, including the Brahmaputra and its two great branches, the Dehing and the Looichel; 34 of these flow from the northern and 24 from the southern mountains. these contributary streams are remarkable for their winding The Dikrung, although the direct distance is only 25 miles, performs a winding course equal to 100. before it falls into the Brahmaputra. The Dikrung is famous for the quantity and quality of its gold, which metal is also found in other rivers of Assam, more especially near the mountains. The southern rivers are never rapid; the inundation commencing from the northern rivers fills both the Brahmaputra and the southern ones, so that the water has no considerable current until May or June.

The animal and vegetable productions of Assam are nearly the same with those of Bengal, which country it much resembles

in its physical appearance and the multitude of its rivers. Transplanted rice forms nearly three-fourths of the whole crops. but a little spring rice is also raised. Mustard seed is the next considerable crop, wheat barley and millet are but little used; but various sorts of pulse are cultivated. Black pepper, ginger, turmeric, capsicum, onions, and garlic are also raised. leaf is planted in every garden, tobacco is abundant, and opium is raised sufficient for home consumption. Sugar cane thrives, but no sugar is prepared, pomegranates and oranges are plenty. but coconuts scarce, owing to the remoteness of the country from the sea. Cotton is mostly cultivated by the hill tribes; but four different kinds of silkworms are reared, different silks forming the greater part of the clothing of the natives, and a quantity being also exported. In Assam many buffaloes are employed in the plough, sheep are very scarce, goats numerous, but ducks and other aquatic birds abundant.

The custom houses towards Bengal are usually farmed out to the best bidder; and the whole trade of the country is in fact monopolized by these individuals, who agreeably to the terms of the treaty concluded in February, 1793, ought to levy only 10 per cent on exports and imports, but in reality extort what they choose. Formerly salt was sold by Europeans, settled at Goalpara to the amount of 100,000 maunds annually; but the trade being monopolized by the farmers of the customs, that quantity had diminished in 1809 to 35,000 maunds. This may also be in part attributed to a decreased demand, for since the disturbances in Assam, the number of inhabitants has been reduced, and those that remain impoverished. In 1809, the total value of the the exports from Bengal to Assam was only 228,000 rupees; of which amount salt was 192,000 rupees, and muslins 10,000, the rest a variety of trifling articles, and a few fire-arms secretly smuggled. The imports were about 151,000 rupees, of which amount lac was 55,000, cotton 35,000 mustard seed 22,000, Muga silk cloth 17,500, and Muga silk 11,350, ivory 6,500, and slaves 2,000 rupees. The balance is principally paid in gold, which is found in all the small rivers of Assam that flow from the northern and southern boundary, especially from the first. Many other valuable commodities and mineral productions would probably be discovered if the intercourse were on a better footing, but the extermely barbarous state of

the country terrifies the timid Bengalese, and the advance of Europeans beyond the frontier is interdicted.

Under the Mogul government the trade with Assam was a source of considerable national profit, and for many years after the British domination commenced individuals profited largely by it, and it might even now be made productive of some emolument. This trade, which on the British side is free to all, on that of Assam is virtually under a strict monopoly, established illegally by the farmers of the customs, who fix an arbitrary price both on their own goods and on those of the Bengalese merchant, who is altogether at their mercy. A counter monopoly of the traffic in salt, on the part of the British government, it is supposed would tend greatly to correct the evil, and and at the same time realize a considerable revenue. It does not appears that any merchants from Assam repair so far as Lassa in Tibet, but a commercial intercourse is carried on between the two countries in the following manner. At a place called Chouna. two months' journey from Lassa, on the confines of the two states, there is a mart established, and on the Assam side there is a similar mart at Gegunshur, distant four miles from Chouna. An annual caravan repairs from Lassa to Chouna, conducted by about 20 persons, conveying silver bullion to the amount of about one lac of rupees, and a considereable quantity of rock salt for sale to the Assam merchants at Gegunshur, to which place the latter bring rice, which is imported into Tibet from Assam in large quantities; tussera cloth, a kind of coarse silk cloth manufactured by the native women in Assam, from the queen downwards; iron and lac, found in Assam; and otter skins, buffaloe horns, pearls, and coral, first imported from Bengal.

A peish cush or offering is sent annually from the Assam Raja to the Grand or Dalai Lama, but no other public intercourse, with the exception of the commerce above described, appears to subsist between the Tibet and Assam states.

All the royal family of Assam have a right to ascend the throne except such as have on their body some blemish or mark, whether from disease or accident. In order to preclude the dangers of a disputed succession, it was formerly a maxim to mark every youth that was not intended for presumptive heir by a wound on some conspicuous part, such as the nose or ear; his

children, if unblemished, have still a right to the throne. The sovereign and nobility of Assam live in thatched huts, with walls of bamboo mat, supported by saul posts, and built in the fashion of Bengal, with arched ridges and mud floors, each apartment being a separate hut. According to the Assamese constitution there are three great officers of state, named Gohaing, which dignified offices are hereditary in three great. families. The word appears to be derived from the ancient language of Assam, and the title is peculiar to the royal family. The Burra Boruya is the fourth great officer, and next to him come six functionaries denominated phukons. By far the greater part of the land in Assam is granted to persons termed Pykes, each of whom is held bound to work gratuitously four months in the year either for the king or whatever person the royal pleasure substitutes. These people either work for their lord in whatever work they are skilled, or pay him a composition regulated by custom. These Pykes are placed under four ranks of officers, supposed to command 1000, 100, 20, or 10 men, but these numbers are in general only nominal, and the whole are a mere rabble without arms, discipline, or courage. The most important jurisdiction is the province of Camroop, contiguous to Bengal, the greater part of which was wrested from the Mahommedans early in the reign of Aurengzebe. The Rajas are the original petty chiefs of the country, paying a certain tribute, and several of them are Garrows and other unconverted tribes.

The officers under whom the Pykes or serfs of the crown are placed, the Rajas and the farmers of the revenue, have charge of the police. It is alleged that the guilty who can bribe escape with impunity, while the punishments of the convicted poor are atrociously cruel. Capital punishments extend to the whole family of rebel parents, sisters, wife and children, and it is probably from these sources that the rafts are supplied, which are frequently seen floating down the Brahmaputra, past Goalpara, covered with human heads. All the domestics are slaves, and they are numerous, every man of rank having several, mostly procured among the necessitous, who mortgage themselves. Some are exported, and about 100 of pure caste are annually sold in Bengal. The girls chiefly are bought by professional

prostitutes, and cost from 12 to 15 rupees; A Cooch boy cost 25 rupees; a Kolita 50; slaves of impure tribes are sold to the Garrows. No accurate estimate of the total population can be formed, but it is probably under half a million, three fourths of the country being known to be desolate and covered with jungle. The principal towns are Jorhaut, the present capital, Gergong, Rungpoor and Gowhati, but they scarcely deserve the name of towns, being a mere collection of hovels, for in this wretched country there are no shops and few markets. There are however, several remarkable military causeways which intersect the whole country, and must have been constructed with great labour; but it is not known at what period. One of them extends from Cooch Behar through Rangamatty to the extreme limits of Assam, and was found in existence when the Mahommedans first penetrated into this remote quarter.

Nothing satisfactory has been ascertained respecting the ancient religion of the Assamese, except that they had a deity named Chung. From the beginning of the 17th century the Brahminical doctrines appear to have been gradually encroaching on the old superstitions, and about the middle of that age effected the conversion of the sovereign; since when the governing party have entirely adopted the language of Bengal, which has become so prevalent, that the original Assamese, spoken so late as the reign of Aurengzebe, is almost become a dead language. Brahmins, of various degrees of purity, are now the spiritual guides of the court, and about three-fourths of the people; but there remain many impure tribes, who still abandon themselves to the eating of beef and the drinking of strong liquors. In the parts adjacent to Bengal there are many Mahommedans, but they have so degenerated into heathen superstition that they are rejected, even by those of Rungpoor. It does not appear that the Christian religion has ever penetrated into this region. In 1793, when Captain Welsh drove the Mahamari Priest and his rabble from the capital, they retired to Byangmara, south from Sodiya, where they still remain.

The Assamese have traditions, and it is said books, in the ancient language, detailing their history before the Mahommedan invasion, but the information collected is as yet too imperfect to be depended upon, they are first noticed by Mogul authorities, in 1638, during the reign of Shah Jahan, when they sailed

down the Brahmaputra and invaded Bengal; but were repulsed by that emperor's officers, and eventually lost some of their own frontier provinces. In the reign of Aurengzebe, his general. Meer Jumlah advanced from Cooch Behar to attempt the conquest of Assam, on which occasion he met with no obstacles to his advance, except such as were presented by the nature of the county, until he arrived at the capital Gergong. When the season of the rains began, the Assamese came out of their hiding places, and harassed the imperial army, which became very sickly, and the flower of the Afghans, Persians, and Moguls perished. The rest tried to escape along the narrow causeways, through the morasses, but few ever reached Bengal; and the Assamese reconquered the western provinces, which had been for some time in the possession of the Moguls. After this. no more expeditions were attempted against Assam, which the Mahommedans of Hindostan have ever since viewed with singular horror, as a region only inhabited by infidels, hobgoblins, and devils.

Hitberto the Assamese had been a warlike and enterprizing people, and their princes worthy of the govrenment; but after their conversion by the Brahmins the nation sunk into the most abject pusillanimity towards foreigners, and into turbulence and confusion. About 1770, the power of the spiritual teachers had acquired such strength, and their insolence had become so intolerable, that the reigning Raja, with the view of curbing their pride, burned a building that had been erected contrary to law, by one of them named Mahamari, who guided a multitude of the lowest and most ignorant of the people. A rebellion which ensued was suppressed by the energy of the Raja, but the insurrection burst forth with increased fury under his son and successor, Gaurinauth, who was driven from the throne by the base adherents of the Mahamari priest, who attempted to fill it with his own nephew. The dethroned Raja, however, having placed himself under the protection of Lord Cornwallis, that nobleman, a short time before his departure for Europe, sent Captain Welsh, in 1793, with 1100 sepoys, who placed Gaurinauth on the throne of his ancestors, and shortly afterwards returned to Bengal.

During the insurrection of the populace under the Mahamari priest, the most horrid excesses were committed, and most of the

genuine Assamese men of rank were compelled to fly for refuge to a large island formed by the Brahmaputra. In these disastrous circumstances the only individual who evinced any courage or enterprize, was one of the hereditary counsellors of state, before mentioned, named the Bura Gohaing, who on Captain Welsh's returning to Bengal, seized on the whole authority of the government, expelled the Mahamari, and rendered the future Rajas of Assam mere pageants under him. On the death of Raja Gaurinath, which he is said to have accelerated, be expelled the lawful heir, but to save apperance, and conciliate the natives, he set up a boy, sprung from a spurious branch of the royal family, whom he kept under the strictest seclusion from public affairs.

Many years ago the Bengal government, in consequence of orders from Europe, established a salt agent at Goalpara to monopolize the Assam salt trade, but after several years' trial, the loss sustained was so great, that the Marquis Cornwallis, who always abhorred petty traffic, ordered it to be suppressed Mr. Daniel Raush, a respectable Hanoverian, succeeded as the principal merchant, but soon found himself creditor to the Raja, the Bura Gohaing, and to many other chief, who had the address to get possession of his property, in spite of his caution and long experience of their bad faith. In 1796 he quitted his factory at Goalpara, entered Assam, and proceeded towards the capital, to endeavour to effect some compromise for his claims amounting to three lac of rupees; but on the route he was treacherously assassinated by the Raja of Dring's (or Dorong) followers, and had his pinnaces pillaged and his papers destroyed. In 1801, the Marquis Wellesley, compassionating the distreses of his widow and destitute family, dispatched Comul Lochun Nundy, a native agent, to the court of Assam, to recover the arrears; in furtherance of which object he furnished him with letters to the Raja and prime minister, explanatory of his misson and reminding them, that were wholly indebted for the re-establishment of their authority to the British succours under Captain Welsh in 1790. The agent, Nundy, proceeded accordingly to Jorhaut, the existing capital, where he found the Raja and his minister ostensibly fully disposed to render him every assistance, but in private obstructiing him so effectually that after being for two years amused with promises and sham trials, he

would have returned from that miserable court as empty handed as he went, had he not on a frontier station recovered 10,000 rupees from a custom-house officer, who had less power, or more honesty, than his superiors. Indeed, the agent's description of the general anarchy, the injustice excerised, and the horrid cruelties perpetrated by whoever has the power, excites surprise that all the lower classes who have the means do not migrate to the British territories, which are close at hand, and contain immense tracts of waste land.

In 1806, Sir George Barlow made another effort to recover something for Mr. Raush's family, who offered to accept 20,000 in lieu of their whole claims, but with equally bad success. The Raja and his minister on this occasion, among other excuses for their want of punctuality, assigned the total anarchy of their country, and solicited the assistance of the British government to subdue the insurgents, and to tranquillize their subjects; an undertaking that would have cost one hundred times the amount claimed. After this evasive reply, the absolute inutility of again addrssing the Assam state on the subject appeared nearly established, yet to leave nothing untried, on the 26th of February, 1813, another letter was dispatched, recalling the circumstances to the Raja's, or rather to his minister's, recollection, and expressing the expectation of the British government, that he would effect some equitable settlement. In his reply, received in February, 1814, the Raja acknowledges the receipt of a letter addressed to his brother, the late Raja, and then proceeds to describe the unfortunate condition of his country. From the eastward and northward the people of Nora, Khamti, Dopla, and Mahamari, had assembled and invaded his dominions; while on the Bijnee frontier, a robber, named Manick Ray, had made repeated inroads, laid waste three pergunnahs, and plundered the custom house of Kandar. The tenour of this reply proved as unsatisfactory as the prior one had been, but as the case did not warrant a stronger interference than remonstrance, all further proceedings on the subject were suspended.

For many years past the western confines of Assam have been infested by bands of freebooters, prinpally Burkindauzes from Upper Hindostan, who availing themselves of the local peculiarities of the Bijnee estate, have been in the habit of

waging a system of incursion and plunder on the Assam villages which be contiguous to the Bengal frontier. first regularly organized band of this description consisted of the followers of Gholam Ali Beg. a Hindostany Mogul, who had been entertained by the Assam Rajas to fight against the Mahamari, the inveterate enemies of the Assamese principality. The Bura Gohaing, soon after his usurpation, dismissed Gholam Ali Beg and his band, and, as they assert, turned them out of the country without paying up their arrears. event, Gholam Ali took up a position on the confines of Bijnee, beyond the Ayi river, from whence he has ever since made incursions into Assam. His first attack was on the Kandar chokey, or custom-house, in 1805, at the head of 150 men, when he stormed the post, and carried off such a booty, that on twelve of the gang, who were shortly after seized in Mymunsingh, 1600 rupees were found. From this time Gholam Ali continued to lurk on the confines of Assam and Bijnee, with about 80 followers, not only ravaging the frontier villages of Assam, but making occasional inroads into the interior, plundering boats of valuable merchandize as they passed down the Manas river, which separates Bijnee from Assam.

During this period of time the above adventurer is said to have acquired a kind of sovereignty over 16 villages, on the eastern bank of the Manas, from which he received a large revenue, readily paid by the inhabitants for protection; but he was at length vanquished by another body of freebooters, led by a Hindostany Rajpoot, named Manick Ray, who drove Gholam Ali into Bootan, and usurped his lucrative post on the frontiers of Bijnee, where he still harbours, doing indescribable mischief to that branch of the Goalpara trade navigated on the Manas, and making nightly plundering excursions into Assam. Both he and his predecessor, Gholam Ali Beg, have been frequently pursued by the detachment of British sepoys stationed at Jughigopa, but the orders of government being peremptory against passing the Ayi river, all their efforts have been frustrated, and from the Bijnee Raja no coercion need be expected, as he is strongly suspected of sharing the profits of their depredations. In these harassed pergunnahs the tenantry have mostly given up a fixed residence. Many have retired

within the British boundary, while others keep their women and children there, and every morning cross the river to cultivate the fields in Assam, but return at night to sleep in safety.

Such is the deplorable condition of this fertile country, where the mass of the people are said to be extremely anxious to throw off the yoke of the userper, but such on the other hand is his tyranny and their pusillanimity, that his rule is acquiesced in with the most unqualified submission. The rightful heir to the terone is Birjinauth Coomar, the person who, in 1814, was detected by the magistrate of Rungpoor in an attempt to head a large body of Burkindauses against the Bura Gohaing, having been encouraged thereto by the general inclination of the country in his favour. It is generally supposed that the Bura Gohaing, knowing that Birjinauth was the legitimate heir, had disqualified him for the soverignty by slitting, or othewise disflguring, one of his ears, which is not improbable, as he had been observed by Mr. Sisson, when acting magistrate of Rungpoor, always to conceal one ear within his turban. be so, and as any bodily blemish is an insurmountable disqualification for the Assam throne, the people of that country must have invited him back with the view of electing one of his children in his stead. Circumstanced as he now is, his fate appears singularly hard, as, according to his own estimation, he is placed within reach of recovering his rights, and yet by the interference of the British government debarred the use of the means, after having involved himself in debt to a large collecting volunteers to fight aginst the usurper. amount in In 1814, Birjinauth Coomar had no means of subsistence except the precarious bounty of such individuals as pitied his distresses. He was then 40 years of age, and had two sons, the oldest about 14 years. The late dowager Ranny of Assam, who was a pensioner of the British government, at 50 rupees per month, adopted the oldest of the boys, and to him, in 1812, a continuance of the pension was authorized for five years; but the father then subsisted by begging alms from the principal Rajas of Bengal, and is said to have been assisted among others by the Rajas of Burdwan and Cooch Behar.

Assam in its present condition is so utterly destitute of any thing to attract a conqueror, that its invasion by the Chinese and Gorkhas of Nepaul may almost appear an extravagance;

yet in the year 1815 two agents were dispatched on the parts of the Nepaul government to the court of Assam, which they quitted after sojourning some time, and returned to their own country, either through the northern part of Bootan, or the southern tract of the Grand Lama's territories.—(F. Buchanan, Suen, Public MS Documents, Wade Comul Lochun Nundy, Abdul Rusool, Gardner, &c. &c. &c.)

Camroop (Camarupa, the aspect of desire).—This was formerly an extensive Hindoo geographical division, extending from the river Korotoya, where it joined the ancient kingdom of Matsya, to the Dekkorbasini, a river of Assam, which enters the Brahmaputra a short distance to the east of the eastern Kamakhya. said to be 14 days' journey by water above Jorhaut the modern capital. On the north Camroop extended to the first range of the Bootan hills; the southern boundary was where the Lukhiya river separates from the Brahmaputra, where it adjoined the country called Bangga (Bengal). According to this description. Camroop, besides a large province of Assam (which still retains the name) included the whole of the modern divisions of Rungpoor and Rangamatty, a portion of the Mymunsing district and Silhet, together with Munipoor, Gentiah, and Cachar.

The early history of this region is involved in obscurity, but it has the reputation of having been in early times a sort of Paphian land, the seat of promiscuous pleasures, which the loose manners of its modern inhabitants, as may be seen under the article Rungpoor, tend strongly to justify. Besides a mysterious awe hangs over it, as having been the grand source of the Tantra system of the magic, the doctrines of which permit many indulgences to new converts, and enable the Brahmins to share sensual gratifications from which they would otherwise be excluded. The Tantras chiefly inculcate the worship of irascible female spirits, whose hostility is to be appeased by bloody sacrifices, to be eaten afterwards; in consequence of which the Tantras are held in great estimation by the Brahmins of Bengal. Jadoo, or witchcraft, is supposed to be still generally understood by the old women, who are employed by the young to secure the affection of their paramours.

This ancient province was invaded by Mahommed Bukhtyar Khilijee in A.D. 1204, immediately after the conquest of Bengal

by the Mahommedans; but he was compelled to retreat after losing nearly the whole of his army. From the prodigious ruins of public works still extant, and the magnificent public roads that had been constructed, it is probable that this remote corner of India in ancient times enjoyed a superior form of government to any that it has since experienced. Between the date last mentioned and the reign of Acber, the Mahommendans of Bengal made many efforts to accomplish the subjugation of Camroop, but were invariably frustrated. The mode of defence adopted by the princes of the country when attacked, was to retire with their families and effects into the jungles, until the violence of the rains, the inundation of the country, and the pestilential effects of an unhealthy climate, compelled the invaders to capitulate, or to attempt a destructive retreat. At length about 1603, towards the conclusion of the reign of Acber, the Moguls took permanent possession of the western portion of Camroop, which the, partioned into four divisions, viz. Ootrecul, Dukhincul, Bengal Bhumi, and Camroop Proper.-(F. Buchanan, Wade, Stewart &c,)

KANDAR.—A frontier town in the province of Assam, situated on the north bank af the Brahmaputra, opposite to Goalpara. Lat. 26° 10′ N. long. 90° 40′ E. At this place there is a custom-house where duties are collected on goods entering Assam.

NOGHURDERA.—A frontier town and custom-house in Assam, situated on the south bank of the Brahmaputra, 26 miles E. from Goalpara. Lat. 26° 4′ N, long. 91° 9′ E.

GOHATI.—This was the capital of the ancient Hindoo geographical division named Camroop, which included great part of Assam, but it is now in a very miserable condition. Lat. 26° 9' N. long. 91° 48' E. 70 miles E. from Goalpara in Bengal.

RUNGPOOR (Rangapura.)—This town, situated on the Dikho river, is frequently called the capital of Assam, and it appears to have been once a place of consequence, but latterly it has been only the military station to Ghergong, from which it is distant about 30 miles north. The Rungpoor territorial division is 12 miles in length by 10 in breadth, and in 1793 contained a considerable number of villages and hamlets. To the west of Rungpoor is a bridge, built in the reign of Rudra Singh by workmen from Bengal, which may be deemed the western gate of the military fortress of Rungpoor, which is accessible from the

westward only through this post, as the river here is seldom fordable. On the south it is protected by an immense causeway, or line of fortification which extends from Namdaugh to the Dikho.—(Wade, & c. & c.)

GHERGONG (Ghirigrama).—This place stands on the Dikho, which falls into the Brahmaputra on the south side, and was for many years the capital of Assam; but since the insurrection of the Mahamari priest and his rabble, the city, palaces, and fort have continued a heap of ruins. In maps this place is also named Gergong. Gurgown, and Kirganu.—(Wade, Rennell, & c.)

JORHAUT.— This place stands on both sides of the Dikho river, which, according to Lieutenant Wood, of the Bengal Engineers, joins the Brahmaputra in lat 26° 48′ N. long.94° 6′E. Jorhaut is the present capital of the province, as, since disturbances which broke out during the reign of Raja Gaurinauth, the royal residence has been removed to this place, about 20 miles west from Rungpoor, but no brick buildings have as yet been erected.

MAJULI.—A large island in Assam, formed by the Brahmaputra, which is said at Tikhti Potarmukh (about 55° E.) to separate into two branches, which afterwards re-unite. According to native reports, it may be estimated at 130 miles in length, by from 10 to 15 in breadth. This insulated district is intersected by channels of communication between the two branches, which in reality convert it into a cluster of distinct island. It is said that the land of Majuli island has been in a great measure alienated by the government, to temples, and to men considered holy.—(F. Buchnans, Wade, &c.)

The Treaty of Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826.

Treaty of peace between the Honourable East India Company on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava on the other, settled by Major General Sir Archibald Campbells K.C.B. & K.C.T.S. commanding the expendition, and Senior Commissioner in Pegu and Ava: Thoms Campbell Robertson, Esquire, Civil Commissioner in Pegu and Ava and Henry Ducie Chandds, Esquire, Captain Commanding his Britannic Majesty's and the Honorauble Company's Naval Force on the

Irrawaddy River, on the part of the Honourable Company: and by Mengyee-Mahah-Men-Hlah-kyan-ten Woonguee, Lord of Lay-Kain and Mengyee-Mahah-Hlah-Thoo-Atween-Woon, Lord of the Revenue, on the part of the king of Ava; who have each communicated to the other their full power agreed to and executed at Yandaboo, in the Kingdom of Ava on this Twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-six, corresponding with the Fourth day of the decrease of the Moon Taboung, in the year One Thousand One Hundred and Eighty and seven Gaud, a A Era.

- ARTICLE- 1. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable Company on the one part and His Majesty the King of Ava on the other.
- ARTICLE- 2. His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty States of Cachar and Jyntia, with regard to Mannipoor it is stipulated, that should Ghumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognised by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.
- To prevent all future disputes respecting the ARTICLE- 3. boundary line between two great Nations, the British Government will retain the conquered Provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree Cheduba and Sandoway, and His Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Unnoupectort mien Mountains (known in Arakan by the Arakan name of the Yeomatoun or Pokhinglong Range) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great Nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the side line of demarcation will be by Commissioners appointed by the settled respective governments for the purpose such Commissioners from both powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

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ARTICLE 4 His Majesty the king of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered Provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergni and Tennasserim. With the islands and dependencies there unto appertaining taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier; any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of the Article third.

ARTICLE 5 In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the Nations and as part indemnification to British Government for the expenses of the war, His Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of Rupees.

ARTICLE 6 No person whatever, whether Native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested by either party, on account of the part which he may have taken or have been compelled to take in the present war.

ARTICLE 7 In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two governments, it is agreed that acredited ministers, retaining an escort or safeguard of fifty men, from each, shall reside at the Durbar of the other, shall be permitted to purchase, or build a suitable place of residence, of permanent materials; and a Commercial Treaty, upon principles of reciprocal, advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting powers.

ARTICLE 8 All public and private debts contracted by either Government or by the subjects of either Government with the others previous to the war, to be recognised and liquidated upon the same principles of honour and good faith as if hostilities had not taken place between the two Nations, and no advantage shall be taken by either party

of the period that may have elapsed since the debts were incurred or in consequence of the war; and according to the universal law Nations, it is further stipulated, that the property of all British subjects who may die in the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava, shall in the absence of legal heirs, be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul in the said dominions who will dispose of the same according to the tenor of the British law. In like manner the property of Burmese subjects dying under the same circumstances, in any part of the British dominions, shall be made over to the minister or other authority delegated by His Burmese Majesty to the Supreme Government of India.

ARTICLE 9 The King of Ava will abolish all exactions upon British ships or vessels in Burman ports, that are not required from Burman ships or vessels in British ports, nor shall ships or vessels the property of British subjects, whether European of Indian, entering the Rangoon River or the Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports.

ARTICLE 10 The good and faithful ally of the British Government, His Majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present war will, to the fullest extent, as far as regards His Majesty and his subject, be included in the above Treaty.

ARTICLE 11 This Treaty to be ratified by the Burmese authorities competent in the like case, and the ratification to be accompanied by all British, whether European or Native, American and other prisoners, who will be delivered over to

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the British Commissioners, on their part engaging that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General-in Council, and the Ratification shall be delivered to His Majesty the King of Ava, in four months or sooner if possible, and all the Burmese prisoners shall in like manner, be delivered over to their own Government as soon as they arrive from Bengal.

(Signed Archibald Campbell (L.S.)

Largeen Meonja,

(Woonghee, (Signed) T.C. Robertson Captain Royal Navy. (L. S.)

(Seal of the lotoo) (Signed) Hy. D. Chads, Captain Royal Navy. (L.S.)

Shwagum Woon, Atawoon,

Additional Article

The British Commissioners being most anxiously desirous to manifest the sincerity of their wish for peace, and to make the immediate execution of the fifth Article of this Treaty as little irksome or inconvenient as possible to His Majesty the King of Ava, consent to the following arrangements, with respect to the division of sum total as specified in the Article before referred to, into instalments, viz, upon the payment of twenty-five lacs of Rupees, or one fourth of the sum total the other Articles of the Treaty being executed the Army will retire to Rangoon. Upon the further payment of a similar sum at that place, within one hundred days from this date, with the provision as above, the Army will evacuate the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava with the leastp ossible delay, leaving the remaining moiety of the sum total to be paid by equal annual instalments in two years, from this twenty-fourth day of February, 1826 A.D., through consul or Resident in Ava or Pegu, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company.

Sd/-Largeen Meonja Woonghee Sd/-Archibald Campbell

(Seal of the lotoo) Sd/- Shwagum Woon, Sd/-T,C. Robertson, Civil Commissioner (L.S.)

Atawoon

Sd/-Hy. D. Chads, Captain Royal Navy (L.S.)

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council at Fort of William in Bengal, this Eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-Six.

(Signed) Amherst: Combermere: J.H. Harington: WB. Bayley.

Notes by M.r.D Scott on Welsh's Report on Assam, 1794-1828

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

2. With exception to Royal grants and the Khats or farms of individual usually of small extent, there is no division of the land in Assam amongst a comparatively small number of individuals such as seen in the feudal countries of Europe and in Bengal, and the cultivated soil may be considered as the property of the pykes or peasants owing service to the State to whome it is allotted. Waste land might be reclaimed by any one who had the means of bringing it into cultivation, and a property in the soil might be acquired, subject, however, if held without a grant from the King, to an agrarian law which rendered the whole of the transplanted roce lamds (roopeet)

liable to division amongst the pykes, on a new census taking place, in case there should be an insufficiency of waste land for their support. Gardens, tanks, groves, &c which are formed upon the higher description of land, were not subjected to this law, nor was ground that had been occupied for a great length of time and inherited or transferred from one party to another for a valuable consideration. Land of the latter description called poyeetrick, or ancestral, was not subject to the payment of revenue until the reign of Kumolessur, when a tax in kind was imposed on it equal to from 5 to 8 annas per Bengal beegah. It is believed that no estate of this kind exists exceeding in extent 2000 Bengal beegahs, and that no individual in the country is possessed altogether of 900 beegahs of such land of roopeet quality.

- 3. The authority of the King was in practice probably much more despotic than is here represented, and it would not appear from the history of the country that the aristocracy had any legal means of preventing the execution of his wishes, the only remedy seeming to have consisted in the actual exercise of their power of deposing him in case of gross misconduct and neglect of their advice. It is to be regretted that the historical work to which I have had access treats with great brevity of those reigns in which no troubles occurred, and in which the Princes may be supposed to have acted in constitutional manner. but when it does afford any insight into difference of opinion between the King and his Counsellors, we usually find one or other of these parties exercising unlimited sway, the Prince in some cases dismissing and putting to death the Gohains, and the latter frequently treating their master in the like manner.
- 4. For example of this power vide pages 23 to 45 of the accompanying extracts of these precedents, only three—the deposals of Sooram Pha Sooching Pha, and Soonyut Pha—can be considered as having anything of the character of deliberate acts of the great Council of State; while from the circumstance of all of these instances having occurred within a period of thirty years, and two of them in the time of same Boorah Gohain, there seems to be sine ground for the doubts here expressed as to the legality of the proceedings in question.

- 5. The Gohains had altogether alloted for their own use 10,000 pykes equal, at the old assessment, to Rs. 90,000 per annum, which, adverting to the relative value of money in Assam and Bengal in former times, may be considered as equivalent of treble the amount in the latter country.
- 6. It does not appear that the Gohains could be selected except from three families—one furnishing a Bur Putra Gohain, another a Bur Gohain, and a third a Boora Gohain.
- 7. The members of twelve families are now eligible to these offices upon the strength of past precedents, These twelve families are distinct from the preceding three from which the two Ministers could not be chosen-a rule that was probably enacted with the view of preventing the two great accumulation of power in particular families.
- 8. The Bar Boorooa had the command of 14,000 pykes, but they were bound to perform service to the King, and the Prime Minister's perquisite consisted in an allowance of 7 per cent., for his private use and in the fines levied from them for offences committed or on the appointment to the inferior offices of Hazarkseya, &c.
- 9. These offices were filled from the fifteen families of hereditary nobility already mentioned, and such of them as did not involve military service could also be held by the higher classes of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, but not by foreigners or their descendants for three of four generations.
- 10. The officer exercised jurisdiction in the absence of the King only, and in the places of fort.
- 11. No record was kept in criminal trials, but in civil cases a summary of the proceedings was drawn out and delivered to the successful party called Sidhant Puttir. Trials were conducted before the Bur Boorwa or other delegate as president, and a certain number of Khattakees, Khagtstees, Ghunucks. and Pundits as assessors, by whose opinion the judge was usually guided. The administration of justice is said to have been speedy, efficient, and impartial in former times, but a good deal corrupted since the commencement of the disorders occasioned by the Moamaria insurrections. No Wukeels were employed. The parties or one of their relations appearing personally. From the Bur Boorwa's Court not even the three Gohain were exempt.

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

- 13. The Pykes are now chiefly employed as labourers; or a revenue is derived from the commutation of their services for a money payment varying from 6 to 8 rupees per Ghote. A considerable number of the inhabitants are exempted from personal service on the score of their caste or rank or by purchase, but by far the largest portion still continue to work, in a most unprofitable manner for the Government.
- 14. Since the loss of a great number of pykes in the reign of Rajeswar Sing, the number of men forming a Ghote in Upper Assam has been reduced to three. All persons below the age of 15 years and above 50 years are exempted from service.
- 15. This one of the most important rights the lower orders possessed, and it extended usually to the Hazarkeyeeas, and in case of proof of maltreatment to the higher ranks placed over them. When a dispute occurred between the retainers of two different Commanders, it was decided by the officer of highest rank.
- 16. The descendants and frequently the collateral relations of nobles guilty of treason, and particularly of shedding the royal blood, were attained and degarded so as to be incapable of holding any office.
- 17. The office is now held by a family of Kamptees who settled in Assam about 70 years ago.
- 18. This is accounted for in pages 57 of the historical extracts. It appears that the elder son was disqualified for the succession in consequence of his being marked with the small-pox, any personal blemish, whether natural or artificial, being considered as an insurmountable bar to the attainment of the regal dignity in Assam.
- 19. The Moamarial still possess some power in the upper part of the country. They are united under the command of their elected chief the Bur-Sinaputtee. In any arrangement that may be made for the future settlement of Assam, it will be necessary to consult the interest of this numerous body. If attached to the Government, they might become useful as a militia, but the exorbitant pretensions of their priests may

render it difficult to satisfy them. Of late years it was usual with the Assam Government to keep the High Priest at Court, and after under restraint. His influence is now supposed to be on the decline.

- 20. The whole of these Chiefs are now in subjection to Assam as far as their possessions in the plains extend, but they are nearly independent in the hills. There is every reason to believe that they are particularly well disposed towards the British Government, and the principal person amongst them, the Rajah of Burdewar, is now actively engaged in improving the road through his territory which extends nearly to Pundwa in Sylhet.
- 21. Of late the Bar Phookon exercised the right of dismissing and appointing the above Rajahs with exception to those of Durung and Beltola without previous reference, but subject to an appeal to the King.
- 22. The powers of the Rajahs have since been much cartailed, at present they exercise judicial authority in minor cases in common with the chowdries by sufferance only, but the facility they possess of escaping into hills, when pursued by the officers of Government, has often induced them to assume still higher powers, and to mutilate and put persons to death for ehicha fine was usually accepted as an atonement under the Assam Govt. Nothing of this kind has occurred since the full establishment of the British authority.
- 23. The Duplas, Bhoteeyas, and Ankas pay a nominal tribute, and in return levy black mail to a very oppressive and continually increasing extent in the districts north of the river. Cachar and Jyntiah long before this period had regained their independence. Twelve of the Singpho Chiefs were also nominally subjected to Assam, but did not pay tribute.
- 24. Although very illiterate, there are nevertheless several persons amongst the Assam nobility who, with considerable talents, possess a sufficient knowledge of business to enable them to conduct the affairs of the country until it may be determined who is to be raised to the throne. It is of course impossible to say whether or not any particular individual could be appointed with the Rajah's consent but under the altered circumstances of the case, the British Government would no

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doubt be justified in exercising the most decided interference in regard to the selection of the higher officers of State.

- 25. The Rajahs of Durung have been reduced to complete subjection since the date of this report, and at present they do not possess the means of disturbing the peace or assisting the Government. They are appointed and dismissed like the other officers of State, an individual of the same family being, however, always chosen. There is at present one Rajah in possession and three ex-Rajahs, all of whom ascertain bitter enmity against each other.
- 26. This opinion was completely verified by the result. On the detachment being withdrawn, the Rajah ceased to observe the commercial treaty and a vertyak monopoly was again established.
- 27. This statement still exhibits the principal imports. The quantity of goods European manufacture has of late increased and it is probable that there may hereafter be a considerable outset for woollens at a sort of annual fair held on the confines of Durung, to which merchants from Thibet and the intermediate country resort.
- 28. This article thrives well, and the quantity would admit of being greatly increased. The price formerly used to be from ten to fifteen rupees per maund it is now much enhanced.
- 29. A great quantity of opium is produced and used by the inhabitants. In point of purity it is probably equal to that of Patna or Benaras, but it is prepared in a different from, being reduced to a dry state by exposure to the air, spread on narrow slips of cloth, which are afterwards rolled up into smalls bales, and called Kanes or Kapps.
- 30. The Burmese invasion has proved very destructive to the Sooparee groves; immense numbers having been cut down and still more destroyed by wild elephants after the villages were abandoned. This article is now one of import.
- 31. The quantity of gold would probably admit of much increase by the adoption of improved means of washing the sands containing it, which is at present done by the hand and apparently in manner involving a great deal of unnecessary labor. The gold-dust is found in connjunction with a black sandy ore of iron, probably produced from the disintegration

of granite. The gold is ultimately separated in the usual manner by long washing and subsequent trituration with mercury.

- 32. The quantity of the lac annually exported, previously to the late troubles, amounted to about 8 or 10,000 maunds. It might be increased to a great extent, but not very speedily. The trees upon which the insect feeds requiring a long time to grow to the requisite size.
- 33. This is an article of great value and importance, and which will probably prove a useful material in many of the mixed stuffs manufactured in England from its superior strength and durability to silk. The quantity at present exported is small, but it may be expected to increase very rapidly. Extensive plantations of the trees required for the support of the worms being everywhere to be seen abandoned by the proprietors during the late troubles. This tree also grows wild in the upper part of the country.
- 34. The quantity of salt imported during the years 1824-25 was only 25,000 maunds, The consumption of this article in Assam and the adjoining parts of Rungpore is much less than might be expected with reference to the inhabitants very generally preferring an alkaling seasoning for their food, prepared from the ashes of plants. Potash and soda are both used for this purpose, the latter being manufactured by burning certain aquatic plants, some of which are found in a wild state, and others cultivated for this express purpose.
- 35. The river is not navigable much beyond Suddeeya, nor is there any trade of consequence carried on in that quarter.
- 36. This arrangement was not adhered to. The commutation for services would be most acceptable to the peasantry, and, with some restrictions rendered necessary by local circumstances, and the habits of the people, it might be adopted with much advantage.
- 37. The future defence of Assam will involve no expense that could otherwise be avoided, and the security of our own Province would on the contrary be most easily and effectually provided for by occupying the country as far as the 93 degree of East Longitude which would bring the troops on the Burhampootur into communication with those on the Soormah.
 - 38. In the present state of society in Assam, the ancient

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

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

Treaty between the East India Company and Purandar Singh 1832

By a treaty entered into with him at the time of his installation, Purandar Singh was placed on the same footing as other protected princes; the entire civil Treatv administration was left in his hands, and his territory was secured from the attacks of hostile States on condition of his paying a yearly tribute of Rs. 50,000 out of an estimated revenue of Rs. 1,20,000. The British Government still maintained direct political relations with the Chiefs of Matuk and Sadiys, and with the surrounding hill tribes, and continued to keep a garrison and Political Officer at Sadiya. Jorhat was made the capital of the new State, and the headquarters of Political Agent and of the Assam Light Infantry were transferred from that place to Bishnath. A detachment of the latter was left at Jorhat for the protection of the Raja and the preservation of peace.

Treaty with Poorunder Singh, Raja of Assam, 1833

ARTICLE 1 The Company give over to Rajah Poorunder Singh the portion of Assam lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra of the eastward of the Dhuvsiren River (Dhansiri?) and on the northern bank to the eastward of a nullah immediately east of Bishnath.

- ARTICLE 2 The Rajah Poorunder Singh agrees to pay an annual tribute. of 50, 000 Rupees of Raja Mohree coinage to the Honourable Company.
- ARTICLE 3 The Rajah Poorunder Singh binds himself, in the administration of justice in the country now made over to him, to abstain from the practices of the former Rajahs of Assam, as to cutting of ears and noses, extracting eyes or otherwise mutilating or torturing, and that he will not inflict cruel faults. generally punishment for slight but administration of justice in his assimilate the territory to that which prevails in the dominions of the H.C. He further finds himself not to permit the immolation of women by suttees.
- ARTICLE 4 The Rajah Poorunder Singh binds himelf to assist the passage of the troops of the Company through his territory, furnishing supplies and carriage on receiving payment for the same.
- ARTICLE 5 Whether at Jorhat or elsewhere, wheresoever a spot may be required for the permanent cantonment of the troops of the British Government the Rajah agrees that, within the limits assigned to such cantonment he shall exercise no power whatever; all matters connected with such cantonment to be decided on by the office of the British government.
- ARTICLE 6 In the event of a detachment being stationed at Suddeya or elsewhere, the Rajah Poorunder Singh binds himself to render it all the assistance that it shall require in regard to provisions and carriage.

- ARTICLE 7 The Rajah binds himself ever to listen with attention to the advice of the political Agent to be stationed in Upper Assam, or to that of the Agent to the Governor-General with a view to the conduct of affairs in the country made over to him in conformity of the stipulations of this Agreement.
- ARTICLE 8 The Rajah binds himself not to carry on any correspondence by letter or otherwise, or to enter into any contract or Agreement with the Rulers of any Foreign States. In all cases of necessity he will consult with Political Agent or Agent to the Governor-General by whom the necessary communication will be made.
- ARTICLE 9 The Rajah binds himself to surrender, on demand from the Agent to the Governor-General or P.A., any fugitive from justice who may take refuge in his territory, and always to apply to those officers for the apprehension of any individual who may fly from his territory into that of the Honourable Company, or of any other State.
- Rajah Poorunder Singh with no power over the Moamaria country of the Bur Senaputtee.
- ARTICLE 11 It being notorious that the quantity of opium produced in Assam is the cause of many miseries to the inhabitants, the Rajah binds himself that, whatever measures may be determined on with a view to checking this source of mischief in the territory of the Honourable Company, corresponding measures shall be adopted in the territory made over to him.

In the event of Rajah's continuing faithful to the articles of this Treaty, the British Government engages to protect him from the aggressions of any foreign force, but if, which God forbid, he should in any way depart from a faithful adherence

to the same, and be guilty of oppressing the people of the country entrusted to his charge then the right is reserved to the Government of Honourable Company either to transfer the said country to another ruler, or take it into its own immediate occupation.

Dated the 2nd March 1833, or 20th Phagoon, 1239 B.E.

True Translation

Signed T.C. Robertson

A. 1099

Mr. T.C. Robertson's Report to the Government. 1833

In his report to Government Mr. T.C. Robertson wrote as follows regarding Purander Singh's qualifications:— "I have had several interviews with Purander Singh at Gauhati, and see no reason, from his outward appearance and manners, to doubt of his fitness for the dignity for which all unite in preferring him to his only rival Chandrakant. Purandar Singh is a young man, apparently about 25 years of age. His countenance is pleasing and his manners extremely good. His natural abilities seem respectable and his disposition mild and pacific.... Major White and Lieutenants Mathie and Rutherford are all decidedly of opinion that Purandar Singh is the person best fitted to be at the head of the State which it has been decided to create".

Anglo-Ava Treaty as regard surrender of Kubo Valley, July 5. 1832

In a letter from Government of the 16th March, 1833, to the Resident of Ava, declaring this resolution, he (the Resident) is desired on his return to Ava to announce to the King, "that the supreme Government still adheres to the opinion that the Ningthee formed the proper boundary between Ava and Muneepoor; but in consideration for His Majesty's feeling and wishes, and in the spirit of amity and good will subsisting between the two countries, the supreme Government consents to the restoration of the Kubo to Ava, and to the establishment of the boundary line at the foot of the Yoomadoung hills."

The right of Muneepoor to the territory in question having been formally acknowledged, a compensation was granted to the Rajah of that country for the loss of it, which his son and successor has ever since continued to receive from the supreme Government; the Burmah authority again prevails in Kubo, and Tummoo either is or will shortly become the head-quarters of the Khumbat Woon, or principal Burmese authority on this frontier.

The above noted right of Ava to the disputed territory, is fully established on the following grounds:

- 1st. The kingdom of Pong or Mogoung, upon a cession, from which, in the year 1475, Munnipore first occupied the Kubo Valley, was proved to have been conquered by, and tributary to, Ava, 33 years before that date.
- 2nd. The historical and other records of Ava show, that Kubo Valley, distinct and separate from the kingdom of Munnipore, had been for a long series of years, considered as a part of the Empire of Ava.
- 3rd. Kubo Valley, distinct from Munnipore, was in the uninterrupted possession of Ava, for a period of 12 years before the late war.

Agreement regarding Compensation for the Kubo Valley, 1834

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

- 1. That it is the intention of the Supreme Government to grant a monthly stipend of five hundred Sicca Rupees to the Rajah of Munnipore, to commence from the ninth day of January One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four, the date at which the transfer of Kubo took place, as shown in the Agreement mutually signed by the British and Burmese Commissioner.
- 2. It is to be distinctly understood that should any circumstances hereafter arise by which the portion of territory

lately made over to Ava again reverts to Munnipore, the allowance now granted by the British Government will cease from the date of such reversion.

[Sd./-] F.J. Grant, Major,

[Sd./-] K. Boileau Pemberton, Capt.

Commissioners.

Langhthabal Munnipore,

January 25, 1834

M' Cosh's Report on the Topography of Assam, 1837

Assam's climate is cold, healthy and congenial to European constitutions; its numerous, crystal streams abound in gold dust and masses of the solid metal; its mountains are pregnant with precious stones and silver; its atmosphere is perfumed with tea, growing wild and luxuriantly; and its soil is so well adapted to all kinds of agricultural puropose, that it might be converted into one continued garden of silk and cotton, of tea, coffee, and sugar, over an extent of many hundred miles.

Extracts from a Petition in Person to A.G. Moffat Mills. Judge of the Sudder Court. By Maniram Dutta Barowa Dewan in 1853

(Mill's Report on the Province of Assam, 1854)

The Assam Rajahs, or Sorgee Deos, governed the country for 600 years and treated with mercy and consideration all classes in Assam, from the most respectable down to the Abors and other Hill Tribes; but by the mutual jealousies and dissensions of Rajahs and Muntrees [Ministers], the former lost their throne as well as sovereignty, while the country fell into the hands of the Burmese, and the people into twelve kinds of fire. After this the British Government at their own cost conquered the province, and drove out the Burmese. It was then found that the country was too poor to pay the expenses of Government; under instructions, conveyed in Mr. Secretary Swinton's letter, dated in April 1825, the Province was divided

by Colonel Richards and Mr. David Scott into two Zillahs styled Senior and Junior Khunds; and in order to recover, if possible, the expenses incurred in conquering the Province, the Government reserved to themselves the Senior Khund, while the Junior Khund, which included all Upper Assam from the Bhyrubee Nuddee upwards, was abandoned or set apart for the preservation of the name and title of a fallen monarch and the rank, respectability and occupation of his nobility, the Borwahs and Phookans. This latter arrangement was a source of extreme delight to the people of these parts who hoped, thereby, to enjoy the blessings of a mild Government and to live in a state of happiness and contentment under the beneficient sway of a poor Assam Rajah. By the departure, however, of the abovenamed gentlemen, the people have been reduced to the most abject and hopeless state of misery from the loss of their fame, honour, rank, caste, employment.

1st.- During the rule of Mr. Robertson, who succeeded Mr.David Scott in the superintendence of the Province. contrary to the advice of the latter, and agreeably to the suggestions of Military men, a settlement was made in the country on a jumma quite disproportioned to the capabilities of such a poor country. Nevertheless when the confusion occurred, had strict inquiry been made, it would have been found that there was no blame to be attached to the parties concerned, because if we take into consideration the annual resources and outlay of the present administration, it will be seen that without supporting the different grades of Mohuntos (Priests), nor upholding the various ranks of nobility, the income of the Province is just adequate to cover the expenses of governing it, without leaving any profit. Illustrious Sir. We are just now, as it were, in the belly of tiger; and if our misfortune yielded any advantage to the Government, we should be content, but the fact is, there is neither gain to the people nor the Government, and so long as the present state of things continues, we can see no prospect of improvement in the future.

2nd.- During the long-continued sovereignty of the Assam Rajahs, the Hill Tribes that border on Assam, Akas, Bjotes, Garrows, Meerees, Nagas, Daflas, Abors, Mishmees, Khamties, Singphos, Norrahs, Meekirs, Laloongs (Dooaneeas)

and Fakeeals (Dooaneas) were effectually kept in check, and the whole Province Governed with a force of only nine companies of Sepoys. Besides this, all the different ranks of Assamese noblemen and officers, from the Borahs and Sykeahs to the three Dangureeas (Ministers of State) were honorably and respectably maintained, the various grades of Mohuntos (Priests) comfortably provided for, the poojahs seasonally performed and the offerings punctually made at the several Hindoo temples and places of worship, and all the expenses involved under such a Government were duly met by former Rajahs without difficulty or failure, besides supporting the Royal family. But under the present administration although revenue is collected from those who were formerly exempted, immunities and privileges (resumes or) removed that had existed for 600 years without intermission, the Abors brought under taxation and the sources of revenue increased four-fold yet the Government in twenty-nine years have no substantial benefit from the Province. This is indeed a source of great wonder!

3rd.- Whether the increase of Zillahs and the Military forces, involving an extra outlay, be any source of profit or advantage to the Government, we cannot tell, but this we can testify to that the establishment of Zillahs in every village has tendered only to the rise of deceitful and fraudulent character who delight in the institution of falsesuits. While the people have imbibed such a love for petty matter that they are perpetually devoting their time and money in the prosecution and defence of frivolous cases. Furthermore the incurred by Government for the establishment of Dewanny Courts is quite useless. Because neither are the Regulations nor the established customs of the country adhered to therein, but instead thereof a system is pursued which resembles Khicheree to the great ruin of the people. The proof of this rests in the fact that decisions or decrees are given in favour of both plaintiff and defendant on the same written deeds. In addition to this when Military officers are first appointed to take charge of Zillahs, whether they are acquainted with their duties or not will be ascertained on due investigation.

4th- Faithful Investigator: The abolition of old customs and establishment in their stead of Courts and taxation; secondly, the introduction of opium in the District for the gratification of an opium eating people, who are daily becoming more unfit for agricultural pursuits, thirdly, the making of this Province khas and discontinuing the poojahs at Kamakhya (temple) in consequence of which the country has become subject to various calamities, the people to every species of suffering and distress, and the annual crops to a constantly recurring failure. Under these several inflictions the population of Assam is becoming daily more miserable. In proof of this, permit us to bring forward the fact that during the days of the Boorah Gohain and down even to the time of Mr. Scott there were in every village two, four or five respectable ryots possessing granaries filled with grain. But in these days in the midst of 100 villages it will be difficult to discover a couple of such ryots.

5th- Whether the present Mouzadars and others are not in a state of poverty, coupled with dissatisfaction compared with the Borwahs, Phookans and other officers of former times will be ascertained on due inquiry. Besides this, the property of several individuals has been sold in satisfaction of Government revenue due, their houses and lands, not even excepting the Rajah who has had occasionally some of his property attached on account of small sums of revenue; and with all this the Government has derived no advantage. Furthermore, the Besoyas will all be found on due inquiry to be labouring under great dejection and deep sorrow caused by the loss of all their substance. In addition to this only one anna out of sixteen annas of them will be found to be free from debt, and even this it will perhaps be difficult to establish.

6th- It might be supposed that by having given pensions to some of the respectable Assamese great benefit has been conferred on them. But the fact is that those who ought to have got pensions did not get anym while those whose services had been but of short duration and their claims insignificant proved most successful. Such were the fruits of strict justice.

7th- By the stoppage of such cruel practices, as extracting the eyes, cutting of noses and ears and the forcible abduction of virgins from their homes and by the removal of all way-side transit duties together with the old objectionable practice of keeping clear Military and Dawk roads by the forced labour of villagers, the British Government has earned for itself inestimable praise and renown. But by the introduction into the Province of new customs, numerous Courts, an unjust system of taxation, and objectionable treatment of Hill Tribes the consequence of which has been a constant state of warfare with them involving a mutual loss of life and money, neither the British Government nor their subjects have gained any benefit.

8th-Furthermore, in the midst of the cruel oppressions, and wanton ravages committed by the Burmese the ancient tombs as well as bones of the former Assam Rajah were left, untouched. But under the present administration those tombs, have been desecrated, the bones defiled, and the wealth secretly kept therewith robbed; Thus have the relics of our deceased kings been dishonoured and disgraced! This is worthy of deep consideration.

9th- Under the revenue settlement of Military Officers, while a number of respectable Assamese are out of employ, the inhabitants of Marwar and Bengalees from Sylhet have been, appointed to Mouzadarships; and for us respectable Assamese; to become the ryots of such foreigners is a source of deep mortification.

10th- In the Shastras it is written, that Rulers ought top practice righteousness and govern their subjects with justices while studying their welfare. These are not now done, but they very contrary and for such sins and negligence, due rewards will be meted out even in a future state. May we therefore pray that after due investigation and reflection, the former native administration be re-introduced, and old habits and customs of the people re-established in the country.

The upper and middle classes have seen those officers. abolished which were most suitable for them. Their Logwar and Licksos taken away and their male and female slaves set free.

Those classaes who had been exempted from the payments of revenue for 600 years now brought under the assessment.

Those again whose ancestors never lived by digging, ploughing or carrying burdens are now nearly reduced to such

degrading employment. while those even who are Mouzadars or employed by Government or receive those pensions are reduced to such deep distress that they will be soon compelled to follow the above occupations. And if any one of them should happen at present to fall into any difficulty, he would find it impossible to get the loan of a single Rupee, even if he should give a bit of his own flesh in exchange. Also, if any of them should wish to borrow Rs. 10 from a Kayah, he would first have to deposit Rs. 20 worth of jewels as security and then be obliged to pay interest at the rate of Rs. 5 per cent per mensem. Yet with all this it is exceedingly difficult to get credit. This ought to meet with due consideration.

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ON GOALPARA

Mughal-Ahom Treaty: 1638

A treaty was therefore negotiated, under which the Bar Nadi, on the north bank of Brahmaputra, and the Asurar Ali, on the south, were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and the Muhammadan territories. During the next twenty years, the country west of this boundary line remained in the undisputed possession of the Muhammadans, and traces of the system of administration introduced by them survive to this day.

Ahom-Mughal Treaty-1663

Mir Jumlah was thus compelled to listen to the Raja's repeated overtures, and peace was agreed to on the following terms:

- 1. Jayadhvaj Singh to send a daughter to the Imperial harem.
- 2. Twenty thousand tolas of gold, six times this quantity of silver and forty elephants to be made over at once.
- 3. Three hundred thousand tolas of silver and ninety elephants to be supplied within twelve months.
- 4. Six sons of the chief nobles to be made over as hostages pending compliance with the last mentioned condition.
- 5. Twenty elephants to be supplied annually.

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- 6. The country west of the Bharali river on the north bank of Brahmaputra, and of the Kallang on the south, to be ceded to the Emperor of Delhi.
- 7. All prisoners and the family of the Baduli Phukan to be given up.

A treaty was concluded accordingly, and, on the 9th January, 1663, to the intense joy of his army, Mir Jumlah gave the order to return to Bengal.

Treaty and Agreements with Serajah Dowla, Dated Feb. 7, 1757.

A. H. 1170

Monsoorul Mulck Serajah Dowla Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible.

ARTICLE 1. That the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the Kings Firmaund and Husbulhookums, and the Firmaund and Husbulhookums in full force.

That the thirty-eight Villages, which were given to the Company by the Firmaund, but detained from them by the Soubah, be likewise allowed them, not let any impediment or restriction be put upon the Zemindars.

APPENDIX.

- ARTICLE II. That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their Dustuck, do pass freely by land or water, in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatsoever; and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c. offer them no kind of molestation upon this account.
- ARTICLE III. That restitution be made the Company of their Factories and Settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, Dacca, &c. which have been taken from them.

That all money and effects, taken from the English Company, their factors and dependents, at the several settlements and Aurungs, be restored in the same condition: that an equivalent, in money be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered or lost, which shall be left to the Nabob's justice to determine.

- ARTICLE IV. That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta, in such manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obstruction.
- ARTICLE V. That siccas be coined at Allengagur (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Moorshedabad, and that the money, struck in Calcutta, be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshedabad. There shall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.
- ARTICLE VI. That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and His Prophet, and signed and sealed to by the Nabob, and some of his principal people.
- ARTICLE VII. And Admiral Charles Wastson and Col, Clive promise in behalf of the English Nation, and of the English Company that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease, in Bengal; and the English will always remain in peace and friendship with the Nabob, as long as these articles are kept in force and remain unviolated.

Aaz ul Mulck Morad Ul Dowla Nowazish Ally Khan Behauder, Zahopar Jung, a Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible

Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder, a Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible

Rajah Dooluoram Behauder, a Servant of King Aalum Geer the Invincible

Witness Lucki Narain Canongo. Witness, Mohindar Narain Canongo.

Treaty with Jaffier Ally Khan, 1757

I swear, by God and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this Treaty whilst I have life.

Meer Mohamed Jaffier Khan Behauder, Servant of Aulum Geer.

Treaty made with the Admiral, and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jung Behauder), Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.

- ARTICLE I. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob, Serajah Dowla Monsoor ul Mulck Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, agree to comply with.
- ARTICLE II. All the Effects and Factories, belonging to the French, in the province of Bengal (the Paradise of Nations) and Behar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English: nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the Three Provinces.
- ARTICLE III. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained, by the capture and plunder of Calcutta, by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.
- ARTICLE IV. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lac of rupees.
- ARTICLE V. For the effect plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lac of rupees shall be given.
- ARTICLE VI. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lac of rupees. The distribution of the sums, allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jung Behauder) and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

- ARTICLE VII. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.
- ARTICLE VIII. All the land lying to the South of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindarry of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zemindars.
- ARTICLE IX. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.
- ARTICLE X. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughley, near the River Ganges.
- ARTICLE XI. As soon as I am established in the Government of the Three Provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th Ramzan, in the 4th Year of the Reign.

A.D. 1757. A.H. 1170.

Additional Article-Articles XII.

On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above Articles, which the underwritten, on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, do, declaring on the Holy Gospels, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubahships as the province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost, against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles.

ON GOALPARA 81

Walter Hamilton's Report on the District of Rungpoor (Rangapura), 1820

To the north it has Bootan; on the south it has the district of Mymunsingh and the Garrow mountains; to the east Assam and the Garrows; and on the west Dinagepoor. Its extreme length from the confines of Assam to the borders of Morung is 185 miles. It is exposed to no less than five independent states (Nepaul, Bootan, Cooch Behar, Assam, and the Garrows). Salt is exported from here to Assam, Bootan and the Garrow country. There are here many old roads, attributes to Nilamber Raja, now become ruinous, and destitute of bridges, which, even of brick, cannot in this climate last more than twenty years. It has twenty-four tannas or Police stations of which the easternmost are Dhubry, Rangamatty and currybarry. There was an European Officer at Goalparah, with a civil and criminal jurisdiction over these three tracts east of the Chonkosh and Brahmaputra, to whom the superintendance of the Garrow trade also delegated. The same functionary might conduct any trade or imposts that the government might think expedient to establish on the frontiers of Assam, while he would at the same time coerce the exportions of the native military detachment stationed at Jughigopa. The other frontiers bordering on Morung and Bootan are infested by colonies of a wandering class of people named Keechuks or Geedarmars, who are robber by birth and who seldom rob without adding the crime of murder. The forest of Parbut Joyaur contains 360 square miles. The entire Rungpoor district was a part of Camroop.

Under the Mogul government, Rungpoor was a military frontier station towards the Morung and Cooch Bahar, and was partially wrested from the Raja of the latter district, during the reign of Shah Jehan, when it was formed into a circar; but it was completely conquered by the generals of Aurengzeb, in 1660-61 when it received the name of Fakerkoondy. It devolved to the British government along with the rest of the province in 1765. In this district there are the ruins of several ancient cities of great extent, such as Komotapoor, and the city of Prithee Raj, in the division of Sanyasigotta. At present the principle towns are Rungpoor, Mungulhaut, Chilmary, and Goalparah.

The prevalence of gang robbery in 1813, in the police division of Boda, was attributed by the superintendent of police, to the activity of a body of Keechuks (wanderers, natives of Bootan), who had been sent from Nuddea to Rungpoor, to be marched over the frontier to their own country. These banditti were first apprehended in the Sunderbunds, where they were found possessed of large quantity of property, and of many implements of a suspicious description. They were sent into Bootan from whence they were supposed to have made incursions into Rungpoor, where, having committed depredations, they retreated with their plunder beyond the frontier.

Manas River—This small river is only remarkable as being the boundary of the British territories on the north eastern extremity of Bengal, where it separates them from the independent possessions of the Raja of Bijnee. In the dry season it is navigable for boats of 50 or 60 maunds, as far as Bijnee, where the raja resides, but there is very little commerce carried on by its channel. It falls into the Brahmaputra at Jughigopa, opposite to Goalpara.

Sanyasigotta—(Sannyasicata)-A division of the Rungpoor district, situated at the north western extremity, in the centre of which is a territory belonging to the Deb Raja of Bootan.

JELPESH—At this place there is a noted Hindoo temple, erected by the Rajas of Cooch Bahar in honour of the god Siva, from whom the Cooch Bahar and Bykantpoor Rajas are fabulously said to be lineally descended.

JELPIGORY—A small town formerly fortified in the Rangpoor district, 65 miles N.W. from Rungpoor.

KOMOTAPOOR—A town or rather the ruins of one, in the district of Rungpoor, situated on the west bank of the Darlah river, which from the vastness of the masses, and the extent of surface they cover, must have been built by some prince who could eommand the labour of an extensive or populous tract of country. They were explored and described by Dr. Francis Buchanan in his manuscript report to the Bengal government.

RANGAMATTY—A subdivision of the Rungpoor district, of which it occupies the north eastern extremity. During the Mogul government, this tract was comprehended within

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the jurisdiction of Rungpoor, in which it still continues. It stretches on both sides of the Brahmaputra easterly to the confines of Assam, throughout a wild and little cultivated region, and contains the territorial subdivisions of Mechpara. Howeraghaut, Bijnee (within the British territories, and the great forest of Parbut Joyaur. Headquarter town is Rangamatty contains scattered huts, and of public buildings the vestiges of a fort and mosque. From the town to the forest of Parbut Jayaur, some traces of habitations may be observed, with many fruit trees scattered through the forest. The police office for this division is at Goalpara.— (F. Buchanan, &c.)

GOALPARA (Govalpara).—This town stands on the south side of the Brahmaputra, about 23 miles from the frontiers of Assam, and 170. N. by E. from the city of Dacca. Lat. 26°8' N. long. 90° 38' E. Goalpara contains some good thatch houses and a street of shops; which, in this remote and barbarous region, excite great admiration among the rude tribes in its vicinity. The number of houses that may be considered as belonging to the town, amount to about 400; most of them miserable huts, and except a few, regularly surrounded by the floods for above two months in the year, so that the only passage from house to house is in boats; and inside, the floors are covered from 1 to 3 feet deep with water. In other respects also, this place exhibits a squalid scene of vice and misery. Goalpara is, notwithstanding, a town of considerable resort, and the principal mart of the intercourse with the Asssamese, who bring here coarse cloths, stick lac, tar, wax, and occasionally gold, for barter. Salt is the article they usually take in return, but it is delivered to them much adulterated. Neither is this traffic so considerable as might have been expected, ownig to the disorderly state of the Assam country, and savage manners of the chiefs, who frequently settle unadjusted accounts by the assassination of their creditors. Goalpara has been repeatedly transferred from one European trader to another, and at last sold to a Kengiya merchant. In 1809, the estate was under the management of the collector, the owner being a minor, and yielded about 2500 rupees per annum.

There are a few families of native Portugueze scattered over the Rungpoor district, but at Goalpara there are as many

as twenty. Here they are termed Choldar, which seems to be a corruption of soldier. None of them can either read or write: only two or three know a few words of Portugueze, and they have entirely adopted the dress of the natives. The only European customs they retain are, that the women courtesy, and the men shew by the motion of the hand as they pass, that they would take off their hat if they had one. Notwithstanding the want of this distinguished covering, the men retain some portion of European activity, and are much feared by the natives, who employ them as messengers in making a demand, such as the payment of a debt, to a compliance with which they think a little fear may contribute. The females gain a subsistence chiefly by sewing and distilling spirituous liquors, of which last article the men consume as much as they can afford, and retail the remainder. Concerning the Christian religion, they appear to know little or nothing, nor have they any priest. Sometimes they go to Bowal, near Dacca, in order to procure a priest to marry them but in general this is too expensive, and they content themselves with the public acknowledgment of their marriages.

In [1810, Mr. Robert Kyd, a master builder of Calcutta, was deputed by the government to the Goalpara forests, for the purpose of collecting specimens of the timber reported to be produced in these woods, which being situated in the vicinity of the Brahmaputra, the timber could be floated down to Calcutta at all seasons of the year. Mr. Kyd accordingly proceeded to that quarter of the province, and cut down various logs, which however, did not reach the presidency until December 1811, when they were lodged in the mast yard of Messrs. Kyd and Co. who were instructed to record their opinion of their quality and properties. In 1813, it was found that several of the specimens had already decayed, probably owing to their having been felled at an improper season, and to their not having undergone the process of having the sap trimmed off; and with respect to the others, no satisfactory decision has as yet been come to. The durability of timber is known greatly to depend upon its being felled when full grown, and also after being first sapped, simultaneously with the fall of the leaf; but from the want of time and convenient opportu

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nity, the specimens above alluded to had not the advantage of a regular process, having been mostly selected and felled from the size and appearance of the trees as they stood in the forest; and even after a new wood has been introduced into general use, it requires a series of years and experiments to establish its character for durability.— (F. Buchanan, Public MS. documents, & c.)

JUGIGHOPA.—This place stands on the north side of the Brahmaputra, nearly opposite to Goalpara, at the extremity of the British dominions in the northeastern quarter of Bengal. Lat. 26° 12′ N. long. 90° 35′ E. The town contains only 150 huts and a few shops, but greatly surpasses any other collection of habitations, there being no place in the vicinity that deserves the name of town, or even village. Bamboos and timber are procured in great plenty from the neighbouring forests. the village of Tokar there is a remarkable hill, consisting of a vast mass of granite, much rent, from the srevices of which fine trees spring up. At the beautiful lakes named Toborong, north of Jugighopa, there is a considerable fishery, where about 1,400 maunds (80lbs. each) of fish are annually procured and dried for sale, of which the Bijnee Raja takes half as his due. restrain the neighbouring wild and more than semi-barbarous tribes, a small military detachment under an European officer is usually stationed here. -(F. Buchanan & c.)

MEASPARA (Mechpara).—A segment of the Rungpoor district, extending along the south side of the Brahmaputra river, about the 26th degree of north latitude. The Mech tribe, from whom the tract derives its name, appears to have been once more numerous than they are at present, and to have undergone great changes, at least in this territory they have wholly disappeared, and are supposed to have assumed the more elevated title of Rajbungsies. A few families of Mech, who, according to Brahminical ideas, continue to wallow in the mire of impurity, frequent the borders of the Rungpoor district, towards the frontier of Bootan and Nepaul, but the tribe forms a chief part of the population in all the tract of country between Cooch Bahar and the mountains; especially near Dellamcotta and Luckidwar. In 1809, Mechpara still contained about 300 Garrow families; this tribe having been greatly encroached on

by the inhabitants of the plains, and pushed off among the mountains. The compensation to be granted to the proprietor of the pergunnah for the abolition of the sayer, or variable imports, in 1812 was 677 rupees, on a jumma, or assessment of 2,651 rupees, leaving a future annual land-tax, payable to government by the zemindar, of only 1,974 rupees.—(F. Buchaaan, Public MS. documents, & c.)

Anglo Cooch Behar Treaty, 1773

"Dharendranarayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, having represented to the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta the present distressed state of the country, owing to its being harassed by the neighbouring independent Raja, who are in league to depose him, the Honourable the President and Council, from a love of justice and desire of assisting the distressed, have agreed to send a force, consisting of four companies of Sepoys, and a field-piece for the protection of the said Raja and his country against his enemies, and the following conditions are mutually agreed on:—

- 1st.—That the said Raja will immediately pay into the hands of the Collector of Rungpore Rs. 50,000 to defray the expenses of the force sent to assist him.
- 2nd.—That if more than Rs. 50,000 are expended, the Raja makes it good to the Honourable the English East India Company, but in case any part of it remains unexpended that it be delivered back.
- 3rd.—That the Raja will acknowledge subjection to the English East India Company upon his country being cleared of his enemies, and will allow the Cooch Behar country to be annexed to the Province of Bengal.
- 4th.—That the Raja further agrees to make over to the English East India Company one-half of the annual revenues of Cooch Behar for ever.

- 5th.—That the other moiety shall remain to the Raja and his heirs for ever, provided he is firm in his allegiance to the Honourable United East India Company.
- 6th.—That in order to ascertain the value of the Cooch Behar country, the Raja will deliver a fair hastabud of his district into the hands of such person as the Honourable the President and Council of Calcutta shall think proper to depute for that purpose, upon which valuation the annual Malguzari, which the Raja is to pay, shall be established.
- 7th.—That the amount of Malguzari settled by such person of the Honourable the East India Campany shall depute, shall be perpetual.
- 8th.—That the Honourable English East India Company shall always assist the said Raja with a force when he has occasion for it for the defence of the country, the Raja bearing the expense.
- 9th.—That this treaty shall remain in force for the space of two years, or till such time as advices may be received from the Court of Directors, empowering the President and Council to ratify the same for ever.

"This treaty signed, sealed, and concluded, by the Honourable the President and Council at Fort William, the fifth day of April, 1773, on the one part, and by Dharendranarayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, at Behyar Fort, the 6th Magh, 1179, Bengal style, on the other part'.

Summud under the Seal of the Honourable English Company dated, the 13th of February, 1776 A.D. for the Zemindaries and Trusts under Sirkar Cooch Behar

Be it known to all Mutsuddies at present holding important trusts, or who may be hereafter appointed thereto, and other inhabitants and natives of Sirkar Cooch Behar, in the Soobah of Bengal, the Paradise of Countries, that as the orders of the Gentlemen in Council have been issued, that a Sunnud for the Zemindari of the above Sirkar should be granted to Dhurjinder Narain, accordingly (the above person) having agreed to pay the peshkush of Government of Fifty Gold Mohurs agreeably to the order, the office of Zemindar of the above Sirkar, vacated by (the death of) Dhurindrar Narayan,

has been granted, confirmed to, and bestowed upon Dhurjinder Narayan that observing the duties and usages of the office and the rules of the truth and dignity, he depart not in the minutest particular from a vigilant and prudent conduct, but avoiding sloth and conciliating their affections, that he so conduct himself that his utmost endeavours may be exerted for the increase of the cultivation and the improvement of the revenue. He must further pay great attention to expelling and punishing offenders, so that the least vestige of thieves and robbers may not be found within his limits; and take particular care of the highways, so that travellers and strangers may go and come with perfect confidence and safety. God forbid that the property of any one should be stolen or plundered, but should such a case occur, he must seize the thieves or robbers and the property, delivering up the goods to the owner and the offenders to justice; and if he cannot find (the thieves and the goods), he must answer for the party himself. He must also take care that no one indulged in forbidden practices within his limits. He must pay the revenues, regularly year after year at the stated period; and at the end of the year according to custom, he will receive credit for his payments. He will further abstain from the collection of all exactions or.....forbidden by government. You are hereby required to acknowledge the above person as Zemindar of the above Sirkar, and to consider him as vested with the powers and appendages thereof. On this point paying the strictest obedience, you will act as above directed.

On the 17th of February, 1776 A.D. corresponding with the 8th Falgoon, 1182 Bangala, and the 26th Zelhij in the 17th year of His Majesty's reign, the copy was received in the Dufter.

Kuch Bahar, end of its family history, or an abstract of the several reports respecting the claims of Rajah Aurrendra Narain and Nazir Deo Kogendra Narain, 1798.

This country appears to have been in an independent state for upwards of 230 years, and the authority of the Rajah, sovereign and undivided. The family derive their origin from Beesoo Sing, who is reported to have been of divine origin. To

him was given a chattah, and a rod, the symbol of sovereign authority, the former of which was to be held over the Rajah at his installation by the Nazir Deo, or Commander of the Troops, and the latter carried by the Dewan Deo, or the principal officer of the revenues. Customs has so far sanctioned these ceremonies as to make them appear indispensible, and on this and the power posseessed by the Nazir Deo ex-officio, seem to be founded the principal claims since assumed by the persons holding that office.

Upon the death of Rajah Mohinder Narain without issue, the country was overrun by the Booteas, and Saunto Narain, Nazir Deo, being a man of abilities and applying to the Bengal Soubah for assistance, after a considerable struggle, cleared the country and placed Roopnarain, the lineal successor, on the raj, procuring the office of Dewan Deo for his own elder brother, Suttnarain; stipulating however, as it would appear, for a division of the revenues.

Rajah's share	0	5	17	2	
Nazir Deo's share	0	9	2	2	
Dewan Deo's share	0	1	0	0	
Rs	1	0	0	0	

This division was 9 annas to the Nazir Deo for himself and the pay of the troops to be kept up by him, 1 anna to the Dewan Deo for the civil expenses, and the remaining 6 annas for the support of the Rajahs' dignity as Prince.

About the year 1771, Ramnarain, then Dewan Deo, having a dispute with his brother, Rajah Durjundernarain, was murdered, and upon this occasion the Booteas again overran the country and carried off the reigning Rajah, Durjundernarain, and kept him in prison for several years. In the interim, the present Nazir Deo, Koghindernarain, applied to the English. for assistance, and a treaty was agreed upon between them and him in the name of Durrendernarain, the son of the imprisoned Rajah, who had assumed the raj, by which he agreed to acknowledge subjection to the Company and pay them one-half of the revenues of the country on condition of being assisted in expelling the Booteas, and settled the Government, and procured the release of the old Rajah Durjundernarain, who confirmed

his son in the rai, being himself disgusted and his mind rendered gloomy by his long confinement, and the idea of having sunk from an independent sovereign to the state of a tributary rajah. He afterwards proceeded on a pilgrimage to Gyah, &c., and gave up his whole thoughts to religious matters. Shortly after, his eldest son, Durrendernarain, the reigning Rajah, died, and the management devolved upon the present Ranee, Commultessaram, and her agents on the part of the next son, the present Rajah. The old Rajah appeared to be insane, and consequently the principle power remained with the Ranee during his life, and continued in her hands as guardian of the minor Rajah under written instructions said to have been prepared by the old Rajah two days before his death. Upon this occasion, however, the Nazir Deo, though the nearest relation of the raj, was wholly excluded from any share in the management, and this laid the foundation of the subsequent disputes.

In the year 1783 the old Rajah Durrendernarain died, leaving his son, the present Rajah, still an infant under the guardianship of the Ranee. The Nazir Deo upon this exerted his influence, and by persuading the English Government that, under the management of a woman, the tribute (which had been settled by Mr. Purling, as appears on the proceedings of 16th November 1773), would probably not be regularly paid, he got Mr. Goodlad, who was deputed to settle the affair, to enter into engagements with him for the current year's revenue. Upon this occasion he appears to have assumed the supreme powers, and to have gratified his revenge against the Ranee and her party by every degree of disrespect, assuming the whole sovereign authority and styling his son Naib Rajah. This produced complaints to the English government, who at length sent a military force for the protection of the Ranee and young Rajah, and upon due investigation deprived the Nazir Deo the management, and gave it to the Ranee and her principle agent, Surbunnund Gossain, confirming the young Rajah in the Government.

This decision of course still more exasperated the Nazir Deo, who, after various attempts to regain his power, at length grew desperate and raised a body of men with whom he seized

the persons of the Rajah and Ranee, carrying them from the palace and keeping them confined at his house in Bulrampoor.

The consequence of this audacious act was, that a regular force was sent by Government against him, which after an action in which several were killed, released the Rajah and Ranee and compelled the Nazir Deo to retire.

The mutual and ill-understood complaints and claims of both parties induced Government to depute two Civil Servants to investigate and report thereon, and upon their offer of pardon the Nazir Deo came in and a full investigation took place, and upon their report the Commissioner was directed to propose the best mode of reconciling their jarring interests and claims, which may be stated as follows:—

The Nazir Deo claims—

1st.—The continuance of his official situation of Nazir Deo with all its rights and powers, of which he was dispossessed in 1785.

2nd.—The possession of 9 annas of the country,

3rd.—The possession of chucklahs Bodah, Patgong and Poombhang.

4th.—The right to dispose of the succession to the Raj as he thinks proper, under the precedent by Sauntonarian, and in several instances since practised by subsequent Nazir Deos.

The Commissioner recommended that he should be confirmed in the office of Nazir Deo. That he should not be put in possession of the lands, but he guaranteed on the payment of the surplus revenue arising from 9 annas share after paying the charges, and this proportion of the tribute assessed thereon, and this sum not to be subject to future diminution; that he should be allowed possession of the lands two coss around Bulrampoor, his house. That his claims to the chucklahs of Bodah, & c,, be rejected, not being established; and that Government leaves his 4th claim undecided.

The Commissioner was directed to propose the above adjustments to the parties, which he did, 17th May 1791, and submitted their mutual objections with his opinion that it was impossible to propose any plan that would be satisfactory to both. The objections are as follows:—

The Rajah insists on his rights to dismiss the Nazir Deo for his rebellious acts, and states that he has not only forfeited thereby all claim to Behar, but that he ought to be brought to condign punishment. That exclusive of this, the office has become a sinecure since the treaty with the Company, as the country is now protected by their troops, and the funds appropriated for paying the military formerly are now paid to the Company. That the lands having been in the possession of the Nazir Deo before was only for the purpose of enabling him to defray the military charges which are now otherwise appropriated. That Nazir Deo is only a subordinate officer of the Government, and as such liable to dismissal, and though he admits that certain ceremonies were indispensible to be performed by the Nazir Deo on the installation of a Rajah, yet he deems it absurd to suppose any subordinate officer could refuse to perform such ceremonies; the claim to this privilege, he asserts, has only arisen from the over grown power of Sauntonarain, upheld by the official influence of subsequent Nazir Deos against the weakness of the Rajahs, and by no means an original principle of the consitution of the Government.

The Nazir Deo continues to assert his former claims.

The Commissioner states that it is evident that the Nazir Deos have, in many instances, exerted a power inconsistent with the relative situation of sovereign and subject, and that this assumption had its origin the uncontrollable power and influence of Sauntonarain. That the continuance of such pretentions appears inadmissible, as it would in fact transfer the administration from the Rajah to the Nazir Deos. He thinks, therefore, that powers and duties of the latter ought to be defined, and that the proposition of paying him the surplus share of the revenues is as much as he has any right to expect.

In this state the subject was left, 13th April 1798.; but it was again revived by a fresh application from the present Commissioner, stating the probability of further disturbances unless the question are brought to a decision. He was directed to call upon the parties to declare if they had anything further to state. This he did, and he has now transmitted their replies, which contain nothing new on the subject, except a claim of of the Nazir Deo to be reimbursed the expense incurred in

consequence of the plunder of his property at the time of the release of the Rajah and Ranee from Bulrampoor.

Walter Hamilton's Report on Cooch Behar, 1820

THE PRINCIPALITY OF COOCH BAHAR

(Cuch Vihar)

This western division of the ancient kingdom of Camroop. comprehended the whole northern tracts from the Chonkosh river to the Mahananda, and from Goraghaut to the mountains of Bootan, extending in length about 90 miles from N.W. to S.E., and 60 miles from N.E. to S.W. The modern territory of Cooch Bahar forms the boundary of a large portion of the Rungpoor district, and is partitioned into sections and divisions in a very confused manners. The following are the names of the principal:

Chucklah Futtehpoor; the pergunnahs of Pangga. Bishgiri, Patgong and Tapa, Bashoti, Kankiya, Hariyerhat; Chucklah Parbobhag, Boda, and Battrishazary or Bykantpoor. portion of the possessions of the Raja of Cooch Bahar, situated beyond the limits of the province of Bengal, is commonly known by the name of Tannah Bahar. The northern extremity of this territory was settled on Siva Singh, of a family from which the Rajas were obliged to choose their prime ministers. This portion, as producing an income of 32,000 rupees per annum, was called Battrishazary, but the general name given to the whole principality was Bahar, and to distinguish it from the large province of which Patna is the capital, the term Cooch has been added, although particularly disagreeable to its princes, who having in modern times set up for Rajbungsies, wish to sink all remembrance of the Cooch tribe. of the country is entirely the same with that of the adjacent parts of the British dominions, and the management of the Rajas estates beyond the frontier, entirely resembles that pursued in the estates which belong to the Raja as zemindar of Bengal The commerce between the two territories is on a very good footing there being no restraint whatever; but opium is cultivated to so large an extent that it evidently is intended for contraband purposes. The southern portion of Cooch Bahar lying along the river Durlah, is a highly improved and fertile

country; but to the north of the town of Bahar, the country has a most miserable appearance, the land being low and marshy interspersed with thick jungle and many nullahs. The vegetation is coarse, and the ground everywhere almost choaked up with rank grass, reeds, and ferns. In 1784, the total territorial area was calculated at 1,302 square miles.

Bykantpoor to Battrishazary, although a part has been alienated to Bootan, is still a very fine estate, and contains two whole police divisions of Fakeergunge and Sanyasigotta, and has been added to Bengal since the acquisition of the Dewanny in 1765. The proprietors assert that they are descended from the god Siva, on which account the members of the family assume the title of Deb, and return no salute made to them by whatever rank. The Cooch tribe still compose by far the greater portion of the original inhabitants of Camroop, and one class of that tribe, the Pani-cooch, which has not adopted the Brahminical religion, still preserves a language which is totally different from the Bengalese. By the latter they are often confounded with the Garrows. The early priesthood of the Cooch tribe were named Kolitas, who maintained great influence over their rude flocks, until the introduction of the Brahmins, who were adopted as sacred instructors by the principal chiefs, since which period the Kolitas have mostly adopted the Hindoo religion, and rank as pure Sudras; yet both they and their chiefs occassionally revert to their old tenets, and return to the guidance of the unconverted members of the ancient priesthood. The converted Kolitas adhere to Krishna, and have of late been very successful, especially in Assam, where they have not only converted the sovereigns of the country, but also many ignorant tribes of Rabkas, Garrows, and Mech. The lower classes in the north are so extremely indigent, that some years ago it was their custom to dispose of their children for slaves without scruple, and although this traffic has been suppressed, and provisions are cheap compared with other districts, yet the poverty and wretchedness of a great proportion of the population are extreme.

When the Mahommedans conquered this division they appeared to have rendered the office of zemindar hereditary. Some of the estates continue to be managed by the Raja, some

by branches of the family, while others continue to be held by the descendants of different officers, on condition of the performance of certain duties. In the whole of Cooch Bahar the maximum of rent fixed by the settlement is much higher than what the proprietors exact from their tenants, which arises partly from their desire of keeping a low rental, lest a new assessment should be made, while they trust for their own profit to private contributions. The high rate of the maximum strengthens their hands, as they can at any time compel a tenant to quit his farm, or pay the maximum, no leases being granted except to new settlers, and these only give the tenant a right of prepetual possession according to the regulated assessment. Formerly the Raja's family resided at Bykantpoor, where there was little cultivation, scattered among the woods, while all the more southerly part of the district was over grown with reeds and bushes, encouraged as a defence against the Mahommedans. On the decay of the Mogul power, Dharma Pal left Bykantpoor and settled at Jelpigory, and began to clear the woods of the south, which are now cultivated, while the spots among the woods which were formerly cultivated are now neglected, and returning to a state of nature. The rents are very low, probably owing to the vicinity of the Bootan and Nepaulese territories, where there is much waste land, and a large proportion of the tenants are constantly changing from the one to the other. Among the rude tribes the hoe cultivation, which is a marked distinction, still subsists, and with this implement it is supposed a man and his wife can cultivate as much land, as a man with a plough and two oxen, being about five acres.

The reigning prince, named Harindra, is said to be the 17th in succession of the present family, but the early history of the country is much involved in fable. In 1582, Abul Fazel describes the chief of Cooch as powerful sovereign, having Camroop and Assam under his subjection, and able to bring into the field 1000 horse and 100,000 foot. According to the testimony of Mahommedan historians, during the reign of Acber, about A.D. 1595, Lukshmen Narrain, the Raja of Cooch Bahar was the sovereign of a territory bounded on the east by the river Brahmaputra, on the south by Goraghaut, on the west by Tirhoot, and on the north by the mountains of Tibet

and Assam. His army they exaggerated to the number of 100,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 700 elephants, and 1000 war boats. Notwithstanding this enormous military force, he voluntarily became a vassal to the Emperor Acber, which offending his subects and chief men, they rebelled against him, and compelled him to request assistance from the Mogul Governor of Bengal, which was readily granted, as it afforded an opportunity of exploring this region, with a view to its future subjugation. This happened in 1661, when it was conquered by Meer Jumla, who, in compliment to his sovereign, changed the name of its capital to Alumgeernuggur, which it did not long retain. Mahommedan fanaticism being then in its perfection, he destroyed the Hindoo temples, broke in pieces a celebrated image of Narayan (Vishnu), and converted the son of the Raja, who was on bad terms with his father. In every other respect he administered strict justice to his new subjects, and severely punished plunderers and other offenders. Having completed the conquest, and settled the tribute of Cooch Bahar (which then comprehended a large tract of country) at ten lac of rupees annually, he proceeded to attempt the conquest of Assam, where he failed. During these wars the Cooch princes are supposed to have erected the line of fortification along the southern frontier, which still remains; but, like all similar structures, it proved an ineffectual protection.

Along with the rest of Bengal this district devolved to the East India Company in 1765, but was little noticed until 1772, when the Cooch Raja applied to the collector of Rungpoor for assistance against the Bootanners, who had reduced him to the last extremity, and offered, through his minister Nazir Deo, to pay an annual tribute of half his revenue, and to render his country again subordinate to Bengal. In deliberating on this offer, the peace and security of the adjacent British territories were more to be considered, than any pecuniary advantage to be derived from the new acquisition, as prior to this period the Rungpoor district had been much exposed to incursions from Bootan. It became therefore a matter of direct interest to embrace any opportunity that offered of expelling these marauders, and confining them within the limits of their own mountains. Under this impression the proposals of Nazir Deo were agreed to, and Captain John Jones was ordered to proceed: with 4 companies of sepoys and 2 pieces of cannon, which expedition he conducted with much skill, defeating Dorpo Deb a rebel and emissary of Bootan, and capturing the town of Bahar by assault; thereby greatly intimidating the Bootanners, who fled on all sides to the hills, where Captain Jones followed them in 1773, and took the fortress of Dellamcotta; on which event the Bootan Raja, alarmed for his own safety, applied to the Teshoo Lama of Tibet, and obtained a peace through his mediation. In arranging the conditions great favour was shown to the Bootanners, probably with the view of gaining their friendship, and obtaining commercial advantages, which were never realized.

In 1787, great confusion and rebellion agitated this petty state, which led the Bengal government to institute an inquiry into the causes of these commotions, and also relative to the existing condition of the territory. A commissioner was in consequence deputed in 1789, to take upon himself the exclusive superintendance of the Raja's estates, to collect the revenues, pay the annual tribute, and after defraying the current expenditure, retain the surplus for the Raia's benefit. The latter, then a minor, was at the same time informed, that the British government, in assuming the temporary management of his affairs, did not intend either to increase his tribute, or to deprive him of the rights and privileges guaranteed by the treaty of 1772, the objects of their interference being to preserve himself and country from the artifics and peculations of ignorant and designing men. On due consideration of the wretched condition of the country, the incapacity of the Ranny mother, and the universal corruption of her dependants, the interposition of the superior government became absolutely necessary to restore good order, standing as the Raja did in the relation of a feudatory; and as a limited interference would have rendered the deputation of no avail, it was determined to vest the commissioner with full powers, and he was also particularly instructed to attend to the education of the young Raja, with the view of qualifying him for the management of his own affairs. Under this arrangement the Cooch Bahar territories continued untill 1801, when the Raja having attained his majority, the office of commissioner was abolished, and the on cooch behar 99

transaction of revenue matters committed to the collector of Rungpoor. During the above period of time strict tranquillity prevailed, the revenues were collected with regularity, and the property of the state so effectually preserved from the capacity of its own servants, that after defraying the public expenses on most liberal scale, a large sum was accumulated, and, for the benefit of the Raja invested at interest in the Bengal funds.

A very different picture was exhibited when the commis-During the Raja's minority, withdrawn. government had entertained hopes, that by study and application to business he would have qualified himself for executing the duties of so important a charge; but these expectations were disappointed, for to a natural or acquired imbecility, the Raja added a most violent and outrageous temper, where he could not be resisted, nor did he ever allow the miseries his suffered to interfere with or disturb the low and subjects childish pleasures to which he was addicted. Had the mischief been confined to the Raja's own territories, a cold and unfeeling policy might perhaps have suggested, that it was not incumbent on the British government to interpose in the affairs of a state which had been recognized to a certain degree as independent. The effects, however, of the above evils were felt within the limits of the British districts, banditti and other disturbers of the public peace frequently committing robbery and other outrages, and then seeking a secure asylum for themselves and plunder, within the boundaries of Cooch Bahar. Besides this so far from any surplus revenue being realized, it was with the utmost difficulty the different instalments of the tribute due to Bengal could be liquidated; and while the Raja had scarcely the means of subsistence, his revenue and public officers were amassing fortunes by embezzlement and extortion.

The Bengal government was fully sensible of the evils which were likely to arise, from leaving the administration of affairs exclusively to the Raja: but was averse, on the principles of good faith, to assume the internal management of Cooch Bahar without the acquiescence of the Raja. Under these circumstances an officer was deputed for the purpose of communicating with the Raja, and of endeavouring to obtain his consent to the introduction of the Bengal revenue and judicial regulations, with such modifications as local circumstances and

the rank of the Raja might suggest; but all his efforts to procure the Raja's consent to the change were without avail, and he was in consequence withdrawn. Another was deputed in 1805, with the like bad success, the Raja manifesting the utmost repugnance to the proposed arrangements, while his miserable subjects upbraided the British government as partners in his oppressions. All interference, however, further than remonstrance, was abstained from, until 1813, when the anarchy of this state had attained such a height, that it was no longer possible to go on. As experience had proved, that all prospect of reforming the administration of the Raja through the medium of the collector of Rungpoor was entirely hopeless, it became indispensably necessary to recreate the office of commissioner, nearly on the footing of 1805. The Governor-General also addressed the Raja, remonstrating strongly with him on the neglect of his public duties, and of his insulting and contumacious conduct towards the officers appointed to negotiate with him. In addition to these acts of insubordination, the Raja had the folly to withhold payment of the customary tribute, and not only to misappropriate the allowance fixed for the family of Nazir Deo, but also to usurp the lands allotted for their residence, and for that of Dewan Deo. In these commotions one of the latter's dependants was murdered, when the Raja, instead of facilitating the apprehension of the perpetrators, opposed every obstacle to the prosecution of the inquiry.

Whatever doubts may exist, regarding the rights mutually understood by the contracting parties, to have been conveyed to the British government by the words of the third article of the treaty of 1772, as far as relates to the Raja's independence within the limits of internal jurisdiction, the general tenour of that treaty placed Cooch Bahar in a state of absolute dependence on the British power, and the reservation of the moiety of the revenues for the Raja was subjected to the condition of his continuing firm in his allegiance to the East India Company. The Raja's general conduct having been utterly inconsistent with the duties of subjection and allegiance, he might be considered as having violated his engagements, and consequently forfeited his rights of territorial sovereignty by disregarding the conditions under which they were recognized. But as it would have been too severe to carry the punishment to extremity, it

was determined to limit the interference in the interior administration merely to the degree which might be necessary to preclude the recurrence of any acts of gross outrage or oppression. In furtherance of this object, he was ordered to dismiss.

Walter Hamilton's Report on Bijnee (Bijni), 1822

THE possessions of the Bijnee Raja are situated on both sides of the Brahmaputra, and consist partly of independent territory, and partly of lands within the limits of the British jurisdiction. The Ayi river, which appears to be the Barally of the Bengal Atlas, is asserted by the Bijnee chief to be the line of separation between that part of his estate subject to the British government and the portion which is subordinate to Bootan. His territories to the west of the Ayi river comprise two divisions, viz. Bijnee or Khuntaghaut, which is situated to the north of the Brahmaputra, and Howeraghaut, which lies to the south of that river, and borders on the Garrows. To the east Bijnee adjoins the province of Camroop in Assam. The common language is that of Bengal.

Bijnee or Khuntaghaut, is a very extensive, beautiful, and were it cultivated would be a very valuable estate. Much of the level country is inundated, but there is also a great extent of land fit for the cultivation of transplanted rice. A considerable number of the villages are consequently permanent, and have plantations of betel nut and sugarcane; but of the inhabitants many are migratory, and on the least dispute retire to the On the whole conterminous countries of Bootan and Assam. however, more settlers arrive frome these countries than go to them, so that the population of Bijnee is augmenting. Howeraghaut, the other division to the south of the Brahmaputra, is a still more valuable estate. Very little of it is flooded, and it contains a great deal of low marsh land finely watered, and fit for the cultivation of transplanted rice, while there is also a large extent of excellent soil suited for the production of summer rice, wheat, barley, mustard, pulse, betel, sugarcane and mulberry trees. It does not appear, however, that any silk worms are reared, and the number of betel gardens is inconsiderable. The villages are stationary, and much neater

than is usual in Bengal. Each house is surrounded by some small fields neatly enclosed with dry reeds and quickset hedges, producing tobacco and sugar cane, with alternate crops of rice and mustard seed. Near the hills, where the streams are copious and perennial, some of the land gives annually two crops of transplanted rice. Since the Assam government declined to its present anarchical condition, many natives of that country have withdrawn to Howeraghaut, and many more, although they till lands in Assam, have brought their families to the British side of the river, where they rent as much ground as suffices for a house and garden. In this asylum the women and children are deposited, while the men risk themselves and cattle in the Assam dominions, ready for a retreat in case of annoyance.

In consequence of their remote situation, and the general wildness of the country, the history of the Estates in this quarter was long but imperfectly known, even to the public functionaries at Rungpoor, and so long as the Bijnee Raja paid the customary tribute, no inquiry was made as to the state of the country, or even to ascertain the original nature of his connection with the Mogul Emperor, to whose authority the British government had succeeded. The notion so long prevalent, that the fort of Bijnee with a considerable tract of the circumjacent country lies beyond the Bengal boundary, is quite erroneous, and the Bijnee Raja has an evident interest curtailing the extent of the British influence. In the early surveys, Bijnee and Bidyagong, although entirely distinct, were confounded together under the name of Bootan Bijnee, and the Bijnee Estates were carried as far as the frontiers of Cooch In 1785, the collector of Rungpoor was instructed to settle with the Rajas of Bijnee and Bidyagong for a certain tribute in money, instead of the customary present of elephants, on which a loss was annually sustained, and in consequence a commutation for 2000 rupees was arranged. In 1790, a succeeding and over zealous collector prevailed on the Raja to augment his tribute to 3000 rupees, but the increase was rejected by the Bengal government, which ordered the additional 1000 rupees to be restored to the Raja, who was entitled, if he chose, to resume the payment in elephants.

The peculiar circumstances of Bijnee appear to have been first brought to the notice of government about A.D. 1791, in which year, Mr. Douglas, the commissioner in Cooch Bahar, reported that Hurindra Narain, the zemindar of Bijnee, had been assassinated, and that he had directed the Naib of Rangamatty, in conjunction with the late zemindar's dewan, to take temporary charge of the property. Before an answer could arrive, the commissioner was informed by the Deb Raja of Booton, that he had appointed Mahindra Narrain (related to the defunct) to the vacant throne, the friendship subsisting between him (the Deb Raja) and the Honourable East India Company rendering his appointment quite the same as if it had been made in Calcutta. He was soon apprized, however, that so precipitate and informal a proceeding could on no account be sanctioned, but in the mean time, Mahindra Narain having got a party of Bootanners from one of the Deb Raja's governors, entered Bijnee and there committed a great variety of outrages. At this time, the only connexion that subsisted between Bootan and Bijnee, consisted of a sort of exchange of the productions of the two countries, which the Bootan functionaries were pleased to describe as the payment of a tribute, the advantage being considerably in their favour, as will appear by the following list.

Articles annually presented by the Deb Raja to the zemindar of Bijnee—eight Tanyan horses valued at 820 rupees; Bootan salt valued at 40 rupees; tota 860 rupees.

Articles presented annually by the Bijnee zemindar to the Bootan Raja—Mankee cloth to the value of 480 rupees; Chicky ditto, 100; cotton 33 maunds, 100; thread, 180; dried fish, 520; oil, 200; cash, 50; a silver ewer, 50; a silver betel box, 50; and a silver plate, 50 rupees: total 1890 rupees.

The result of the investigation was, that the Bengal government determined that the right of investiture to the zemindary belonged to them, and that the interference of the Bootanners was altogether unwarranted; but as the candidate brought forward by the Deb Raja appeared to have the best founded pretensions, his choice was confirmed, and his protege nominated to the succession.

The Bijnee Raja continues to hold lands of Bootan, where he possesses much more authority than in the two pergunnahs

before mentioned, within the limits of Bengal. Although he has not been entrusted with the power of life and death, there being an appeal to the Deb Raja, yet the Bijnee chief has the whole charge of the police, and decides in all ordinary cases. He may seize any person accused of a crime, take the evidence and report the case to the Subah of Cherange, who it is alleged is always guided by his opinion, when the accused is not able to pay for a reversal of the judgment. Bijnee, where the Raja resides, and from whence he derives his title, is said to be a kind of neutral ground, so that although he has a guard of Bootanners, and also some sepoys, whom he probably represents as belonging to the English, the officers of neither government interfere at Bijnee, where he is said to harbour many suspicious characters, and even to participate in their plunder.

As matters now stand, the residence of the Raja beyond the control of the British government is a very serious inconvenience, and there is strong reason to suspect that his servants often avail themselves of the advantage the distinction gives them, by taking any person obnoxious to the Bijnee interest across the river Avi, where they can with little restraint inflict death or torture. Under these circumstances it is very desirable that the Raja be compelled to hold a distinct court for the distribution of justice, within that portion of his estate subordinate to Bengal, and that he be prohibited from carrying the peasantry of that tract, on any pretex whatever, beyond the British boundaries, a regular survey of which would greatly tend to obviate all future disputes. After this improvement, the Raja ought to be informed that the government would never increase the existing demands against his estate, but that on the other hand he was clearly to understand that he possessed no civil or criminal jurisdiction over that portion of his estate within the limits of Bengal.

The Bijnee Raja formerly paid his tribute in elephants, but as few survived, and were seldom of a good size, a value was put on the number, and the amount taken in money. The Bootan tribute is principally paid in dried fish. One half of his rents is paid in coarse cotton cloth woven by the women of the tenantry, on which the Raja suffers a considerable loss. His affairs, as may be supposed, are extremely ill managed, and his property plundered by needy retainers from the south and

west, who harass the cultivators by unjust exactions, and ruin commerce by their iniquitous monopolies The rules for the abolition of the sayer duties, promulgated during the government of Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of its having been recorded as merely tributary, have never been extended to this estate, and the Raja, as an independent prince carries on a considerable traffic with the Garrows. In 1809, the two divisions of Bijnee Proper and Howeraghaut were estimated to contain 32,400 ploughs, each of which ought on an average to have paid the Raja five rupees per annum, besides customs, duties, forests, fishings, pastures, and all manner of illicit and irregular exactions, yet his poverty was such that he was accustomed once in three years to raise some additional money by absolute begging, which, however, conveys no degarding idea to a Hindoo. Raja Bolit Narrain reigned in 1809, and was reckoned the seventh from the founder of the family, which is one of the highest of the Cooch tribe.—(Sisson, F. Buchanan, Wade, Turner, & c. & c.)

BIJNEE.—The fort or castle of Bijnee is defended by a brick wall, and is 320 cubits long by 160 wide, and of the form of a parallelogram. Lat. 26°29' N. long. 89°47' E. 25 miles N. by E. of Goalpara. On the outside of the wall is a ditch and strong hedge of the prickly bamboo, and in each face there is a gate. The area is divided into an outer and inner apartment, in which the females of the Raja dwell. There are also a few small temples of brick for the household gods, and about 100 thatched huts, some of which are supported by wooden posts and beams.—(F. Buchanan, &c.)

CURRYBARRY (Carivati).—This large and jungly zemindary is composed of lands situated on the east side of the Brahmaputra, originally dismembered from the Garrow territories, and it is still almost surrounded by the hills and jungles inhabited by that people, into the defiles of which no regular troops can penetrate. Including the estate of Mechpara, this tract of country stretches from north to south over a tract nearly 67 miles in length, by about 23 in breadth. Within the last ten years it has been greatly infested by the incursions of the Garrows, whose aggressions there is strong reason to believe were first occasioned by the frauds and exactions practised on them by the zemindar; the rules for the resumption of the

sayer, or variable imposts, not having been originally extended to this territory. In 1813, an arrrangement was effected for the abolition of these duties, in order to prevent a repetition of the extortions practised on the Garrows. According to the accounts produced for the adjustment of this claim, the zemindar's net receipts on account of Sayer amounted to 3627 rupees per annum, while the whole land rent paid to government for the pergunnah, amounted to only 3062 rupees; consequently, after relinquishing the whole of the revenue accruing to government, a balance of 565 rupees remained annually payable to the proprietor out of the public treasury. In 1812, the Bengal government endeavoured to purchase this estate from the proprietor, but although nearly in a state of nature he asked the enormous sum of 120,000 rupees. In a tract of such dimensions and so remotely situated, the difficulty and expense of supporting a police establishment are so great, that were it not opposed by political considerations it would be better to relinquish the sovereignty. — (Public MS. Documents. & c. & c.)

Walter Hamilton's Report on the Kingdom of Nepaul, 1820

This is one of the largest and compact independent sovereignties of modern Hindostan. To the north it is separated from Tibet by the Himalaya mountains; on the south it is bounded by the British territories in the provinces of Delhi, Oude, Bahar, and Bengal, with the exception of about 60 miles belonging to the Nabob of Oude which intervene; to the east the Nepaul territories are separated from those of the British by the river Mitchee, from whence to the Himalaya mountains they are bounded by the principality of Sikkim, which extends north to the Chinese frontier; to the west the limits are accurately defined by the course of the Cali (the western branch of the Goggra), beyound which is the British district of Kumaon. The principal modern territorial subdivisions are the following-Nepaul Proper, Country of the 24 Rajas, Country of the 22 Rajas, Muckwanpoor, Kirauts, Khatang, Chayenpoor Saptari and Morung.

KIRUTS (Kiratas) -East from the territory of Nepaul Proper, the Mountains are chiefly occupied by a tribe named

Kiaut or Kichak, who at a period of remote antiquity appear to have made conquests in the plains of Camroop and Matsya, which now compose the Bengal districts of Rungpoor and Dinagepoor. These kirauts are also frequently mentioned in Hindoo legend as occupying the country between Nepaul and Madra, the ancient denomination in Brahmanical writings of the country we call Bootan. At present individuals of this tribe (under the denomination of kichacks) are thinly scattered over the northern parts of the provinces subordinate to the Bengal presidency, where they follow the vocations of gypsies, and gain a subsistence by snaring game, telling fortunes, and stealing.

Morung (Mayuranca, remarkable for peacocks) —Prior to 1809, the eastern division of Muckwanpoor principality, founded by Raja Lohanga, together with a part of Sikkim, and a portion of Tibet which had been gained by the Gorkhas, were by them, for the convenience of government, subdivided into two districts, viz., Morung comprehending the southern, and Chayenpoor the northern portion of the territory. As a general description, the Morung may be considered as extending in the low country from the Cosi to the Teesta although the level tract between the Mutchee and Teesta that formerly belonged to Sikkim, has, since the conclusion of the war in 1816, been restored to that principality. On the low hills Morung extends from the Conki to the Cosi, and it includes little or none of the mountains, and of the lofty Himalaya nothing at all.

Before 1816, the southernmost point at which Morung touched the Rungpoor district was Sanyasicata, from which spot, for a distance of five miles, the river Mahananda formed the line of boundary between the two countries, after which the Nepaulese territories crossed that river, and intermixed at Debgong in the most irregular manner. The line of demarkation, which even in an open country is merely preserved by the memory of the inhabitants, soon becomes quite evanescent in a thick saul jungle, from which point the common boundary was keenly contested throughout the course of the river Teesta. Suroop Deo, the zemindar of Bykantpoor, laid claim to the whole extent of this wilderness, while the Gorkha local authorities, with equal pertinacity, asserted a right to the entire forest down to its southern extremity. Particular circumstances,

however, tended to substantiate the zemindar's claim; his family having long resided in the centre of the tract claimed by the Gorkhas; but after all, it is to be presumed, that a wild space, situated in the frontiers of either country, has frequently changed its matter, and during periods of hostility been always occupied by the most powerful. The Gorkhas, by the peace of 1816, hrving been compelled to relinquish all the territory to the east of the river Mutchee, no longer come in contact with the disputed tract, and the Sikkim Raja, owing his restoration entirely to the efforts of the British government, offered no opposition to the amicable adjustment of the boundaries which has since taken place.

The inhabitants of Morung to the east of Vijaypoor are chiefly Cooch, or Rajbungsies, who are considered the same tribe, live on the plain, and speak the dialect of Bengal; on the lower hills are many of the Mech tribe. In the western part most of the cultivators are of the Gangayi caste, who speak the dialect of mithila (Tirhoot). No event of importance is recorded in the history of this state until the reign of a Raja named Vijaya Narrain, who is said to have come originally from Camroop, and having subdued this tract, he assumed to himself the title of conqueror of the earth. He also built Vijaypoor, the capital; but having put to death a mountain chief of Kiraut origin, under pretence that he (the mountain chief), being an impure beef-eating monster, had presumed to defile an Hindoo woman, the son of his antagonist expelled the Raja and established his own dynasty. According to tradition, the Sikkim Raja made many conquests in this quarter, but the whole was overrun by the Gorkhas in 1774, when Agom Singh, the reigning chief of the Kiraut family, fled for refuge into the British territories. By the treaty of peace concluded with the Nepaulese on the 2nd of December, 1815, and ratified in the 4th of March 1816, that state was allowed to retain Morung, with the exception of the section situated to the east of the Mutchee, a small river about 35 miles west of the Teesta.

VIIJAYPOOR (or Bijeypoor) - The modern capital of the Morung, situated in the region 80 miles north by west from the town of Purneah. This town stands on the higher part of the low hills, and is so free from the unhealthy air of that region,

named Owl, that it is said the people here can eat 75 per cent more than they can in the low lands. The fortress is always garrisoned by Gorkha regulars, and is the residence of a commander, who superintends the neighbouring civil officers, and watches over the frontier. In the year 1774, the Gorkhas attacked Vijaypoor and assassinated as many of the legitimate family as they could reduce within their power by treachery and breach of pledged faith. The last heir, aged only 5 years, was destroyed by having a loathsome disease communicated to him by a Brahmin, in place of the small pox inocculation.

Walter Hamilton's Report on the Principality of Sikkim, 1820

The ancient limits of this principality are uncertain; but according to native authorities, they were separated from Chinese dominions in Tibet, by a ridge of mountains named Khawa Karpola, or the mountains white with snow, while further down, the Conki formed the boundary to the west until it reached the plain, where the whole tract of low country belonged to the Morung (or Vijayapoor) Raja, and after his fall devolved to the Gorkhas. Between the Mahananda and the Teesta, the Sikkim Raja possessed a low tract seven or eight miles wide, inhabited by the Cooch tribe, and cultivated with the plough. Such were its ancient possessions, but since its recent connection with the British government, Sikkim has received, what most native states receive unwillingly, a compact and well defined boundary. To the north it is separated by the Himalaya mountains from the Chinese dominions in Tibet, on the south it has the Nepaulese division of Morung and the Bengal district of Rungpoor, to the east it is separated from the Deb Raja of Bootan's territories by the course of the eastern branch of the Teesta river, and on the west from those of Nepaul by the Conki river. In length it may be estimated at 60 miles by 40 the average breadth. Except a small section of the plain, the whole of this country is situated among the hills, and its productions, vegetable and mineral, entirely resemble those of the Nepaul territories which are similarly situated with respect to latitude and elevation

According to native authorities there are on the Conki two marts named Bilasi and Majhoya, to which the traders from the Plans carry rice, salt, extract of sugar cane, hogs, dry fish, tobacco, spirituous liquor, and various cloths. Before the Gorkha conquest they also took oxen for the slaughter; but that tribe being Hindoos, prohibited such sacrilege. The traders procured in return from the mountaineers, cotton, Indian madder, musk, and Tibet cow and bull tails. At Dimali, on the Balakongyar river there is a mart or custom-house, consisting of a square surrounded by buildings, into which the merchants and their commodities are received, there being no other dwellings except those of the collector and his assistants. To this place the dealers from the low country take up salt, tobacco, cotton cloth, goats, fowls, swine, occasionally broad cloth, and in return bring back municet or Indian madder, cotton, bees' wax, blankets, horses, musk, cow and bull tails. Chinese flowered silk and rhinocerosess' horns.

North from Dimali half a day's journey, according to the same informants, on a hill near the source of the Balakongyar, was the residence of Yu-kang-ta, the Lapcha chief, who formerly collected the duties for the Gorkhas. By the natives of Sikkim it is named Samdung, but by the Bengalese, Nagreecote; east from which, two days' journey, near the source of the Mahananda, there is said to be another gola, or mart, now much neglected. The greater part of Sikkim is included between the two arms of the Teesta, where the soil is watered by different branches of that stream; the space forming a sort of valley, and although the whole is extremely mountainous, yet there is much cultivation carried on, the principle articles being rice and Indian madder. Beyond Samdung and Satang one day's journey, and on the other side of the first high mountains, is Darjiling, which appears to have been on the most important strong holds of the country, as it was selected by the Gorkhas for their principal military station. From thence to Sikkim, the capital, is six days' journey, and the snowy mountains are said to be about the same distance still further north. In 1809, the Sikkim Raja, besides the petty territory of Gandhauk, or Gamtoo, bounded on the west by the western branch of the Teesta, possessed a small portion beyond the Lesser or Eastern Teesta,

which, however, formed in general the boundary between his lands and those of the Deb Raja of Bootan. According to tradition, the Sikkim state had, at one time, overrun a great part of the country bordering on Rungpoor, and probably then compelled the Bykantpoor zemindar to abandon the forest and seek a refuge further south. In 1772, the latter was found in firm alliance with the Bootan government against the common enemy.

The inhabitants of this principality consist almost entirley of the Lapcha tribe, the country being named Sikkim or Sikkim Bhote, from the name of its capital, and from its being subject to a Bhootea chief. These Lapchas may be considered the 4th of more important tribes to the east of Nepaul valley, and in their manners much resemble the Kirauts, but instead of having chosen a Rajpoor chief, they appear to have selected for their leader a native of Tibet, in consequence of which the Lama doctrines have made considerable progress among them. The Lapchas eat beef, pork, and every other aliment reckoned detestable by the Brahminical Hindoos, drink ardent spirits to excess, neither do they marry their females until they have attained the age of maturity. The men were formerly, and probably are still, mostly armed with swords and bows, from which last they discharged poisoned arrows. Spears were notused. as being ill suited to a country thickly overgrown with jungle, where men cannot charge in compact order. They have a few matchlock musquets, but mostly too large to be fired without a rest. Besides the Bhooteas, who are principally attached to the chief, and the Lapchas by whom he is guarded, the hills of Sikkim are said to contain many people of the Limboo tribe. The Lama religion, although far from universal, is decidedly the most prevalent, and the partial incarnations of the deity in the bodies of inspired Lamas of such frequent occurrence. that in 1809, within the limits of the Lapcha and Kiraut countries, there were said to be no less than 12 existing at the same time.

The princes of Sikkim, predecessors of the present Raja, were Bhooteas, said to be sprung from a high family at Lassa, who took the title of Gelpo. But although the chief is of Bhootea origin, the strength of the Sikkim armies has always

consisted of Lapchas, the Bhooteas being naturally a very timid race, quite stupified by the enervating influence of what they call religion. The Lapchas, on other hand, continue a set of vigorous barbarians, of whom only about one half have been deluded by the monkish austerities and superior learning of the Lamas. Formerly the second dignitary in the state was the Hang or chief of the Lapchas, who probably was the real sovereign in temporal affairs, the Gelop presiding in matters of religion. It is not known how many princes succeeded to the throne of Sikkim, but is probable that the Bhooteas have been paramount in the country for a considerable time. chief who governed Sikkim prior to 1782, by the natives of Bengal was named Roop Chiring, whose residence was at Darilling, where he had a strong house built of brick, much admired in that region. This prince died about the year 1782, and was succeeded by his son, Chawa Raja which is the name given by the people of the country to the heir apparent.

In A. D. 1788, the Gorkhas invaded Sikkim with an army of about 6000 men, of whom 2000 were regulars, the whole commanded by Tierar Singh, the Subah of the Morung. officer received no opposition until he approached Sikkim, the capital, in defence of which the Raja ventured a battle, when, after a desperate resistance, he was completely defeated, owing probably to the Gorkha musqueteese, who also sustained a considerable loss, yet were immediately after able to besiege the capital. All these events took place at some period prior to the 28th of October, 1788. After experiencing this disaster, the Raja retired towards the frontiers of Tibet, in order to reassemble an army, and to solicit assistance from the Deb Raja of Bootan, and the pontiff Lama of Lassa. With the first a treaty was soon concluded, by the conditions of which the Sikkim chief engaged to pay a tribute to the Bootan Raja, if through his exertions he succeeded in recovering his dominions, and being in consequence reinforced by a considerable detachment of Bootanners, and also by a party of Bhooteas from a province of Tibet named Portaw, he returned towards his capital about the beginning of December. His approach compelled the Gorkhas to raise the siege, and after losing many

men in a skirmish, they retired towards Ilam, on the Conki, where they erected forts to secure a communication with the Morung.

It is probable that about this period the Sikkim Raja died, leaving his son, Kurin Namki, an infant. The war was then conducted by Yuk-su-thuk, the Hang, or chief of the Lapchas, who was next in rank to the Raja, while the metropolis was defended by the Hang's brother Namoi Named Lamjit by the Bengalese. Early in 1789, the Bootanners retired, probably for want of pay or plunder, and the greater part of the people of Sikkim submitted quietly to the Gorkha yoke, while the dethroned Raja fled to Tankiya, in Tibet, and the Hang of the Lapchas retreated to a strong hold situated between the two branches of the Teesta, from whence he ever after annoved the invaders of his country. This place, named Gandhauk, or Gamtoo, has a territory annexed to it of considerable extent, which afforded the Raja an income of 7000 rupees per annum, but being also a man of high birth, he obtained in marriage a daughter of the chief minister at Lassa, with whom in 1809 he returned to the petty dominion which the energy of his minister (the Hang) had preserved.

Both the Dharma or sacerdotal Raja of Bootan, and the pontiff of Lassa, were now seriously alarmed by the progress of the Gorkhas, and applied to the Emperor of China for his This proved effectual in securing the Bootan interposition. chief, but the Tibetians were obliged to cede to the Gorkhas the province of Kutti, which still forms the government of Kheroo, at the head of the Sancosi, near the Arun, and comprehended in the division of Chayenpoor. The Lapchas, however, notwithstanding the apparent desperation of their affairs, continued to give the Gorkhas so much trouble, that at last, as a measure of policy, they consented to give them a governor of their own tribe, who, in 1808, continued to exercise the whole civil authority, paying an annual tribute to the government at Catmandoo. In military matters he was subordinate to the Subah of Chayenpoor, and Gorkha garrisons were established at Sikkim and Darjiling, the two principal stations of the district.

The affairs of Sikkim continued in this unsatisfactory state until the rupture with the Gorkhas in 1814, when the Raja immediately declared against them and acted the part of a faithful, and, according to the extent of his resources, an useful ally to the British nation. At the pacification of 1816, he was, in consequence rewarded by the recovery of a considerable portion of his territory within the hills, to which the British government added a tract of low land ceded by the Gorkhas to the east of the Mutchee. This last mentioned section is a slip of land about 12 or 14 miles in breadth, reckoning from the foot of the hills, and very thinly inhabited. Only detached portions of it are cultivated, being separated from each other by forests which are altogether impassable during the rainy season. The land under actual tillage is extremely fertile and capable of yielding any crop, but at present its produce is chiefly confined to rice, oil seeds, and a few other articles of small note and quantity. The scanty population may be accounted for partly by the insalubrity of the climate, but more especially from its having been the extreme point eastward to which the Gorkhas extended their conquests, and the very spot where the last struggle took place between the Subah of Morung and the Sikkim authorities. These military operations lasted two campaigns, and compelled most of the inhabitants to seek au asylum within the British provinces. In consequence of these unfavourable circumstances the whole of Nizamtarrah became depopulated, after the Lapchas attacked the Gorkhas on the 3d of February, 1816; nor could any of the expatriated natives be induced to return, until it was ascertained that the tract had been ceded to the British. The same process, although not to so aggravated a degree, took place in the pergunnah of Hatijusah.

Besides the land revenue, the Gorkhas had other fiscal resources, such as a payment for permission to graze cattle, which tax, after the tract came into the possession of the British, was farmed for one year at 2500 rupees. The next extra branch was from the forests, which of course varied according to the demand for timber, but the forests to the east of the Mutchee, with the exception of those due north of Bykantpoor, are not valuable, so that the whole profit from this source was quite insignificant. The other items, such as a tax for permission to gather berries and to catch parrots, were

also petty and vexatious; the first-mentioned monopol, yielding only 90 rupees per annum. In the pergunnah of Hatisjusah under the Gorkha sway, each plough paid, the first year four annas; the second, eight annas; the third, one rupee; the fourth, two rupees eleven annas; and the fifth year, three rupees five annas, beyond which no advance was exacted.

From the information collected by the British functionaries while the settlements were under consideration, it appeared that a tract of low country was absolutely necessary for their comfort and subsistence; but owing to physical circumstances, considerable difficulties occurred in the arrangement of the boundaries. The river Mutchee, at a very short distance before it enters the British territories, is separated into branches, one named the Old, and the other the New Mutchee, and the difficulty referred principally to the small tract lying between these two branches, which is called Kopaulastie. If the Old Mutchee formed the frontier, all communication between the Nepaulese Morung and the lands of the Sikkim Raja, would be prevented, the country to the westward of that stream being for a considerable distance an impenetrable forest. extending to the hills and without inhabitants; whereas, had any portion of Kopaulastie been retained by the Gorkhas, it would have proved a source of interminable dispute with the adjoining governmens. Its annexation to the Bengal presidency was at one time recommended; but the distance of the tract in question from the seat of authority in Rungpoor, and the entire ignorance of the people regarding the local observances within the British territories, rendered the accomplishment of this measure of very doubtful advantage. The whole was in consequence conferred on the Sikkim Raja, to be held by him exempt from any tribute, and subject to no other condition than those which would attach to the general relations establish with that petty state, The conditions on which the tract within the hills was restored to the Sikkim Raja were—a cessation of all aggression on his part against the Gorkhas; the employment of his military power and resources in aid of the British troops when engaged among the hills; the exclusion of Europeans; the surrender of criminals, and the protection of lawful commerce.

While the discussions were pending, much embarrassment was experienced by Captain Latter in communicating in a

language not understood by any European, or even native inhabitant of the British provinces. The policy of supporting and strengthening the Sikkim principality was sufficiently obvious; but the more cession of the hill country, without the annexation of some of the the low land, would not have accomplished the object, the latter being indispensable for the subsistance of the Lapcha garrisons. Neither were the inhabitants by these arrangement transferred to a foreign power, but to the controul of their original rulers, whose authority, notwithstanding the Gorkha usurpation, had never been wholly abrogated; all public orders having invariably had the joint seal of the Sikkim Raja's Dewan, and the Gorkha Subah of Naggree.

As may be supposed from the geographical position of his dominions, as well as the bond of a common religion, the Sikkim Raja has been always closely connected with the Lamas of Lassa and Teshoo Loomboo, with the Deb Raja of Bootan. and occasionally has maintained a diplomatic intercourse with the mighty empire of China. Latterly this interchange of courtiers has increased, the Chinese functionaries in Tibet beginning to feel uneasy qualms at their unexpected contact with the British dominions. On the 8th of August, 1816, two Chinese envoys, of a rank answering to that of soubahdar in the Bengal army, arrived at the Sikkim Raja's court, accompanied by seventeen followers. According to the information collected by Captain Latter, these persons had been dispatched from Lassa by the Chinese viziers Tea Chang (or Te-Chan-Choon) for the purpose of inquiring if a letter, sent some time before by the Viziers to the British government, had been dispatched to Calcutta, and also to ascertain the existing state of affairs throughout Northern Hindostan. To these ambassadors, the Sikkim chief fully explained the nature of his recent connexion with the British government, informing them, that although his troops had joined those of the British government against the Gorkhas, the allies meditated no hostile movement against any portion of the empire of China. Being well feasted, the envoys remained three days and seemed inclined to tarry much longer; but the Raja being desirous to get rid of them, gained them over by a present of ready money, and

prevailed on them to depart. The Sikkim Raja has since been the channel through which various dispatches have been transmitted from the Bengal government to the Chinese functionaries at Lassa.

The restoration of this state under the British protection and guarantee, will constitute a barrier against Gorkha ambition and enterprize in an eastern direction, and may eventually lead to an enlargement of our commercial relations with Tibet and Southern Tartary in general. It was well ascertained that the views of the Catmandoo cabinet had long been directed to this quarter; and there is no reason to suppose that the feeble states of Bootan and Assam could have resisted their arms. The reduction of these states, besides extending their territories along the British frontier, and thereby opening new sources of dissention, would have in process of time led to a communication with the more distant empire of the Birmans, an event from which much embarrassment and contingent danger might have resulted.—(F. Buchanan, Captain Latter, Public MS, Documents, &c. &c.)

SIKKIM (or Damoo Jung).—According to native information, this place stands on the west side of the Jhamikuma river, which rises on the south side of the Snowy Mountains, and opposite to the town separates into two branches; surrounding an immense mountain, on the top of which there is a small level and a strong hold named Tasiding. The united streams, under the name of Remikma, afterwards join the Teesta. Lat. 27° 16' N. long. 88° 3' E. 110 miles N. by E. from the town of Purneah.

GANDHAUX (or Gamtoo).—A strong hold belonging to the Sikkim Raja, situated between the Great and Little Teesta, about 30 miles N. from Dellamcotta. Lat. 27° 26' N. long. 88° 38' E. This place and the small territory attached to it were never subdued by the Gorkhas.

NAGGREE (or Nagricote).—A fort and important military station in the Sikkim Raja's dominions, 87 miles N.N.E. from the town of Purneah. Lat. 26° 56' N. long 88° 8' E. After the pacification of 1816, the Gorkhas a long time endeavoured to evade the cession to this fort, to which they attached much importance, but at length the Gorkha commandant consented to

withdraw the garrison on condition that Captain Latter, the British commissioner, agreed to purchase the grain and stores. valued at 560 rupees. This was accordingly done, and the Nepaulese troops having marched out, the place was occupied by a detachment of British sepoys on the 13th of April, 1816. When examined, it was found to be of extraordinary natural strength, to increase which, two iron 3-pounders were dispatched from Bengal no larger pieces of ordnance being conveniently transportable in that rugged quarter. These, with proportion of ammunition, were presented to the Sikkim Raja as an acknowledgment for his zeal and fidelity. To prevent any aggression of the Sikkim people, who were actuated by feelings of the greatest animosity against the Gorkhas, it was necessary to leave in fort for some time a native officer and 30 select sepoys; which object being effected, and the other posts delivered to the Sikkim troops the British detachment was withdrawn from the hills, and marched to their respective stations. Naggree may be considered the key to the hills in this quarter, as by having possession of it, it would be practicable in conjunction with our allies, the Lapchas, to get into the rear of Dellamcotta, and some of the principal passes into Bootan.—(Public MS. Documents, Latter, &c.)

On Bhutan

Articles of a Treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Deva Raja or Raja of Bhutan. 1773.

(Ref. Aitchison's Treaties)

- 1 That, the Honourable Company, wholly from consideration for distress to which the Bhutias represent themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbours, will relinquish the lands which belonged to Deva Raja before the commencment of the war with the Raja of Cooch Behar, namely, to the eastwards of the lands of Chichakhata and Paglahat, and to the westward of the lands of Kyranti, Maraghat and Luckeepore.
- 2. That, for the possession of the Chichakhata province, the Deva Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangan horses to the Honourable Company, which was the acknowledgment paid to the Cooch Behar Raja.
- 3. That, the Deva Raja shall deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch Behar, together with his brother, the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.
- 4. That, the Bhutias, being merchants, shall have the same privileges of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rungpore annually.
- 5. That the Deva Raja shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect whatever, molest the Ryots that have come under the Honourable Company's subjection.

- 6. That, if any ryot or inhabitant whatever, shall desert from the Honourable Company's territories, the Deva Raja shall cause them to be delivered up immediately upon application being made to him.
- 7. That, in case the Bhutias, or any one under the Government of Deva Raja, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any of the inhabitants of these or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them by an application to the Magistrate who shall reside here for the adminstration of justice.
- 8. That, whatever Sannyasis are considered by the English as an enemy, the Deva Raja will not allow to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories, or through any part of his; and if the Bhutias shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the resident on the part of English in Cooch Behar and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sannyasin into these districts as any breach of this treaty.
- 9. That, in case the Honourable Company shall have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people they send shall be protected.
 - 10. That, there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

"This treaty to be signed by the Honourable President and Council of Bengal, and the Honourable Company's Seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deva Raja on the other part."

The following signatures on the part of the Governmet of India are appended to this treaty:—Warren Hastings, William Andersey, P.M. Daires, J. Lawrel, Henry Goodwin, H. Graham and George Vansitart.

Proposals from the Bhootan Deputies for a Treaty of Peace; March 17, 1774

(Ref. Memoirs of W. Hastings, Vol. I, pp. 389, 395)

1st.-That, they have the land from the south edge of the Jungle under the Hills, to the north bank of the Soondubga (Saraidanga) river.

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2nd.—That they have the lands of Kirmuti (Kyrantee), Luckipore and Dalimcote, all which adjoin the Jungle under the Hills and always belonged to them.

- 3rd.—That, they will deliver up Dhairjendra Narayan, Raja of Cooch-Behar, together with his brother, who is confined with him.
- 4th.—That, being merchants, they shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties, and their caravan be allowed to go Rungpore annually.
- 5th.—That, they will never make any incursions into the country nor molest the Ryots, that have come under the Company's subjection.
- 6th.—That, if any Ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Company's territories, they will deliver them up upon application being made for them.
- 7th.—That, in case they or those under their Government shall have any demands upon disputes with any inhabitant of those or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the Magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.
- 8th.—That, in case the Company should have occasion for cutting timbers from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty-free, and the people whome they send shall be protected.

9th - That, there shall be a mutual exchange of prisoners."

Walter Hamilton's Report on Bootan, 1820

(BHUTAN) OR THE COUNTRY OF THE DEB RAJA.

This country is separated from the Raja of Sikkim's territories by the course of the eastern branch of the Teesta, from whence it stretches easterly to an undefined extent. To the north it is divided from Tibet by the Himalaya mountains; and to the south it is bounded by Bengal and the unexplored province of Assam. In its greatest dimensions it may be roughly estimated at 250 miles in length by 90 the average breadth. The term Bhote is applied by the Hindoos not only to the country named Bootan by Europeans, but also to the tract extending along and immediately adjoining both sides of the Himalaya, in

which sense it is a very extensive region, occupying the whole mountainous space from Cashmere to China. In the present article, however, the word Bootan is restricted to the country of the Deb Raja, comprehended within the limits above specified, and the name of Bootanners confined to his subjects, in order to distinguish them from the more expanded tribe of Bhooteas (Bhotiyas), although in aspect, manners, and religion there is so entire a resemblance as to leave little doubt of their being both sprung from the same origin.

The northern portion of this province presents nothing to the view but the most mis-shapen irregularities; some mountains covered with perpetual snow, others with perennial verdure and rich with abundant forests of large and lofty trees. Almost every mountain has a rapid torrent at its base, and many of the most elevated have populous villages amidst orchards and other plantations. In its external appearance it is the reverse of Tibet, which is a level table land. The mountainous boundary of Bootan towards Tibet forms part of the great chain which geographers term Mons Imaus, or Emodus, and of which frequent mention is made in the mythological legends of the Brahmins by the name of Himalaya. At the base of the hills, towards the Bengal frontier, is a plain of about 25 miles in breadth, choked up with the most luxuriant vegetation; and, from its inaptitude to supply the wants or facilitate the functions of human life, was for a long time considered as properly belonging to neither. The exhalations arising from the multitude of springs which the vicinity of the mountains produces, are collected and confined by the woods, and generate a most pestilential atmosphere. The trees are large, and the forests abound with elephants and rhinoceroses, but the human animal is much debased in form, size, and strength.

The climate of Bootan affords every degree of variation, for at the time the inhabitants of Punakha are cautious of exposing themselves to an almost vertical sun, those of Ghassa feel all the rigour of winter, and are chilled by everlasting snows; yet these places are within sight of each other. Where the climate is temperate, almost every favourable aspect of the mountain coated with the smallest quantity of soil, is cleared and adapted for cultivation by being shelved into horizontal beds. The ON BHUTAN 123

country abounds with excellent limestone, but the appear unaquainted with its uses for agricultural purposes. The season of the rains about Tassisudon, the capital, remarkably moderate; there are frequent showers, but none of those heavy torrents which accompany the monsoon in Bengal. In the hilly tracts of Bootan, strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries, are found growing wild, and there are also apple, pear, peach, and apricot trees. The forests abound with a variety of handsome timber, such as the ash, birch, maple, yew, pine, and fir, but no oak trees. The fir is often seen eight and ten feet in girth. The Bootan turnips are remarkably good, being large, free from fibres, and very sweet. The best fruits are oranges, peaches, apricots, pomegranates, and walnuts. For the purposes of irrigation, the Bootanners conduct water across the chasms of the mountains through the hollow trunks of trees. In this country a great proportion of the field labour is transferred to the females, who plant and weed, and to them eventually the task falls of applying the sickle, and brandishing the flail. In all labouring offices they are exposed to hardships and inclement weather.

Wild animals are not numerous in Bootan, but monkies of a large and hadsome kind abound, being held sacred by the Bhooteas as well as by the Hindoos. The species of horse which is indigenous to Bootan, is called Tanyan, or Tangun, from Tangusthan, the general appellation of that assemblage of mountains which constitutes the territory of Bootan, the breed being altogether confined within these limits. They are usually 13 hands high, and remarkable for their symmetry and just proportions. They are distinguished in general by a tendency to piebald, those of one colour being rare. They are short bodied, clean limbed, and although deep in the chest extremely active. Accustomed among their native mountains to struggle against opposition, they seem to inherit this spirit as a principle of their nature, and hence have acquired among Furopeans a character of being headstrong and ungovernable, though in reality it proceeds from an excess of eagerness to perform their task.

A caravan dispatched by the Deb Raja annually visits the Rungpoor district, bringing with it the coarse woollen manu-

factures of the country, Tibet cowtail, beerwax, walnuts, ivory musk, gold dust, silver in ingots, some Chinese silk, tea, paper, and knives, besides the horses which carry them. These adventures are entirely on account of the Deb Raja, to whom the goods belong most of which have probably been received in kind, in payment of the revenue, but the sum total in a national point of view is quite insignificant. The usually consist of English woolens, indigo, dried fish, quicksilver, cloves, nutmegs, incense, red sandal and sandal wood, sheet and wrought copper, tin, gun-powder, otter-skins, rhinoceroses' horns and hides, cotton cloth, coral, and swine. The aggregate amount of the whole seldom exceeds 30,000 rupees, of which the indigo alone engrosses half the value. The privilege of thus sending a caravan into Bootan Proper, has never been conceded even to the Bengalese by this jealous and timid government, although the subjects of the latter are allowed an unrestricted trade in the low country, through which they drive up many swine to the mountains. A similar interchange also takes place with the eastern divisions of Rungpoor, but the adjacent level districts of Bootan being nearly a waste the petty traffic between the two countries is almost restricted to dried fish and Small as this trade formerly was, it is said to have latterly declined, although all the heavy duties, formerly levied on the Bootan exports, were removed by Lord Cornwallis; it is probable, however, that the insignificant traffic so eagerly sought after by the British authorities both at home and abroad, has not so much actually declined, as taken a different direction. The presents sent by the Deb Raja to the Bengal Presidency, in 1772, consisted of sheets of gilt leather, stamped with the black eagle of the Russian armorial; talents of gold and silver, and bulses of gold dust; bags of genuine musk; narrow woollen cloths, the manufacture of Tibet; and silks of China. chests which contained them were of good workmanship, and joined together by dove-tailed work. The Narrainee, a base silver coin struck in Cooch Bahar, is current throughout Bootan, as in that country there are local prejudices against a mint. is of the value of about 10d, or rather more than one-third of a sicca rupee; the name is derived from the Hindoo mythology.

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The military weapons of the Bootanners are the bow and arrow, a short straight sword, and a faulchion reflected like a pruning knife. In war they use poisoned arrows, tainted with poison which they procure from a plant as yet unknown to Europeans. In appearance it is an inspissated vegetable juice. much resembling crude opium. Their matchlocks are very contemptible, and of no use except in the finest weather, when the match will burn and the priming take fire in an open pan. In the management of the sword and shield they are very dexterous, and most excellent archers. They have wall pieces. but no cannon. A strong jealousy of all intercourse with the inhabitants of Hindostan prevails universally throughout this region, which has not been diminished by the recent progress of the British arms, among mountains which had never been conquered, or even seriously invaded by any of the Mahommedan powers.

In person there is a remarkable dissimilarity between the feeble bodied, meek spirited natives of Bengal and their active and Herculean neighbours the mountaineers of Bootan, many of whom are six feet in height. A strong similarity of feature pervades the whole Bhootea race, who, though of a dark complexion, are more ruddy and robust than the Bengalese, with broader faces and high cheek bones. They are greatly afflicted with glandular swellings in the throat, from which the natives of Bengal are exempted, it being calculated that one person in six is affected with this distemper. The Bootanners have black hair which they cut close to the head. Their eye is a very remarkable feature, being small and black, with long pointed corners, as if stretched and extended by artificial means. Their eye-lashes are so thin as to be scarcely perceptible, and the eye-brow is but slightly shaded. Below the eye is the broadest part of the face, which is rather flat, and narrows from the cheek bones to the chin, a character of countenance prevalent among the Tartar tribes, and more particularly among the Chinese. The skins of the Bootanners are smooth, and most of them arrive at a very advanced age before they have even the rudiments of a beard; their whiskers also are of very scanty growth.

Their houses are in general only one story high, but the palace of the Deb Raja at Tassisudon consists of many floors, the ascent to which is by lofty stairs, an unusual circumstance in Bootan. In a country composed of mountains and intersected by torrents, bridges must necessarily be of such frequent occurrence, 'that a traveller has commonly one or more to pass every day's journey. These are of various constructions. generally of timber, but sometimes swung on iron chains. Woollen cloth for raiment; meat, spirits, and tea, are in use among the Bootanners, who are strangers to the subtle niceties and refined distinctions of the Hindoos which constitute the absurd perplexity of caste. As a refreshment, tea is as common in Bootan as in China, but it is made in a very different way from that which Europeans are accustomed to follow. preparing this beverage (if it may be so called) the Bootanners make a compound of water, flour, salt, butter, and Bohea tea, with some other astringent ingredients, all boiled and beat up together. When they have finished the cup, they lick it with their tongue in order to make it clean, after which the higher classes wrap it up in a piece of scarlet silk. In some instances their medical practice is rendered unpleasant to the physician, who, when the Deb Raja takes a dose of physic, is obliged to swallow, however unseasonably, a proportionate quantity of the same medicine.

The ministers of religion in Bootan are of the Buddhist sect, and form a distinct class, confined solely to performing the duties of their faith. The common people, pretending to no interference in matters of spiritual concern, leave religion with all its rites and ceremonies to those who are attached by early obligation to its doctrines and austerities. Although there is no distinction of caste among the Bootanners, yet they are not without differences in religious opinions, the percepts of Sakhya Singh (the school to which they adhere) differing essentially from that of Gautam, and permitting the consumption of every species of food that is considered impure and abominable by the Brahmins. Om mauni paimi om, an invocation to which ideas of peculiar sanctity are annexed by the inhabitants of Bootan and Tibet, are words inscribed on most of their public buildings. They are also frequently engraved on the rocks in

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large and deep characters, and sometimes rendered legible on the sides of hills, by means of stones fixed in the earth of so great a size as to be visible at a considerable distance. In the performance of any religious duty, the Bootan funcionaries admit of no interruption whatever, which has proved the cause of infinite delay and inconvenience to the British diplomatists who have had business to transact with them.

The Deb Raja who resides at Tassisudon is usually considered to be the supreme head of the province, but in a strict sense he is only the secular governor, the legitimate sovereign being the Dharm Raja, a supposed incarnation of the deity; but as this sacred person never interferes in lay affairs, he is only known to foreigners through the transactions of his deputy the Deb Raja. There are said to be 18 passes from the low countries to the mountains, and several of the most important are placed under the control of officers named Subahs, the extent of whose power is uncertain. In the hot and rainy season, the Subah usually resides at a fortress among the mountains, but in the cold season he descends to the lower hills, and often visits the plains, either to enforce obedience, or to invade the neighbouring states, on which occasion their attacks exhibit a combination of cowardice, perfidy, and the most fiend-like cruelty. Both the lower hilly country, and the plain belonging to Bootan, are partitioned into small domains, each having a distinct officer for the collection of the revenue and the superintendance of the police. Some of the these are chiefs of the subdued communities, for no genuine Bhootea has settled in these parts; others are native Bootanners of the mountains. The hereditary chiefs pay a fixed revenue, while the Bootan officers collect the land-tax on account of government. lowest offices of the government are named Mookhees, who are generally taken into the service when young, and in course of time have the chance of rising to the highest stations.

The Deb Raja's authority is best established in the plain and in the country adjacent to the line of road leading from Bengal to Tassisudon the capital; for with the country to the east and west we are but little acquainted. The principal towns are Tassisudon, Poonakha, Wandipoor, Ghassa, and Murichom. The nearest governor to the Sikkim frontier is

the Subah of Dellamcotta, next to him the Subah of Luckidwar, then the Subah of Buxedwar; and east from the Gudhador river is the Subah of Burradwar. The next governor towads the east is the Subah of Repudwar, who has under him a jungly district named Raymana, bounded on the east by the Sonkosh, and still further east is the Subah of Cherang, a place at the head of a pass, four day's journey from Cutchubarry. The country between the Sonkosh and the Ayi belongs to a tributary, and beyond the river last mentioned the Bijnee territories commence, the country to the north and east of which is wholly unknown.

In ancient Hindoo writings the denomination of the country which we call Bootan is Madra, but respecting its early history we have no record or tradition. The first intercourse of its government with the British nation happened in 1779, in which year the Deb Raja suddenly invaded the principality of Cooch Bahar, and meeting with little opposition from the natives, rapidly gained possession of the country. This was decidedly the first instance of hostility between the two governments and it had proceeded to the last extremits before the government of Bengal, which had hitherto derived no benefit from contested territory, was apprized of what had befallen it. invaders were easily driven back by two battalions of native infantry, and next year pursued by a detachment under Captain John Jones into their own territories, where the fortress of Dellamcotta was taken by storm. This exploit greatly alarmed the Bootan Raja for his own safety, and induced him to apply to the Teshoo Lama, through whose mediation a peace was subsequently arranged. After the defeat and flight of the Bootanners in 1772, Durp Deo, the chief of Bykantpoor, who had joined them, sent a messenger from the jungles to which he had fled, begging to be restored to his estate, in consideration of which he engaged to pay a tribute of 25,000 rupees per annum, in place of 10,000 rupees, which had hitherto been his stipulated payment. These terms were accordingly acceded to, and the zemindar was put in possession, not only of his former estate, but also of what had been alienated by the Bootanners.

The present possessions of Bootan to the south-west are separated from the Bengal districts by the river Teesta, as far south as Gopaulgunge, a village situated on the eastern bank ON BHUTAN 129

of that river. To the south of this point the British territories cross the Teesta, and intermix with those of Bootan in a most irregular manner, the line of boundary in this quarter being altogether imaginary. Portions of territory belonging to each state are completely insulated by the possessions of the other, as exemplified in the extensive tract named Phulacotta, which lies to the west of the Teesta, and is completely surrounded by the Bengalese zemindary of Bykantpoor, without any intelligible or even perceptible land marks. The retention of Phulacotta, however, is attended with such lucrative advantages to the Subah of Dellamcotta and the local officers, that no hopes are entertained of being able to effect its purchase or exchange for some other space of adequate value.

The European reader will scarcely believe that along the whole line of British frontier, from the Sutuleje to the Brahmaputra, there exists, and always has existed, a regular and persevering system of encroachment on the British possessions, which, although frequently detected and baffled, has in many instances proved successful. In these attempts no nation has prosperously than the Bootanners, whose encroachments have not been confined to that part of the boundary west of Cooch Bahar, although it began there. The line of frontier east of the Sonkosh, to the confines of Assam, has been still more subjected to their intrusions, as in this quarter they have managed to appropriate to themselves the large border estate of Bidyagong, immediately adjacent to Bijnee, where their interference, as will be seen under that head, was still more irregular. The Bidyagong estate was originally obliged to deliver annually 40 elephants to the British government, which last as the feudal superior had the sole right of nominating to the succession. It is true that the Bidyagong chief gave the Bootanner, yearly, about 400 rupees worth of cotton cloths and dried fish, but this was done merely to conciliate the good will of a tribe, which, from its position, was always able to harass his estate. The Bootan government never dared to dispute the sovereignty of the estate with the Moguls, from whom the delivery of the commodities above-mentioned was probably always kept a profound secret. The Deb Raja, while the attention of the Bengal presidency was directed elsewhere, get

possession of the Bidyagong zemindary, and some years after, when the circumstances of the case were reported, it was determined to forego all claim to an object which then appeared of trivial importance. In the correspondence which took place before that resolution was definitively adopted, the Deb Raja, on being required to produce his documents, replied that it was not customary for the Bootanners to be regulated by writings but by possession.

In 1815, the Bootan government was suspected of having combined with the Gorkhas against the British, but this appears improbable. In 1816, the advance of the Chinese force towards Nepaul excited a considerable sensation at the court of the Deb Raja, where it was ascribed to the intrigues and misrepresentations of the Gorkhas, and the Deb expressed his hopes of assistance, in case he incurred the displeasure of the Chinese government by refusing to act against the British. amicable professions, however, were probably elicited by the existing state of affairs in Bootan, where, in consequence of some difference between the Dharma or spiritual, and the Deb or secular Raja, the deposition of the latter was in contemplation and a civil war expected. To prevent this extremity, the Deb Raja declared that he would resign the reins of government after the month of June, to Lama Sirree Tap, who before had disputed the succession to the office of Deb Raja, and had been deposed after having actually assumed that dignity; but the sincerity of these protestations was greatly questioned, and it was not generally supposed he would actually perform what he professed in the moment of danger. In the event of a contest, one party will of course endeavour to conciliate the British, and the other that of the Chinese, whose direct authority will probably be ultimately established throughout Bootan, as it has been in Tibet. - (Captain Turner, F. Buchanan, Sisson, Public MS. Documents. D. Scott. &c. &c. &c.)

TEHINTICHIEU RIVER.—A river of Bootan which passes Tassisudon, and, being swelled by the united streams of the Hatchieu and the Patchieu, finds a passage through the mountains, from whence it is precipitated in tremendous cataracts, and rushing with rapidity between the high cliffs and vast stones that oppose its progress descends into a valley a few miles east

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of Buxedwar, from whence it proceeds to Bengal, where, under the name of the Gudadhar, it joins the Brahmaputra not far from Rangamatty.—(Turner &c.)

TASSISUDON.—The residence of the Deb Raja, and modern capital of Bootan. Lat. 27° 5′ N. long 89° 40′ E. 106 miles N. from the town of Cooch Bahar. This town stands in a highly cultivated valley, about three miles in length by one in breadth, intersected by the river Tehintchieu, the banks of which are lined with willow. On the surrounding mountains are some timber trees intermixed with fir and pine, and a great variety of flowering shrubs. The climate generally is described as being remarkably salubrious.

The castle or palace of Tassisudon is situated near the centre of the valley, and is a building of stone of a quadrangular The walls are 30 feet high, and are pierced below with very small windows, apparently more for the purpose of admitting air than light. The citadel is a very lofty building consisting of seven stories, each from 15 to 20 feet high. From the centre of these a square piece of masonry rises, which supports a canopy of copper richly gilt, supposed to be over the image of the idol Maha Muni. The Deb Raja of Bootan dwells in the citadel, on the fourth story from the ground. In the vicinity of Tassisudon there is a long line of sheds, where the workmen are employed in forging brazen gods, and various other ornaments disposed about their religious edifice. There is here also a considerable manufacture of paper, fabricated from the bark of a tree named deah, which grows in great abundance near Tassisudon, but is not produced in the tract adjacent to Bengal. It is very strong and capable of being woven, when gilt by way of ornament, into the texture of silks and sating.—(Turner, &c.)

POONAKHA.—This is the winter residence of the Deb Raja, and being the warmest part of Bootan is selected for the cultivation of exotics from the south. The place of Poonakha resembles that of Tassisudon, but it is rather more spacious, and has in the same manner its citadel and gilded canopy. The town is situated on a peninsula, washed on two sides by the Matchieu and Patchieu rivers immediatly before their junction. Lat. 27° 58' N. long. 89°54' E. 17 miles N.E. from Tassisudon.—(Turner, &c.)

WANDIPOOR.—This place lies about 24 miles travelling distance from Tassisudon in an easterly direction, and is esteemed by the Bootanners a place of great strength. Lat.27° 51' N. long, 89° 57' E. It stands on the narrow extremity of a rock between the Matchieu, the Patchieu, and the Tehintchieu rivers, whose streams unite at its sharpened point, and form a river of considerable magnitude, which takes the name of Chantchieu, and flows south through the Rungpoor district, where it receives the Hindoo name of Gudadhar, and at last joins the Brahmaputra not far from Rangamatty. At Wandipoor there is a bridge of turpentine fir of 112 feet span, without the least iron in its construction, yet it is said to have lasted 150 years without exhibiting any symptom of decay. Owing to the peculiarity of its position, Wandipoor appears to be agitated by a perpetual hurricane. This is one of the consecrated towns of Bootan, where a considerable number of gylongs or monks are established.—(Turner, &c.)

GHASSA.—The capital of a district in Bootan, and the station of a Zoonpoon or provincial governor. Lat. 27° 56′ N. long. 89° 18′ E. 23 miles W. by N. from Tassisudon. The highest mountains in this neighbourhood are covered with snow throughout the year, and are visible along the northern frontier of Bengal from Cocch Bahar to Purneah. At the base of the loftiest is a spring of water so hot as scarcely to admit of bathing.—(Turner, &c.)

DUKKA JEUNG.—A town in the province of Bootan, 17 miles W. by S. from Tassisudon. Lat. 27° 46' N. long. 89° 26'E.

PARO.—A town and district in the province of Bootan, 18 miles S. by W. from Tassisudon. Lat. 27° 43′ N. long. 89° 32′ E. The governor of the district, whose jurisdiction is of the first importance in Bootan, has his residence here. Its limits extend from the frontiers of the borders of Bengal, and thence to the boundaries of the Sikkim Raja. It also comprehends the low lands at the foot of the Luckedwar mountains. The palace, or castle, of Paro is constructed, and the surrounding ground laid out, more with a view to strength and defence, than almost any other place in Bootan. The valley of Paro exceeds that of Tassisudon by a mile. It lies N.W. and S.E. and is irregularly intersected by the river. This is almost the only market

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in Bootan that is much frequented, and it is noted for the manufacture of images and the forging of arms, more particularly swords and daggers and the barbs of arrows.—(Turner,&c.)

Chuka.—A castle in Bootan, near to which is a chain bridge of a remarkable construction, stretched over the river Tehintchieu. Lat. 27° 16′ N. long. 89° 34′ E. 40 miles south from Tassisudon. The fortress of Chuka is a large building, placed on elevated ground, with only one entrance to the interior. It is built of stone, and the walls are of a prodigious thickness. The natives have no record to certify when the chain bridge was erected; but are of opinion that it was fabricated by the Devata, or demigod, Tehupchal. The adjacent country abounds with strawberries, which are, however, seldom eaten by the genuine Bootanners, Here are also many well known English plants, such as docks, nettles, primroses, and dog-rose bushes,—a refreshing sight to an European eye. (Turner &c.)

MURICHOM.—A small village in Bootan, situated on the west side of the Tehintchieu river, 45 miles south from Tassisudon. Lat. 27° 4′ N. long. 89° 35′ E. This place consists of only 24 houses, but they are of a superior constuction to most in Bootan. They are built of stone, with clay as a cement, of a square form, and the walls narrowing from the foundation to the top. The roof is supported clear of the walls, and is composed of fir boards placed lengthways on cross beams and joists of fir, and confined by large stones laid on the top. The lower part of the house accommodates hogs, cows, and other animals; the first story is occupied by the family, and is ascended to by a ladder.

Murichom stands on a space of level ground on the top of a mountain, and has much cultivated land in the vicinity. The farmers level the ground which they cultivate on the sides of the hills by putting it into shelves, forming beds of such a size as the slop will admit. The native cinnamon, known in Bengal cookery by the name of Tezpaut, grows abundantly in the neighbourhood; and in the season there are plenty of strawberries, raspberries, and peaches. The country surrounding Murichom is much infested by a small fly, which draws blood with a proboscis, and leaves behind a small blister full of black

contaminated blood, which festers and causes much irritation.— (Turner, &c.)

BUXEDWAR (Bakshiduara)—A remarkable pass leading from the belt of the low land separates Cooch Bahar from. Bootan Lat.26° 52 N. long. 89° 38 E. 80 miles N. by E. from the town of Rungpoor. Buxedwar is a place of great natural strength, and being a frontier station of these mountains has been rendered strong by art. In 1783, the village consisted of ten or twelve houses, invisible until the very moment of entrance. It is placed upon a second table of levelled rock, upon which there is very little soil, yet it is covered with verdure in consequence of its sheltered situation, surrounded on three sides by lofty mountains and open only to the south, which affords a narrower prospect of Bengal. The country continues flat to the foot of the Buxedwar hill. The ascent to Santarabary is easy, but the road afterwards becomes abrupt and precipitous, the hills being covered with trees to their summits. At Santarabary are extensive orange groves, and respberry bushes are found in the jungles. (Turner, &.c.)

DELLAMCOTTA (Dalimcoth).—This fortress, which commands the principal pass into Bootan from the south-west, was taken by storm in 1773 by detachment under Captain John Jones. The fame of this exploit spread through the mountains, and greatly alarmed the Bootanners and Tibetians; but the fort was restored by Mr. Hastings at the intercession of the Teshoo Lama. The same importance is not now attached to it, since it is known that it could be easily turned by a detachment from Naggree in Sikkim.

Cantalbarry.—A town in the low country, subject to Bootan, 29 miles N.N.W. from Cooch Bahar. Lat. 26° 37′ N. long. 89°12E.

CHICHACOTTA (Chichacata).—This place is situated in the portion of the plain appertaining to Bootan, 19 miles N. from the town of Cooch Bahar. Lat. 26°35'N. long,89°43'E. During the rupture which took place in 1772, Chichacotta was taken from the Bootanners, after having been defended with much obstinacy and more personal courage than they usually display; but with matchlocks, sabres, and bows, they could not long contend against fire-locks, discipline, and cannon. It was restored

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at the conclusion of the war, and is now, although small, the principal town on this frontier.

SEDILI.—A small district between the Sonkosh and Ayi rivers, the chief of which is tributary to Bootan. The portion of this tract next to Rangamatty is said to be in tolerable condition, as the inhabitants, in case of attack, can eacape to the British territories, where it is surprising they do not remain. The more northerly parts, for want of the same asylum, are a complete waste. The tribute paid to the Deb Raja of Bootan is 500 rupees in cash, beside some oil, dried fish, and coarse cotton cloth.

CUTCHUBARRY (Cachabari).—This place is under the jurisdiction of the Bootan Subah or governor of Cherang, four day's journey from Cutchubarry, to which the Subah descends during the cold season. The town of Cutchubarry is said to be a mere collection of miserable huts, and the surrounding country, with the exception of a very few detached, spots, covered with jungle, and abandoned to the wild animals. Lat. 26°42' N. long. 90°10' E. 41 miles north from the town of Rangamatty.

Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty, 28th January 1853

Treaty signed by Captains Reid and Campbell, and Changdandoo Namang Leden, and Dao Nubhoo Bhutka Rajas, on the 28th January 1853, at Kurreahparah, Zillah Durrung.

We, Changdandoo Raja, Namang Leden Raja, Dao Nurhoo Raja, being deputed by the Daba Rajas to carry letters of friendship to the Agent, Governor General, North East Frontier, desiring that the former friendly relations which existed between the Government of India and our Lassa Government (lately disturbed by the misbehaviour of one of our Gellings) should be again resumed, and being ourselves desirous above all things that peace should exist between our Government and that of India, do (now that we are assured the Government of India do not intend to invade our country) hereby solemnly declare that all military force in excess of what required to maintain order in our own country shall be immediately withdrawn, and the soldiers sent to their houses: and should the peace be ever broken by us, we shall consider that

all claim to the Rs. 5.000, hitherto yearly paid to our Government by the Government of India, shall be forfeited, and that our trade with the people of the plains shall be put a stop to.

And all this we of our own good will agree to and swear to in the presence of Captains Reid and Campbell, signing the agreement as copied out in Bhutia language from the Bengali copy made by Tuckha Mahomed Darogah.

And, moreover, with regard to the followers and others of the Gelling who have come down to the plains for protection, we promise not to molest them, but hope, with the good help of the Agent, Governor General to make friends with them and persuade them to return to their own country.

Anglo-Bhutan Treaty, 1863

The Honourable A. Eden, Secretary to the Bengal Government, was, in August 1863, appointed to conduct a special embassy to Bhutan to explain to that Government the reasons which had led to the annexation of Fallacotta, to demand the surrender of all captives taken from British Territory and to negotiate some stable arrangements for the better conduct in future of the relations between the two States. The mission proved a failure. The envoy, in compliance with the instructions of the Foreign Office, penetrated through many difficulties to Poonakha and the Bhutia Court, only to meet with insult and annoyance and purchase the safe return of his escort by signing under protest a preposterous treaty, which it became the first duty of his Government, to disavow.

War with Bhutan followed, and the allowance paid on account of the Assam Dwars and Ambari Fallacotta was of course stopped. After a campaign, which if not uniformly satisfactory was in the end entirely successful, the Bhutias were compelled to make humble submission. As a lasting lesson to them, they were thereupon finally and absolutely deprived of all the lands they had held below the hills- the Bengal Dwars being formally annexed by the British Government. It was, however, arranged that as some compensation for the lose of this valuable territory, a sum of Rs. 25,000 should be annually paid to officers deputed by the Central Government of Bhutan, and in

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this grant the older grant of Rs. 10,000 on account of the Assam Dwars may be considered to have merged.

Assam Administration Report 1879-80 Relating to Anglo-Bhutanese Relations.

At the beginning of February a difference occured in British territory between the Thibetan and the Kherkeria Bhutias, subjects of Bhutan Proper, which was amicably arranged by the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mangaldai. The Circumstances of this affair are as follows:—

One pema Thallong Bhutia, a resident of Bhutan Proper, made his way last year to the Towang Bhutia encampment at Amratol (the first stage in the hills after leaving British territory), and, it is alleged stole a pony belonging to the Towang people. He was caught and taken before the Gelleng Raja, who sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 20 in cash, 4 brass pots. Pema Thallong, feeling aggrieved at the punishment awarded him last year by the Gelleng Raja, sought his opportunity for revenging himself, and on the lst February last, while one of the Gelleng Raja's personal attendents was trading in a village in the neighbourhood of Udalguri, suddenly appeared with a companion, seized him, and forcibly took from him a pony and a silver waist-bell which were in the servant's charge. Pema then returned to Kherkeria, leaving a letter with the Gelleng Raja's man, stating that he (Pema) had done this in return for the fine the Gelleng Raja had sentenced him to pay in the previous year. On the above facts being reported to the Sath Rajas who were atthe time at Udalguri, by the Gelleng Rajas servant, that at once sent 25 followers to the scene of the occurrence to search for Pema and arrest him. Mr. Driberg, the Sub-Divisional Officer at Mangaldai, immediately sent instructions to Prem Gaimbo, the Chief of the Sath Rajas, to recall his men and not to make any disturbance in British territory, and himself went, promptly to Udalguri to enquire into Mr. Driberg found that Pema had retired to the hills after selling the pony for Rs. 45, and had taken the waistbelt with him. He had a long discussion with the Sath Rajas, pointing out the impropriety they had committed in sending their men to attempt the arrest of Pema in British territory, and that

had Pema been reinforced from Kherkeria a serious disturbance between the Towang and Bhutan people would probably have followed, for which they would have been held responsible. Having thus convinced the Rajas of the mistake they had made in attempting to take the British Government, and on its territory, Mr. Driberg obtained from them an ample apology, and a promise to leave the settlement of the matter in his hands. He thereupon wrote to the Radi Dumpa, the Bhutanese Raja of Kherkeria with whom he was well acquainted, and at a meeting with him succeeded in obtaining from him not only a written apology, but also the payment of Rs. 45, the price at which Pema had sold the pony, and Rs. 55, the estimated value of the waist-belt, as well as a promise to restore the stolen belt within twenty nights and to procure the examplary punishment of Pema. With this satisfaction Mr. Driberg expressed himself content., and, re-purchasing the stolen pony from the person to whom Pema had sold it, restored it to its owner. (The belt was subsequently recovered and restored to the Gelleng).

Mr. Scott's Report of 1816

The Garos had not ceased to make incursions into the plains (4) to avenge themselves on the Choudries for the extortion and oppression suffered at their hands, and in 1816, after a particularly atrocious raid in which the hillmen had invaded Kurribari, and burnt the Zemindar's residence, the passes were closed to trade and Mr. Scott was deputed by Government to visit the frontier. That gentleman gives the following account of the position of the four principal Zemindars and of the Garos on their estates at the time of his visit:—

1. Kurribari:—The Choudrie of this estate having been the most vigorous and least under control had reduced nearly all the Garos actually living on his estate to the condition of

(4) Criminal Consultation, 2nd October 1807, No.14. Criminal Consultation. 22nd April 1808, Judicial Consultation. 9th April 1811, Nos. 22-3 Judicial Consultation, 28th May 1811, No.37 Judicial Consultation. 18th June 1811, Nos. 15-16 Criminal Consultation, 31st December 1811, No. 9. Revenue Consultation. 14th November 1812, No.8. Criminal Consultation, 17th July 1813. Nos. 7.8. Criminal Consultation, 7th February 1815, Nos. 19-21 Criminal Consultation, 1st March 1816, Nos. 12-15.

ordinary ryots, but a few of the frontier Chiefs still remained merely tributary, subject to the provision of cotton on terms highly favourable to the Zemindar and paying sums of money on the occasions of Hindu festivals. Of these the chief was Renghta, who had been prevented as before shewn from emancipating himself from the Choudrie's supermacy.

- 2. Kaloomaloopara had been in feeble hands. The Garos on its borders were virtually independent, though some paid a nominal cotton tribute.
- 3. The Mechpara Choudrie had in 1776-77 effected large conquests, but was succeeded soon after by a minor, and now only a few outlying Garo villages in the plains remained in the condition of ordinary ryots villages, and in these the Regulations of Government were current. But in the Hill Tracts the Garo Chiefs were merely tributary paying cotton on terms favourable to the Zemindar, and occasionally admitting him as their criminal Judge.
- 4. Hubraghat:—Here the Garos on the first ranges of hills had been reduced to unconditional submission, but had been liberally treated and their Sirdars transformed into Jaghirdars, charged with the defence of the passes against the tribes of the interior. They were quite under the Regulations of Government.

Walter Hamilton's Report on the Garrows, 1820

This tribe formerly occupied an extensive tract of country between the 25th and 26th degrees of north latitude; bounded on the north by the course of the Brahmaputra, on the south by the districts of Silhet and Mymunsingh, to the east by Assam and Gentiah, and on the west by the great Brahmaputra. Such were the ancient dimensions, which, besides the country still retained by the independent Garrows, comprehended the territorial divisions in modern maps named Howeraghaut, Measpara (or Mechpara), Caloomaloopara, Currybarry, Gonasser, Susung, and Sheerpoor in Mymunsingh. At present, the tract occupied by the Independent Garrows cannot be estimated at more than 130 miles in length by 30 in breadth, and nowhere touches the Brahmputra. Seen from the confines, the whole

appears to be a confused assemblage of hills. from 100 to 3000 feet high, watered by numerous small streams, and containing scarcely any level land, the hills being everywhere immediately contiguous to each other. Towards the centre, it is said (for it has never been penetrated by Europeans), there are immense masses of naked rock, and large spaces destitute of vegetation; but in general, the hills, although steep, consist of a deep rich soil, suitable for the hoe cultivation. The climate being very humid, such a soil produces a most luxuriant vegetation, and, where undisturbed by agriculture, the mountains are covered with noble forests, containing an infinite variety of curious and ornamental plants.

Besides the space above mentioned, the Garrows seem formerly to have occupied much of the adjacent low country, and still retain some part as the subjects of neighbouring powers, most of the Rajas tributary to Assam on the south side of the Brahmaputra being of the Garrow tribe. British frontier, the several large estates, adjoining Brahmaputra to the east, have never under any government undergone a regular survey, nor have their internal resources until very recently been the subject of official scrutiny. During the Mogul government, some of them were made liable to a provision of elephants, some to certain assignments towards defraying the expenses of the Dacca artillery park, and others to the maintenance of a few petty garrisons, but the internal administration was left almost entirely to the hereditary chiefs found in possession of the principalities, who were treated rather as tributaries than subjects. This arrangement probably originated partly from the wild and uncultivated state of the country, which did not admit of a regular assessment, and partly from an adherence to a favourite maxim of Mogul policy, that of conciliating the good will of chiefs possessing local influence on their distant frontier.

Whatever share of independence the Garrows may have retained during the reign of the Moguls, whose cavalry could not penetrate these impervious forests, they soon lost when the adjacent zemindars of Bengal could call to their assistance the terrors of British musquetry, against which the bows, swords, and spears of the Garrows could oppose but a feeble resistance.

In 1775, the Chowdries of Measpara and Currybarry, under pretence of incursions made by the Garrows, collected a considerable body of armed men, and invaded the hills, where they are said to have continued two or three years, during which period vast numbers of their followers fell victims unhealthiness of the climate. They eventually. succeeded in subduing several tribes, and it is reported, that on this occasion, the hill chief Rungta first became subject to the authority of Currybarry. In 1794, Currybarry, Caloomaloopara, and Measpara, were considered by the commissioner in Cooch Bahar to be three istimrary mahals, the revenue payments of which to the Mogul government were fixed at a low rate, on condition of their opposing the Garrow mountaineers, for it appears these people were then in the habit of making annual plundering incursions, similar to those committed in the southwest frontier by the Maharattas. The Chowdries of these estates had military rank conferred on them, and paid revenue for duties levied, but not for land; neither did the tenants pay any rent, except for a few tracts within the inundation of the Brahmaputra, holding their lands by military tenure. These feudal arrangements enabled the chiefs to organize such a force, that in 1780, Ram Ram, the Chowdry of Measpara, attacked and defeated Mr. Baillie, of Goalpara. In process of time, when their connection with the Mogul empire became more matured, they began to pay a trifling revenue in cotton, the staple article of the Garrow hills; every load brought to market by these mountaineers being accompanied by a small bundle named the bucha, or young load, for the zemindar's share. The main load was carried on the back in a long basket slung round the forehead, while the young load was carried in one hand, and the cumburee or long sword in the other.

In 1798, the repeated acts of contumacy on the part of the Currybarry zemindar, induced government to detach a party against him, under the command of Captain Darrah, who captured the fortified residence of the Currybarry chowdry, in consequence of which, he immediately paid up his arrears. This was the first time a British regular force had been sent into Currybarry. The affairs of the zemindar failing subsequently into disorder, the estate was brought to sale, and

the purchase ruined by his acquisition, not being able to resell an estate the extent of which was undefined, and the possessor subjected to continual alarms of conflagration and massacre, from the struggles of the western Garrows to shake off a yoke which they had long borne with impatience. Rungta one of their principal chiefs, died many years ago, and was succeeded by his son Agund, who still exists, and is said to possess great wealth in slaves, brass pots, and human sculls. This chief attended the marriage of the zemindar of Currybarry's son, when a palanquin was presented to him, which, having first deprived it of the poles as useless, he entered, and was borne away over the hills on the heads of his slaves. His family establishment is said to be so numerous as to require five dhenkies (machines to clean rice) to be constantly kept at work. Agund's influence prevails over that portion of the Garrow mountains which he coutiguous to Currybary and Mymunsingh. and under him are Gheerees and Bhoomeas (local chiefs), who excercise authority over the particular villages in which they reside.

The Garrows have no other means of disposing of their cotton, the staple produce of the country, than by carrying it to the Bengal markets, which they continue to do notwithstanding the constant succession of fraud, falsehood, and extortion, which they there experience. The trade with Rungpoor is entirely carried on at the frontier marts, to which in ordinary times the Garrows repair once a week during the dry season. more especially in the months of December, January, and February. When the Garrow arrives at the market the zemindar commences by taking part of the cotton as his share, the remainder is exchanged for salt, cattle, hogs, goats, dogs, cats, fowls, ducks, fish dry and fresh, tortoises, rice, and extract of sugar cane, for eating; tobacco, and betel nut, for chewing; some hoes, spinning wheels, brass ware, Monohari ornaments, and also some silk, erendi, and cotton cloths. In 1809, there were 47,000 maunds of cotton brought into the Rungpoor district by the Garrows, but of this 10,000 mounds came from Currybarry. and 700 from the Garrows of Assam. It is uncertain what quantity goes to the southern markets, but were the Garrows sure of a reasonable recompense, the quantity might be greatly augmented. By a reasonable exchange is meant their receiving a maund of good salt for two maunds of cotton, whereas what they now receive is adulterated with a mixture of earth and addition of moisture. The value of the cotton, however, far exceeds the amount of all the other goods, and a large balance is paid in rupees, which is the only coin the Garrows will accept. The best eagle wood is found among the Garrows, but at present little is procured.

The presence or an armed establishment is indispensable, to keep the peace while the traffic is going on, and to give confidence to the sly but timid Bengalese chapman. It was formerly the custom to keep a large body of matchlockmen with matches ready lighted, who paraded round the market during the sale, and discharged a matchlock at short intervals to remind the savages that they were on the alert. Without this coercion, the Garrows, on the least dispute between one of their party and a merchant, would rise in arms and massacre all within their reach. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Garrows continued to perpetrate such atrocities, that in 1815, all commercial intercourse with them was interdicted, and parties of police peons stationed at the different marts in the vicinity of the Garrow mountains to enforce the prohibition.

With respect to the term Garrow, that people assert that it is a Bengalese denomination, nor does it appear that either notion have any general name for the congeries of elevations which we call the Garrow Mountains, nor for their inhabitants collectively, each tribe or clan having a name peculiar to itself. The northern Garrows are a short strong limbed active people, with strongly marked Chinese countenances, and in general harsh features, but some of their chiefs are rather handsome, and in manners and vivacity, are said greatly to excel the adjacent Bengalese zemindars. A Garrow woman can carry over the hills as great a load as a Bengalese man can carry on the plains, and a Garrow man one-third more. For their own eating the Garrows rear cattle, goats, swine, dogs, cats, fowls, and ducks, and purchase from the inhabitants of the low countries all these animals, besides tortoises and fish fresh and dried. Among the hills they procure deer, wild hogs, frogs, and snakes, all of which they eat, rejecting no food but milk,

which they utterly abhor and abominate in any shape whatever, calling it by way of execration diseased matter. They are very partial to puppies, and the mode of cooking them is worthy of notice, as furnishing an example of their diabolical cruelty. They first incite the dog to eat as much rice as he can swallow, after which they tie his four legs together, and throw him alive on the fire. When they consider the body sufficiently roasted, they take it out, rip up the belly, and divide the rice in equal shares among the party assembled. The whole of this process has been repeatedly witnessed by the Bengalese traders at the cotton marts.

One more instance of their culinary preparations will probably suffice. When a quarrel arises between two Garrows, the weaker party flies to a distant hill to elude the vengeance of his antagonist; but both parties immediately plant a tree bearing a sour fruit called chatakor, and make a solemn vow that they will avail themselves of the earliest opportunity that presents itself of eating their adversaries' head with the juice of its fruit. A generation frequently passes away without either party being able to execute the measure in contemplation, in which case the feud descends as an heir loom to the children. The party that eventually succeeds, having cut off the head of his slain adversary, summons all his friends, and boils the head along with the fruit of the tree, eats of the soup himself, and distributes the rest among his friends; the tree is then cut down, the feud being ended.

A process somewhat different is followed when they succeed in massacring any Bengalese landholder. On these occasions great numbers of neighbours and relations are collected round the reeking heads brought back as trophies, which being filled with liquor and food, the Garrows dance round them singing songs of triumph. After thus rejoicing, the heads are buried for the purpose of rotting off the flesh, and when arrived at a proper stage of putrefaction are dug up, cleansed of their filth, sung and and danced round as before, and then suspended in the houses of the parpetrators of the massacre. It is a mistaken notion that it is a mere abstract fondness for human sculls that instigates the mountaineers to these atrocities; were that the motive, the sculls of persons dying a natural death would

likewise be in demand, which is not the case. It may consequently be admitted, that it is the mode of acquisition by battle. surprize, or ambuscade, that stamps in the opinion of the Garrows the value of a Bengalese scull, which is besides esteemed in proportion to the rank of its former possessor. In 1815, the scull of a Hindoo factor, who during his life time had purchased the zemindary of Caloomaloopara, was valued at 1000 rupees; and that of Indra Talookdar, agent to the Currybarry zemindar, at 500 rupees, while the price of a common peasant's was only 10 or 12 rupees of deficient weight. To this custom of hoarding sculls, and of making them the circulating medium in large payments, is to be attributed the the extreme care with which the Garrows burn to powder the entire bodies of their own people, lest by any accident the cranium of a Garrow should be passed off as that of a Bengalese.

Their domestic feuds would be immortal, if there were not in most tribes a council of chiefs and head men, who endeavour to reconcile all these of the clan who have disputes, for it is said, they have no right to inflict any punishment unless a man be detected in uttering a falsehood before them, in which case he would instantly be put to death. The havoc such a regulation would occasion, were it extended to their Bengalese neighbours, will be duly appreciated by the European functionaries who administer juctice in that land of mendacity. Among the Garrows, dishonesty and stealing are not frequent, but murder is a crime of ordinary occurrence, a Garrow man never being seen without his sword. With this he cuts his way through forests and carves his meat, and so fond are they of the weapon, or aware of its utility for defence, that they never part with it, even when loaded with the heaviest burthens. Their habits of intoxication also occasion frequent crimes. Poor persons get drunk once a month; the chiefs once every two or three days, on which occurrences they squabble, fight, and assassinate.

With respect to religion, the unconverted Garrows of the hills believe in the transmigration of souls as a state of reward and punishment. Saljung is their supreme god, and has a wife named Manim, but they have no images or temples. In front

of each house a dry bamboo with its branches adhering is fixed in the ground, before which, after having adorned it with tufts of cotton thread and flowers, they make their offerings. In science they have not advanced so far as to write their own language; but a few have learned to write the Bengalese; and although so much cotton is produced in their country, it is only recently they have begun to practise the art of weaving it.

The particulars above detailed have reference principally to the northern Garrows, between whom and the southern there appears to be no essential difference, except that the latter seem to have undergone a partial conversion to the Brahminical doctrines. The southern Garrows are stout, well shaped men, hardy and able to do much work. They have a surly look, a flat Caffry nose, small eyes, wrinkled forehead, and overhanging eyebrows, with a large mouth, thick lips, and round face. Their colour is of a light, or deep brown. The women are extremely ugly, short and squat in their stature, with masculine features and almost masculine strength. In their ears are fixed a number of brass rings, sometimes as many as thirty, increasing in diameter from three to six inches. The females work at all laborious occupations. Their food is the same as that of the northern, but their houses appear of a superior description. These are named chaungs, and are raised on piles threee or four feet from the ground, being in length from 30 to 150 feet. by from 10 to 40 in breadth. The props of the house consist of large saul timbers, over which other large timbers are placed horizontally, and the roofs are finished with bamboos, mats, and strong grass. The latter are uncommonly well executed, especially in the houses of the Bhoomeas, or chief men. house consists of of two apartments—one floored and raised on piles; the other, for their cattle, without a floor at one end. The chiefs wear silk turbans, but their apparel is generally covered with bugs.

These Garrows are said to be of a mild temper and gay disposition, and very fond of dances. In regulating these, twenty or thirty men stand behind one another, holding by the sides of their belts, and then go round in a circle, hopping on one foot, after which they hop on the other. The women dance in rows and hop in the like manner. During their festi-

vals they eat and drink to such excess, that they require a day or two to get properly sober. Marriage is generally settled by the parties themselves, but sometimes by their parents. parents do not readily accede to the wishes of their child, they are well beaten by the friends of the other party, and even by persons unconnected with either, until they acquiesce in the match. Among these people the youngest daughter is always the heiress; and the females generally, although they are obliged to work hard, have great privileges, and in their debates have as much to say as the men. If her husband die the wife marries one of his brothers, and if they all die she marries their father. The dead are kept four days and then burned. If the deceased be a highland chief of common rank, the head of one his slaves should be burned with him; but if he be a chief of great dignity, a large body of his slaves sally out from the hills and seize a Hindoo, whose head they cut off and burn along with the body or their chieftain. The customs of the Hajin tribe, who reside at the foot of the Garrow hills, partake more of the Hindoo, as they will not kill a cow but they worship the tiger.

Such are the people whom a strange concurrence of circumstances have brought in contact with the British nation, and where the two extremes of civilization in this manner meet, the weakest must eventually succumb. As yet, however, they are an independent people, even the British, as successors to the Moguls, having no claim on their lands, far less any zemindar under that government. The country from which they have been driven by the Bengalese of Calocmaloopara and Mechpara continues waste, and will probably remain so, until the grievances of the Garrows are redressed, and their incursions restrained. In 1815, Mr. Sisson recommended that an intelligent native of rank, with one or more deputies, should be appointed to the superintendance of the whole range of Garrow hills, and to give efficiency to his office that a small corps, consisting exclusively of Nuches, Cooches, Hajins, and Rajbungsies, and other aboriginal tribes, should be placed under him.—(Sisson, F. Buchanan, Elliot, &c.&c.)

Administration of the Garo Hills District

Notification No. 746 P., dated the 24th September 1910—In exercise of the powers conferred on him by section 6 of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 (XIV of 1874), and in suppression of all previous orders on the subject, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam is pleased to prescribe the following rules for the administration of justice and police in Garo-Hills district:—

Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Garo Hills District

I. General

The administration of the district known as the Garo Hills is vested in the Lieutenant-Governor, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts, the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants, the mauzadars, laskars, sardars, nokmas and gaonburas or such other Classes of officers as the Lieutenant-Governor may see fit from time to time to appoint in that behalf, subject, so far as their judicial and police jurisdiction is concerned, to the exceptions, restrictions and rules hereinafter recorded.

II. Police

The police of the Garo Hills shall consist of

- (a) Regular Police subject to Act V of 1861 and the Assam Military Regulation.
- (b) Rural Police, consisting of laskars, sardars and nokmas or other village authorities recognised by the Lieutenant-Governor as such in the hill mauzas and gaonburas in the plains mauzas.

III. Criminal Justice

Criminal justice shall be ordinarily administered by the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants and by the laskars according to their jurisdiction, but mauzadars may be empowered by the Deputy Commissioner to dispose of petty

criminal cases. Mauzadars so empowered will exercise the same powers and be subject to the same restrictions as are hereinafter provided for laskars.

IV. Civil Rules

The administration of civil justice in the Garo Hills is entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner, his Assistants, and the laskars.

Walter Hamilton's Report on the District of Silhet (Srihatta, a Rich Market) 1820

This district is situated at the eastern extremity of Bengal, being within 350 miles of the province of Yunan in China. Although so near to the rich empire, no intercourse whatever subsists between them, nor has the intervening country ever been explored, or even penetrated, beyond a few miles from the frontier. The boundary mountains are a continuation of those which extend from Aracan and Chittagong to an unknown latitude north, and rise with singular abruptness from the plains below. The intermediate country between Silhet and China is a mountainous uncouth region, covered with jungle, destitute of navigable rivers, without towns or villages, and wholly trackless except to the savage aborigines.

Near to the town of Silhet, the country presents a novel appearance to an eye long habituated to the flat surface of the lower districts of Bengal. It is composed of a number of conical shaped hills, with broad bases, rising irregularly at short distances from each other, and covered with trees and verdure to the very summit; while to the north and east lofty mountains rise abruptly like a wall, to the height of several thousand feet, and appear as if they had at some remote period withstood the surge of the ocean.

During the rains the greater proportion of the land is laid under water by the overflowing of the Soormah and other rivers by which it is intersected, and the passage from Dacca is performed for nearly the whole way over rice and pasture fields, which in the cold season are perfectly dry. Over this tract when the floods are at their height, there is from 8 to 10 feet

of water; the elevated sites of the villages appear like islands; the masts of the vessels are entangled among the branches of trees, while their progress is impeded by the matted thickness and adhesion of the paddy stalks. When the inundation drains off, the land is left in an excellent condition for rice cultivation; this species of food is in consequence so plenty, that in 1801, rice, in the husk, sold for 15 rupees per 100 maunds (80lbs. each), and coarser grains were still cheaper. In addition to this supply every stream and puddle swarms with fish, which are caught with scarcely any trouble, with a hand-net, or even a a piece of mat. Wages are consequently, as may be inferred, extremely low, being from half a rupee to $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per month; but the labourers being naturally averse to exertion, and never working but when stimulated by the pangs or apprehension of hunger, the soil is on the whole very indifferently cultivated.

As has been stated above, the produce of this district, owing to the lowness of the grounds, and the swampy surface of a great proportion of the country, is principally rice; the more costly articles are cotton and sugar; the first raised on the hills, and the last on the more elevated spots of the different pergunnahs. Prior to 1801, the cotton cultivation had been much impeded by the predatory Kookies, a savage race of mountaineers who inhabit the recesses of the Tiperah and Cachar hills; and the Silhet hills being a continuation of the same range. they can suddenly issue forth, cut off those they meet with in small parties, and then retreat to their fastnesses among the hills. In 1800, no less than 18 persons were murdered by these marauders, which so intimidated the natives that the cotton cultivation was for the time abandoned, except on the more central hills within the district, but since that period the measures pursued by government to prevent a repetition of similar atrocities have removed all apprehension on this score, and the cultivation has been resumed. The culture of the sugar-cane does little more than supply the necessities of the district, which is on the whole not well adapted for the rearing of that plant.

Among the chief productions and staple commodities for exportation must be reckoned oranges and lime. The first are procured from extensive orange plantations, or rather forests, and the quantity annually exported is very great; Calcutta, and

many other remote parts of the province, being supplied from hence. The quality is inferior to the delicious orange of Chandpoor in the Dacca district; but may vie with any other, and the price on the spot is frequently not more than one rupee per thousand. Something peculiar in soil or climate would appear to be required to fit a place for producing good oranges. the whole extent of the British territories in Hindostan there are only three places where good oranges are produced; viz, the district of Silhet, Chandpoor, and Sautghur, at the foot of the eastern Ghauts or passes leading up to Bangalore from Madras. Chunam, or lime, is found in inexhaustible quantities among the boundary hills, and accessible during the rains, from whence it is transported by the inland navigation to the most distant parts of Bengal; but it is greatly inferior to the beautiful shellchunam of Madras. A commerce in chunam, wax, ivory, and other articles, is carried on with the Cosseahs and other mountaineers on the eastern frontiers of Bengal. This was formerly a monopoly; but in 1799, a general freedom of trade in all those commodities was proclaimed, subject to particular police regulations to prevent frauds and quarrels. The other productions of Silhet are, aguru, or fragrant aloe wood, wild silk, and a cloth manufactured from it named muggadooties. Great numbers of elephants are annually caught on government account, but they are reckoned inferior both in size and quality to those nearer the sea coast, and of a more southern latitude. In 1814, coal was discovered to be abundant at Laour, near the frontier of Silhet, but the coal procured having been picked up on, and near the surface, proved inferior to the English pit coal, approaching in its nature to the canal coal, which may be considered as a spurious coal of a slaty kind. The strata was found in the broken bank of the river for a considerable extent, and at distances of several miles. Formerly large boats were built here for the royal Mogul fleet stationed at Dacca, and square-rigged vessels have since been occasionally constructed of timber, the growth of the country. The chief towns are Silhet and Azmerigunge; the principal rivers the Soormah and Megna.

In many pergunnahs bordering on the hills, where the torrents rise suddenly and inundate the adjacent country, embankments would be of great benefit, nor would the expense be great

if the proprietors would contribute generally; but the collectors, after repeated trials found it impossible to unite them in a work which promised to be of such mutual advantage, In this district, for agricultural purposes, tanks are superfluous, the land being amply supplied with moisture, and more apprehension entertained of an excessive fall, than of a deficiency of rain.

In 1801, the existing circumstances of Silhet tended to prove that the distritt had not experienced any very important amelioration. subsequent to the decennial settlement, neither had it wholly stagnated. Many of the estates which fall annually into arrears, and are exposed to public sale, are usually in a declining and unproductive condition, originating principally from the misconduct and bad management of the proprietors; the improper and illegal alienations of portions of their estates formerly made; and the irreconciliable feuds and dissentions which agitate the numerous co-proprietors of estates, however small and insignificant. On this last class of landholders, confinement works no sort of beneficial operation, as they are much more inclined to remain where they are, in jail, than to come out of it, and to such a state of subdivision have estates attained, that there is scarcely a convict who is not also a land proprietor. The population of Silhet not being sufficient for the cultivation of the whole, the peasantry are in the habit of cultivating the lands of several estates at one time, and in such quantities as circumstances permit, they are not therefore considered as exclusively attached to any zemindar. The consequence is, at the conclusion of the harvest they frequently shift from one to another, and the portion of land abandoned remains untilled, unless the proprietor can manage to procure in time other tenants. While jungle and other waste lands have been clearing, arable and cultivated fields are frequently observed relapsing to a state of nature, which is probably owing to a deficiency of population, and to the subdivision of property almost to evanescence. On the whole, however, cultivation may be described as having increased rather than diminished since the commencement of the decennial settlement. The peasantry are of themselves more disposed to engage in the culture of jungle lands, especially such as are covered with reeds, which during the dry season, when parched, may with little trouble

be cleared, merely by the application of fire, and at the same time enriched by the ashes. In 1801, the collector estimated the waste and uncultivated lands at two-thirds of the whole district; but under the latter designation he probably also included the lands lying fallow.

An establishment named the Putwarry, exists in Silhet for the purpose of pointing out to individuals, the lands they have bought at the public sales, without which it would be extremely difficult for purchasers to discover and discriminate such property, the lands being scattered in small fragments, throughout different villages. To this establishment also the revenue officers are obliged to have recourse, to ascertain what lands are the just property of the state, the adjacent zemindars being always alert in appropriating such lands, unincumbered with the payment of any land-tax to the public treasury. In 1801, it was estimated that the produce of the rent-free lands was about one-fourth to the whole land-tax paid by the district; and the lands exempted were then considered in the best state of cultivation. At that date the revenues of the whole district were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by government in effecting their conversion into bullion; but between that period and 1814, the circulation of these marine productions had been so gradually decreasing, that in 1813 the whole of the current revenue was realized in specie.

In Silhet there are no regular schools or seminaries for teaching either the Hindoo or Mahommedan law, but in different places there are private schools where boys are taught to read and write. Although the Mahommedans here bear so great a proportion to the whole population, the mosques have been long going to ruin, while several small paltry Hindoo temples have been erected, and some of the merchants have changed their thatched dwellings for others of brick and mortar. In 1801, Mr. Ahmuty computed the inhabitants of Silhet at 188,245 men, 164,381 females, and 140,319 children, making a total of 492,945 person, in the proportion of two Mahommedans to three Hindoos; and Mr. Roberts, the magistrate, was of opinion that his jurisdiction, although one of the smallest

in Bengal, contained no less than 27,000 Talookdars. The number of houses was estimated by the collector at 103,637; and the boats belonging to the district at 23,000. During the Mogul government, and even at a less distant period, children used to be purchased here, and resold at Dacca and other places. Along the frontier of Silhet, towards the Cosseah mountains, there are several brick redoubts. with bastions at each and for the guards and ammunition, and also, one at Bonasyl; the whole were built to repel the incursions of that uncivilized tribe which has long infested the low countries in their vicinity. A guard from the sebundy, or provincial battalion, is regularly stationed in each of the forts at Myaram, Bamgong, Chentislah, Kontakhal, and Punduah, and to them is entrusted the preservation of tranquillity on the frontier, where they are cantoned, and where they are periodically relieved by troops from head quarters. Whenever the official avocations of the magistrate permit, he is directed by his instructions to visit these forts, to ascertain their condition, and collect information regarding the state of the frontier in general.

In 1798, the low country of Bungong, on the north-west side of the Soomah river, was occupied by the Cosseah mountaineers, who scarcely ever paid the revenue due to government the recovery of which was found impracticable, as the individuals on appearance of coercion, fled to their native mountains, which are inaccessible to a military force. On a repetition of this practice, the Marquis Cornwallis, then Governor-General directed the Cosseahs to be expelled, and the estates to be resumed and brought to public sale. After some trouble they were driven from the low lands, and confined to the hills, in the vicinity of which several masonry redoubts were erected and garrisoned with sepoys. From these measures much benefit resulted, and the pergunnah, then nearly in a state of nature, was settled and cultivated, and the amicable intercourse which afterwards took place had a tendency to civilize the habits of the wild people. Many murders, however, continue to be perpetrated on the borders of Silhet, by persons of this tribe, one of whose chiefs, in 1814, was named Jcett Singh. During that year a Cosseah council was convened, and the subject of their consideration was a dam, which had been opened by the peasantry within the British territories, in revenge for which they determined to carry fire and sword into the pergunnah of Prerua. This resolution they carried into prompt execution, under the immediate command of their chiefs, and in prosecution of it, destroyed two large villages, and killed four unoffending cultivators of the soil.

These atrocities were soon repressed, and the invaders driven to dens in the jungles; but their vicinity still continues a source of trouble and anxiety to every public functionary in charge of this district. By a gentleman who appears to know them well (Mr. Hayes) they are described as honest, fair in their dealings, of strict veracity, but outrageously vindictive in the three first mentioned qualities, exhibiting a most striking contrast to their more civilized neighbours on the low grounds. Occasionally they suffer arbitrary punishments and extortions from the inferior officers of government, who levy imposts of their own enactment on the articles of the traffic carried on between the inhabitants of Silhet and the Cosseahs, with whose chiefs they have been also accused of carrying on a clandestine correspondence.

During the Mogul government, as has already been mentioned, this district furnished a considerable number of slaves, and the practice of inveigling away its free natives, for the purpose of selling them at Dacca, Patna, Calcultta, and Moorshedabad, still continues, although from the vigilance of the British authorities the attempt is rarely successful. An authorized traffic in slaves has existed here from time immemorial, and one of the magistrates estimated them at one-sixth of the whole population, progressively increasing by domestic propagation. transfer of slaves takes place both with and against the consent of the slaves themselves, but in the latter predicament, only the mildest and most indulgent conduct can secure to the purchaser any benefit from his acquisition. Occasionally the poorer classes of free inhabitants sell themselves when in extreme distress, and a few, principally slaves, are inveigled away by bazeegurs and wandering fakeers. Women also of the poorer classes, both here and in the Backergunge district, when left widows, occasionally sell their children to procure food; some have been hereditary slaves for many generations, and are sold along with the estate on which they reside, while others are imported from

Cachar, Gentiah, and other adjacent territories beyond the British jurisdiction.—(John Ahmuty, Hayes, French, Sage, Colebrooke, F. Buchanan, J. Grant, Rennell. &c. &c.)

SILHET.—The travelling distance from Calcutta to this town is computed by Major Rennell at 325 miles; but the direct distance does not exceed 260. It stands in lat. 24° 55' N. and long 91° 40' E. and is a place of considerable size and commerce.

LAOUR.—A town in the district of Silhet, 112 miles N. N. E. from the city of Dacca. Lat. 25° 10′ N long. 91° 12′ E. A considerable trade is here carried on with the hill Garrows in salt and other articles.

AZMERIGUNGE (Ajaminda ganj).—This is a town of considerable inland traffic, and has besides a boat-building establishment. It is situated about 75 miles N. E. from Dacca, lat. 24° 33′ N. long. 91° 5′ E.

TOROFF (Taraf).—A town in the Silhet district, 77 miles N. E. from Dacca, lat. 24° 20' N. long. 91° 18' E.

The District of Rajshahy (Rajshahi).

This large district occupies the centre of the Bengal province. and is situated between the 24th and 25th degrees of north latitude. To the north it is bounded by Dinagepoor and Mymunsingh; on the south by Birboom and Kishenagur; to the east it has Dacca, Jelalpoor, and Mymunsingh; and on the west Boglipoor and Birboom. This was the most extensive and unwieldy zemindary in Bengal, and in 1784, comprehended, according to Major Rennell's mensuration, 12,999 square miles; yielding a revenue of 24 lacks of rupees. It is intersected in its whole length by the Ganges, or lesser branches, with many navigable rivers and fertilizing streams, and so watery is its nature, that from the beginning of July to the end of November it is nearly submerged. In times of remote Hindoo antiquity, the particular portion, thus subject to prolonged inundation, was named the region of Varendra. The northern portion of the district, as it is now constituted, presents neither elevation, forest, road, or water-course, by the assumption of which a definite boundary might exist.

On Cachar

Walter Hamilton's Report on Cachar, 1820

CACHAR.—West from Khamti, and bounded by Assam on the north, is the territory of the Cachar Raja, which is said to be of considerable extent and very mountainous. To the west it borders on the Bengal district of Silhet, with which its chief and his subjects have frequent intercourse. A communication exists by water through Assam to the centre of both Cachar and Gentiah, although usually deemed inaccessible even by land. Formerly the commerce between Bengal and Cachar was carried on by land from Silhet; the Assamese being so jealous of their Bengal neighbours, that no access whatever was allowed through the Brahmaputra. The Cacharies are a numerous tribe, who are scattered over this portion of Asia, although the name is usually limited to the pettty state of Cachar, which, although naturally fertile, is much overgrown with jungle, and but thinly peopled. The inhabitants have been partially converted by the Brahmins, and the Raja claims to be a Khetri of the Suryabansi (children of the sun) race, yet he occasionally sends gayals to be sacrificed on certain hills in his country, which is not strictly consistent with the Brahminical tenets.

In 1774, Oundaboo, the general of Shembuan, the reigning Birman monarch, unincumbered with baggage or artillery, marched against Chawal, the Raja of Cachar. In his advance he overcame the prince of a country called Muggaloo, and advanced within three days' march of Cospoor, the chief town of Cachar. Here he was opposed by Chawal, leagued with the Gossain Raja, and his troops being attacked by the hill fever

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(a disease fatally known to the British army), his detachment was dispersed, cut off in detail by the natives, or perished by disease. A second expedition from Ava, under another general named Kameouza, was more successful, as he arrived at Inchamutty, within two days' march of Cospoor, which so intimidated the Raja, that, besides the payment of a sum of money, he engaged to send a maiden of the royal blood to his Birman majesty, and also a tree with the roots bound in its native clay, as an unequivocal mark of subjugation. Whether or not the Cacharies have since been able to throw off the Birman yoke is unknown; but certainly in the correspondence which has recently taken place, there is no allusion to any such state of vessalage as the above narrative implies.

In June, 1809, a letter was received by the Governor-General from Raja Kishore Chund Narrain of Cachar, stating that he had commenced a journey with the view of performing various religious pilgrimages to the holy places within the British dominions, and requesting that a guard of 25 sepoys might be stationed in his country during his absence, to prevent disturbance and protect it from invasion, which salutary objects he asserted would be attained by their mere appearance. application, however, was not complied with; in consequence of which, in 1811, a second letter was received, soliciting most earnestly to be taken under the protection of the British government, on the condition of his paying whatever expense might be incurred on account of the troops employed for the defence of his country, and submitted other points for the consideration of the Bengal government. In reply to his application, the Raja was informed that, consistently with the principles regulated the British government, his overture could not be accepted, but that he would experience every office of friendship due to friendly neighbour. Under the influence of this dispotion orders were issued to the magistrate of Silhet, directing him to manifest every practicable degree of attention to such requests as the Cachar Raja, in consequence of the contiguuity of his territory, might eventually have occasion to make. In the mean time permission was granted him to purchase 50 fireloks, and a guard of 25 sepoys to conduct him back to Cospoor his capital.

The Raja, in his petition above alluded to, stated, that during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, a Mogul named Oka Mahommed attempted to seize his country; but that by the assistance of the British government, the Mogul's schemes had been frustrated. He then proceeds to set forth that this interference had excited the jealousy of the chiefs adjacent to Cachar, who had ever since evinced a spirit of hostility against his principality; but no mention whatever is made of the Birmans until 1817, when a report prevailed on the Silhet frontier that they had assembled an army in that remote quarter with the view of invading Bengal. On inquiry, however, it was discovered that the rumour had originated from a quarrel which had arisen between the Rajas of Munipoor and Cachar, the former having assembled his forces and taken possession of the latter's territories.—(Public MS. Documents, Symes, &c).

Cospoor (Caspura).—This is the capital of the Cachar principality, and is situated within a short distance of the Silhet frontier. In 1763, Mr. Verelst, afterwards governor-general. undertook a journey eastward from Bengal, and advanced as far as this place, which has never since, to the disgrace of British enterprize, been visited, or the tract from hence towards China explored.

Anglo-Cachar Treaty, Budderpore, 1825.

Treaty concluded between David Scott, Esquire, Agent to the Governor General on the part of the Honourable East India Company of Rajah Gobind Chounder Naryn, of Cachar or Herumba, 1825.

- ARTICLE 1. Rajah Gobind Chunder, for himself and his successors, acknowledges allegiance to the Honourable Company and places his territory of Cachar or Herumba, under their protection.
- ARTICLE 2. The Internal government of the Country shall be conducted by the Rajah, and the jurisdiction of the British courts of justice shall not extend there; but the Rajah agrees to attend at all times to the advice offered for the welfare of his subjects by the

Governor General in Council, and agreeably thereto to rectify any abuses that may arise in the administration of affairs.

- ARTICLE 3. The Honourable Company engages to protect the territories of Cachar from external enemies, and arbitrate any differences that may arise between the Rajah and other states. The Rajah agrees to abide by such arbitration and to hold no correspondence or communication with foreign powers except through the channel of the British Government.
- ARTICLE 4. In consideration of the aid promised by the above article, and other circumstances. the Rajah agrees to pay to the Honourable Company, from the beginning of the year 1232 B.S. an annual tribute of ten thousand sicca rupees and the Honourable Company engages to provide for the maintenance of the Munnipoorean chiefs lately occupying Cachar.
- ARTICLE 5. If the Rajah should fail in the performance of the above article, the Honourable Company will be at liberty, to occupy and attach, in perpetuity, to their other possessions a sufficient tract of the Cachar country to provide for the future realisation of the tribute.
- ARTICLE 6. The Rajah agrees, in concert with the British local Authorities, to adopt all measures that may be necessary for the maintenance, in the district Sylhet, of the arrangements. Executed at Budderpore, this 6th day of March 1824, corresponding with the 24th of Fagoon 1230 B.S.

Sd/-D. Scott

Agent to the Governor General

(No, XLI)

Vol II Treaties, Engagement,

and Sanads.)

Rajah Gobinda Chunder's Seal

Proclamation of Governor General in Council, 14 Agust, 1832.

In compliance with the frequent and earnestly expressed wishes of the people the Governor-General annexed the plains of Cachar to the British dominion. Tularam was allowed, not by any formal agreement to retain the hill tracts which were then in his possession. Cash allowance and rent free grants of the total value of Rs. 3875.00 were granted to the widows and the near relations of the late Raja. The management of the affairs of the district was entrusted, after annexation to Lieutenant Fisher, an officer of approved ability and great local experience. For some months Cachar continued to be administered from Cherapunji, the head-quarters of the Agent to the Governor-General, but in consideration of practical difficulties, early in 1833 Fisher had his headquarters at Dudputli, which, however, were soon shifted to Silchar for the sake of convenience.

Abstract of the Treaty made with Tooleeram Senaputte by Captain Jenkins, Agent to the Governor-General, 3rd November, 1834

- 1st. Tooleeram resigns to Government all the tracts of country disputed by him and Gobindram, and Doorgahram, viz. : all the land lying between the rivers Mahaur and Deeyong to their junction north, and all that portion of the country between the Deeyong and the Kopee rivers till they join on the north.
- 2nd. Excepting the tract above noted, the boundaries of the country to remain in his possession are formed as follows: on the south, the Mahaur river and Nagah hills; the Deeyong river on the west; the Dhunseeree river on the east, and the Deeyong and Jummoonah rivers on the north. For this territory Tooleeram agrees to pay tribute annually, four pairs of elephants' tusks, each pair weighing thirty-five seers.
- 3rd. As long as Tooleeram lives he will receive from Government a pension of fifty rupees per mensem, and promptly obey all orders issued to him by any officer of the British Government.

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4th. The British Government may locate troops in any part of the country, and Tooleeram is bound to supply them with provisions and coolies, receiving payment for the same.

- 5th. Tooleeram will decide all petty offences, according to the custom of the country, and govern the people in such a manner as shall be satisfactory to them. Cases of murder, decoity, and other heinous offences occurring, he is to investigate immediately, and apprehend all persons concerned, and forward them to the European authorities wherever he may be directed. If any offender takes refuge within his territory, he will immediately apprehend him and deliver him over to the constituted atuhority.
- 6th. Tooleeram has no authority to levy taxes or customs on the rivers Deeyong, Mahaur, and Jummoonah.
- 7th. If Tooleeram's territory is invaded by an enemy, he will report the circumstance to Government, when troops will be furnished to maintain him in possession of his country: but he is not to go to war with any State without the sanction of Government.
- 8th. Mongahdars in the British territory will not prevent Ryutts resorting to Tooleeram's territory, and he will not offer any impediment to their departure from his jurisdiction.
- 9th. If Tooleeram acts contrary to any of the above stipulations, or governs his subjects unjustly, then the territory may be otherwise disposed of; or the British Government may attach it, and retain permanent possession of it.

Report on the Revenue System of the District of Cachar, 10 May, 1853

In July, 1830 on the death of Govind Chander, the last Rajah of Cachar, the British Government obtained possession of the province and for several years afterwards the land settlement which had been made during his reign continued in force.

2. Land settlement during Govinda Chandar's time—The rates at which lands were then assessed were as follows: for cleared cultivated lands the revenue demanded was Company's Rs. 5-200 per Koolba, or for about 5 acres of land: for chara or seed lands the demand was Rr. 3-3 for ditto, and homesteads, tanks

- etc. were rent free, and in order that Jungle lands should be brought under cultivation, leases were granted to parties rent free for one thousand days or for nearly three years, after which period revenue at the rate of from Rs. 2-12 to 3-8 was demanded.
- 3. Revenue for the year 1830-31—The land revenue demanded for the year 1830-31 amounted to Rs. 21649-0-0 and the demand on account of miscellaneous revenues for the same year was Rs. 5516-0-0: so that the whole revenue of Cachar demanded for the year 1830-31 amounted to Rs. 27165-0-0.
- 4. In consequence of two or three bad seasons caused by heavy rains and inundations by which the crops were much injured and the people were unable to pay in all their revenue, it was thought that the rates were possibly too high, and it was considered advisable that they should be reduced, and a new settlement was ordered to be made.
- 5. Settlement of 1834-39—During the year 1838-39 a new settlement was accordingly made, to hold good for a period of five years only, by which the land revenue demand was reduced, for cleared cultivated lands from Rs. 5-2-0 per Koolba to Rs. 3/- and for seed lands from Rs. 2—12 and 3—8 to Rs. 2-8-0 per Koolba; homesteads etc. as before to be rent free and jungles, grants were given on the same terms as before one thousand days rent free.
- 6. Survey of 1842-43.—It having afterwards been ascertained that most parties had much land under cultivation than they paid revenue for, it was deemed advisable that a new survey of the Districts should be made, and during the year 1842-43 a revenue survey of the District was made by Captain Thuillier and in that year the land revenue demand amounted only to Rs. 27435-0-0, and which shows but a small increase during the first twelve years of our possession.
- 7. Settlement of 1843-44—After the survey was completed, in 1843-44 a new settlement was made by my predecessor to hold good for a period of 15 years, and by which the revenue demand was considerably increased on the whole, although the rates except for jungle lands remained pretty much the same as in the last settlement.

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8. Rates for Jungle lands—All cleared lands, including house-steads, which before rent-free were assessed at the rate of Rs. 3 per Koolba; equal to about 10 annas per acre, that was the general rate, but in some few places, it was lower only to Rs. 2/per Koolba; and leases were granted for jungle lands on much more favourable terms than heretofore. As the settlement was to last for 15 years it was determined that grants for jungle lands should be given on the following terms:—

First 5 years to be rent-free.

Second 5 years to pay half rent or Rs. 1/8 per Koolba. Third 5 years to pay full rent or Rs. 3/—per Koolba.

- 9. The terms on which grants were given for jungle lands were considered so favourable that they induced many to take much more land then they had the means of clearing or the power of cultivating.
- 10. During the first five years of the new or present settlement everything went on as well as could be wished. The revenue demanded was all paid in regularly and there remained but very trifling outstanding balances.
- 11. The first five years or the rent-free period of the jungle lands which had been settled expired in 1847-48 and in 1848-49 the second period having commenced high rent was demanded and which caused an increase to the land revenue that year of upwards of Rs. 13,300/—.
- 12. People in difficulty with jungle lands—Those who, during the rent-free period, had cleared their jungle lands, and had got them under cultivation, found difficulty in meeting the demand, but many had done very little and large portion of their grants were still jungle and it pressed hard upon them, they being obliged to pay for lands, from which they got no return, and so as to save them from being ruined which many would have been had they been found to act up to their engagements it was determined in 1850-51 to allow all who wished it to surrender as much of their jungle grants as they pleassed, paying for the portion they had cleared and wished to retain full rent.
- 13. Great number took advantage of the above arrangement, surrendered the whole or part of their jungle grants and which caused a decrease to the revenue for the remaining portion of the 2nd period of the settlement of upwards of Rs.

- 4200/— per annum. There is no doubt however that the remission has been beneficial to the District and eventually it will have gained by it.
- 14. Annexed, I have the honour of submitting statement No. I which shows the demand, collections, remissions, balances etc. for the past year 1852-53 and by which you will perceive that with the exception of a small balance, the whole of the revenue demand was realized during the year, and which I trust will be considered satisfactory.
- 15. Land revenue in ten years—Under the Ist heading is included the demand etc. for land revenue, under the Ist or fixed portion of the Toujee, on account of 7554 mehals, and which notwithstanding the loss sustained by the jungle lands which were surrendered amounted for the year 1852-53 to Rs. 56737-0-8 from which you will perceive that within the span of ten years the demand on account of land revenue had more than doubled itself, it amounting to only Rs. 27435 in 1842-43.
- 16. Every man in Cachar a Merasdar—The land itself is considered the property of the party in whose name it is settled, and who has the right of selling it or of disposing of it in such manner as he may consider fit. Nearly every man in Cachar is a Merasdar, he being a landholder in his own right, and paying revenue direct to the Govt. Most estates belong to number of shareholders, as many as 40,60, 80 or more, and in some parts of the district the want of ryots is much felt.
- 17. II3 tribal villages Under the 2nd heading are those mehals which are included in the 2nd or fluctuation portion of the Toujee. They are all of one description and consist of a tax levied from the hill tribes, Cacharies, Nagahs and Kookies who cultivate Jhoom on the sides and slopes of the hills and who are required to pay at the rate of Re. 1/—per house per annum and of whom there are 113 villages. the whole demand on account of these mehals Rs. 2324 was realised during the year.
- 18. Fisheries—Under the third head are fisheries which consist of 42 mehals; they are farmed out annually, the leases being sold by auction, and the whole demand on account of which Rs. 619-8-0 was realised during the year.

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19. Salt Wells—The next are salt-well mehals, nine in number, there being a number of salt wells in different parts of the district from whence salt is extracted and where the salt water is also sold for culinary purposes. These wells are farmed out and leases of them are also sold by auction every three years.

- 20. Under the last heading is the Sealtekh transit Ghat, and it is also farmed out for a period of three years and the lease of it is also sold by auction.
- 21. Sealtekh Ghat—The farm consists of a Ghat at which a toll is levied agreeably to a certain fixed tariff on the produce of the hills and jungles taken out of the district such as timber bamboos, cane, thatching grass etc. and also on cotton, wax and ivory.
- 22. Total revenue for 1852-53—The whole revenue demand for last year including both land and miscellaneous revenues and small Bukaya (Arrears) balance amounted to Rs. 65259-10-4, the whole of which was collected during the year with the exception of Rs. 97-11-1 remitted as irrecoverable and Rs. 229-2-6, a balance for realisation but great portion of which is bad.
- 23. With the year termminated the 2nd portion of the present settlement or ten year; and we entered the third period this year, when all jungle grants which were made, when the settlement was made, and which were not surrendered in 1850-51 will be called upon to pay full revenue and by which another considerable increase of nearly Rs. 10,000 will be added to the rent roll and the demand for land revenue this year will be Rs. 66532-2-3 upwards of three times what it was when we obtained possession of the province.
- 26. The Abkaree department has only just been made over to me. For some years past it has been under the management of the Abkaree Superintendents of Sylhet and the whole of the office duties of the Department were carried on at Sylhet but the Abkaree Superintendents having been done away with the charge of the mehal was ordered to be incorporated with my Revenue Department.
- 27. Opium eaters—The system is the same as that in the other districts of Dacca Division, but I do not expect that

revenue to be derived from it., will exceed between five or six thousand Rupees per annum and the greater portion of that will be derived from the sale of the opium for a large portion of the inhabitants are Opium eaters, whereas few of them drink spirits.

- 28. Revenue for 1853-54—The whole revenue demand for this year including land revenue, miscellaneous Revenue, and Abkaree will amount to upwards of Rs 80,000/-.
- 29. System of collection: The system of collecting the revenue is as follows:—

After we obtained the possession of the Province the same system continued in force for some years, as that which existed when it was governed by its own Rajah. The collections were made by the head persons in each mouza—the Chowdhurys, Majoomdars etc., they receiving some two or three annas on account of each mehal. In 1837-38 a new management was made. Mooktears were appointed, to be paid at the rate of 6 per cent on the collections, but they were not found to answer, they did not collect all the revenue, and at the end of each year there were large balances due.

- 30. The present system which consiststs of a regular paid Establishment was introduced in 1842-43 and I am of opinion that it answers well and with reference to the collections made last year the costs were only Rs. 3-9-0 per cent, less than which I do not think they could possibly be.
- 31. The district is divided off into three divisions. There are two Thusseel mohurries, two assistant mohurries and eight piadas, and as they have to collect revenue from nearly every individual in the district, their work is laborious, but notwithstanding which, they manage to collect within the year nearly all that is good and realizable.
- 32. The cost of collecting the Hill house tax are made by the Establishment.
- 33. Stamps have not been introduced into this district, it has been determined by Government that they shall not be till after the present settlement has expired.
- 34. The District of Cachar, when first we obtained possession, was placed under the Governor General's Agent in Assam and continued so till July 1835 when it was placed under the

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Commissioner of Dacca and is so still in the Revenue Department and forms part of the Dacca Division.

35. With the exception of that there are no stamps and no sales of estates for arrears of Revenue, I am expected to bonform in the Revenue administration of the District, in the disposal of all cases etc. etc. to the Bengal Regulation and to the rules and order of the Government and of the Board of Revenue the same as if this district was a Regulation Province, and I have to submit the same returns and reports as are submitted from those Provinces.

36.

37. In conclusion I trust, you will have found the above report sufficiently comprehensive to enable you to ascertain what the revenue system is, and I further hope that after perusal of it you will be of opinion that Revenue Administration of the District is conducted in a satisfactory manner and that the resources of the Province are gradually being developed.

Zilla Cachar, Supdt's Office, 10th May, 1853. I have etc.
G. Vernier
Superintendent, Cachar.

Notes on Northern Cachar, by Lieut., R. Stewart 1855

This treatise is an excellent account of the various tribes inhabiting the tract. The Mikirs are dealt with at...... There is a full and useful comparative vocabulary at..... of more than 400 words, besides verbal and adverbial forms, in Manipuri, Hill Kachari (Dimasa), New Kuki (Thado), Angami Naga, Arung Naga (or Empeo), Old Kuki (Bete), and Mikir. This is much the most important evidence of the state of the language half a century ago, and is superior in several respects to the materials collected a little earlier by Robinson. The Mikir words are generally recognisable as identical with those of the present day, and it is noticeable, with reference to the change of final 1 to i. the verbs are chiefly given in the imperative, with non (often wrongly printed not), sometimes as the bare root, and sometimes with loadded. There are some good measurements and other physical characters of Mikirs from which it appears that at that time most of

the Mikir men shaved their heads, with the exception of a large tuft of hair on the scalp.

Report of Mr. Allen 1859

There are six distinct tribes of hillmen in North Cachar. Their names and numbers, as given in Mills' Report (1854) and Allen's.

Hill tribes in North Cachar.

Report	(1859), are—	Mills.	Allen.
	Hill Cacharis	3,940	6,735
	Hozai Cacharis	1,170	3,260
	Mikirs	1,820	5,076
	Old Kookies	3,335	3,709
	New Kookies	7, 575	4,763
	Aroong Nagas	3,505	5,885

These all pay to Government either a house tax or hoe tax through their elected headmen or mouzahdars. There is reason to suppose that the Cacharis were formerly more numerous, but that many villages were deserted in consequence of the raids of the Angami Nagas. The Mikirs are the remnants of a tribe that has for the most part migrated northward to the plains of Nowgong and the isolated group of hills between the Jumoona and Berhampooter. The Aroong Nagas are an inoffensive tribe, probably an offshoot from the Kutcha Nagas who have settled down to peaceful habits. They were great sufferers from the Angami raids. The Kookies are all immigrants from the south, and formerly inhabited the hills south of Cachar, from which they were driven by the advance northward of a more powerful people from the unexplored country between British territory and Burma. They are a hardworking, selfreliant race, and the only hillmen in this quarter who can hold their own against the Angamis. The old Kookies' came north according to their own account about 85 years ago. They were made use of by Rajah Govind Chunder of Cachar in his feud with Tularam Senaputty (1928-29). Band followed band from ON CACHAR 171

time to time belonging to different tribes and speaking different dialects. In 1846-47 especially a large immigration took place, the leaders of which informed our officers that they had left their own hills to avoid the oppressions of Manipur and the attacks of Lushais. In the year 1851-52, another great band, numbering about 8,000, moved north.

On Manipur

Walter Hamilton's Report on Munipoor, 1820

MUNIPOOR (or Cassay).—This province is bounded on the north by Cachar; on the south by Arracan, and the rude tribes bordering on that country; on the west it has the Bengal districts of Tiperah and Silhet; and on the east it is separated from the original Birman territories by the river Keenduem, which taking a south-eastern course, unites its waterswit h those of the Irawaddy, a short way above the town of Sembewghewn. At present this territory nowhere touches on Assam, but the kings of the latter country have had many alliances with the Munipoor Rajas and frequent intermarriages. For some years past, however, all intercourse has been prohibited; trade in consequence ceased, and the roads are now choked up with jungle. The capital city is Munipoor, and by the inhabitants of Bengal the Cassayers are called Muggaloos, an appellation with which they themselves disclaim all acquaintance; but by Europeans it has been turned into Meckley, and applied to the country. Katihe is the name given to this people by the Birmans which has been taken for the name of the country, and corrupted into Cassay. By the Bengalese the country to the east of Munipoor is named Hairombo. The kaeu tree, which grows to a prodigious magnitude, both in respect to height and circumterence, is a native of this country. It would be a valuable acquisition were it naturalized in Bengal, as its wood is hard, durable, and well adapted for many useful purposes.

Although situated so far to the east, the Cassayers have a softness of countenance more resembling the natives of

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Hindostan than the Birmans, with whom they have very little affinity, either in manners or appearance. Many natives of Cassay, taken prisoners in the wars, are now settled in the neighbourhood of the Birman capital, Ummerapoor, where their superior skill and industry in different branches of handicraft work procure them a comfortable subsistence. gunsmiths of the Birman empire are all Cassavers, but the irguns are very defective. They are also much better horsemen than the natives of Ava. and on that account are the only cavalry employed in the Birman armies, and very much resemble those met with in Assam. Like all Orientals they ride with short strirups and a loose rein; their saddle is hard and high, and two large circular flaps of hard leather hang down on each side. which are painted or gilded according to the quality of the rider. The music of the Cassayers is remarkably pleasant, and consonant to the English taste, in which the time varies suddenly from swift to slow. They are of the Brahminical persuasion, and in fact have a much greater resemblance to a regular Hindoo tribe than to the harsh and brutal followers of Buddha. Their priests are famous in Bengal for their knowledge of the black art, and their country may be considered as the extreme limit of the Brahminical Hindoo sect to the eastward, as from thence the prevalence of the Buddihist doctrines is universal.

In the year 1754, when Alompra, the victorious Birman monarch, left the city of Ava to relieve Prome. detached a body of troops across the Keenduem to chastise the Cassayers, who had hitherto temporary independence. When the contests of the Birman and Pegue states left them no leisure to enforce obedience, they were always ready to revolt, and quickly reduced to submission. The Raja of Cassay, residing at Munipoor, sued for peace, which was concluded on advantageous terms for the Birmans; and, as is the custom, a young man and a young woman of the Raja's kindred were delivered as hostages. In 1757, Alompra again attacked the Cassayers and ravaged their possessions; but was prevented from completing conquest by the revolt of the Peguers. In 1765 Shembuan, the son of Alompra, invaded the Cassay country, and obtained considerable booty, but appears to have intended nothing beyond a predatory incursion. In 1774, he sent a formidable force against the Cassayers, which, after a long and obstinate battle, took Munipoor the capital, the Raja having withdrawn to the Corrun hills, five days' journey north-west of that place. From the above period the Cassay country has remained subject to the Birmans.

In 1814, Mr. Smith, a botanist from Bengal, pushed his botanical researches a considerable way into this remote country where his progress was stopped by an invasion of the Birmans, who expelled the reigning Raja, and placed his younger brother on the throne, after having married him to one of the King of Ava's daughters.—(Symes, F. Buchanan, Colebrooke, &c.)

MUNIPOOR (Manipura, the town of jewels).—The capital of Cassay or Munipoor province, situated in lat. 24° 20′ N. long. 94° 30′ E. The tract in which this town is situated is also occasionally named the Muggaloo or Meckley country, and is the nearest communication between the north-east corner of Bengal, and the N. W. quarter of the Birman dominions: but the whole route has never yet been traversed by any European. An intercourse also subsists between Munipoor and Assam, as in 1794, the British detachment sent to Gergong, the then capital of Assam, saw there a body of cavalry which had arrived from Munipoor. This town was captured by the Birmans in 1774, and has ever since, with the district attached, remained tributary to that people.—(Wade, Symes, &c.)

Anglo Manipur Treaties, 1833 & 1834.

That two Treaties were concluded with the Manipur State, namely, one of 1833 and one of 1834. By the Treaty of 1833 the British Government agreed to give to the Rajah of Manipur the line of the jeeree River and the Western bend of the Barah as a boundary; the Rajah, in return, agreeing to the following conditions, which are still in force, and are, therefore, extracted herefrom Aitchison's Treaties, Volume I, page 123:—

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

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

- 3rd.—The Rajah will in no way prevent the Nagas, inhabiting the Kalangga and Noon-jai Ranges of Hills, from selling or bartering ginger, cotton, pepper, and every other article, the produce of their country, in the plains of Cachar, at the Banskandee and Oodharbun bazaars, as has been their custom.
- 4th.—With regard to the road commencing from the eastern bank of the Jeeree and continued via Kalangga and Kowpoom as far as the valley of Manipur; after this road has been finished, the Raja will keep it in repairs so as to enable laden bullocks to pass during the cold and dry seasons. Further, at the making of the road, if British Officers be sent to examine or superintend the same, the Rajah will agree to every thing these Officers may suggest.
- 5th.—With reference to the intercourse already existing between the territories of the British Government and those of the Rajah, if the intercourse be further extended, it will be well in every respect, and it will be highly advantageous to both the Rajah and his country. In order, therefore, that this may speedily take place, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Government, will furnish a quota of Nagas to assist at the construction of the road.
- 6th.—In the event of war with the Burmese, if troops be sent to Manipur, either to protect that country or to advance beyond the Ningthee, the Rajah, at the requisition of the British Government, will provide hill porters to assist in transporting the ammunition and baggage of such troops.
- 7th.—In the event of anything happening on the Eastern Frontier of the British Territories, the Rajah will, when required, assist the British Government with a portion of his troops.
- 8th.—The Rajah will be answerable for all the ammunition he receives from the British Government, and will, for the information of the British Government, give in every month a Statement of expenditure to the British Officer attached to the Levy.

By the Treaty of 1834 the Kubo Valley was transferred from Manipur to Burma, on stipend of Rs. 6000/-Annually

Settlement of Boundary between Manipur and Angami Country 1841-42.

The boundary between the Angamis and Manipur was to be finally settled, to prevent irritation on that side, and a road was to be opened to Sammoogoodting from the plains. A nominal tribute was to be taken from the Nagas as soon as they could be brought to consent to its payment. To arrange the boundary, Lieutenant Biggs marched across the hills in the cold weather It was decided, in conference with Captain of 1841-42. Gordon, Political Agent at Manipur, that "commencing from the upper part of the Jeeree River, the western frontier of Manipur, the line of boundary formed (1) by the Dootighur Mountain, or that range of hills in which the Mookroo River takes its rise, east on to the Barak River; (2) by the Barak River up to where it is joined by the Tayphani River which flows along the eastern line of the Popolongmai Hill; (3) by the Tayphani River up to its source on the Burrail range of Mountains; and (4) by the summit or water-pent of the Burrail range on to the source of the Mow River flowing north from that point towards Assam, was the best boundary between Manipur and the Angami Country: Firstly, because the Angami Nagas and all the inferior tribes subject to their influence occupy the mountainous part north of the boundary here given, and have to-gether been the perpetrators of all the acts of aggression which have been committed of late years both in Cachar and Manipur. Secondly because along the western portion of the boundary here proposed, the whole of the villages south of it, which were before near this frontier, having been from time to time destroyed by the tribes from the north, and their inhabitants obliged for protection to locate themselves further south a considerable tract of mountainous country in this direction is completely deserted. Thirdly, because along the portion of the boundary here proposed to the east of Popolongmai the Angami tribes are separated from the Nagas of Manipur by a lofty range of mountains, across which little, if any,

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communication takes place. fourthly-because the Manipur Government not having at present any control or authority over the villages to the north, and the Angamis not possessing any influence over those to the south of this proposed boundary throughout its whole extent, its adoption would not disjoin connected tribes or separate any village from a jurisdiction to which it has been long attached, as would be the case where any portion of the country north of the line suggested made over to the Manipur Government's.

On Jaintia Hills

Walter Hamilton's Report on Jaintia Hills, 1820

GENTIAH (Jaintiya).—According to native authorities this petty state occupies the country bordering on Assam on the north; the Bengal district of Silhet on the south; and extending as far west as Cajoli, which is about 70 British miles east from Goalpara, or about 91° 50' E. from Greenwich; but the geography of this portion of Asia is as yet but very imperfectly ascertained. The Raja is a Garrow, who has been in some degree converted to the doctrines of the Brahmins. Near to the town of Gentiah, where the Raja resides, which in the maps is placed 21 miles N.N.E. from Silhet, an action was fought in 1774 by a detachment of the Company's troops and the forces of a native chief.—(F. Buchanan, &c. &c.)

Treaty concluded between David Scott, Agent to the Governor-General and Raja Ram Singh, Ruler of Jynteepoor or Jynteah 1824.

- ARTICLE 1 Raja Ram Singh acknowledges allegiance to the Honourable Company and places his country of Jyntia under their protection; mutual friendship and amity shall always be maintained between the Honourable Company and the Rajah.
- ARTICLE 2 The internal government of the country shall be conducted by the Rajah, and the jurisdiction of the British Courts of Justice shall not extend

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there. The Rajah will always attend to the welfare of his subjects, and observe that ancient customs of government, but should any unforeseen abuse arise in the administration of affairs, he agrees to rectify the same agreeably to the advice of the Governor-General in Council.

- ARTICLE 3 The Honourable Company engages to protect the territory of India from external enemies, and to arbitrate any differences that may arise between the Rajah and other States. The Rajah agrees to abide by such arbitration, and to hold no political correspondence or communication with foreign powers, except with the consent of the British Government.
- ARTICLE 4 In the event of the Honourable Company being engaged in war to the eastward of the Brahmapooter, the Rajah engages to assist with all his forces, and to afford every other facility in his power in furtherance of such military operations.
- ARTICLE 5 The Rajah agrees, in concert with the British Local Authorities, to adopt all measures that may be necessary for maintenance, in the District of Sylhet, of the arrangements in force in the Judicial, Opium and Salt Department.

Executed this 10th day of March 1824, corresponding with the 28th of Fagoon 1230 B.S., at Rajahgunge.

Seal and signature of (Signed) D. Scot Agent Rajah Ram Singh to the Governor-General of Jyntia

Separate Article

Rajah Ram Singh engages, that to assist in the war commenced in Assam between the Honourable Company's Troops and those of the King of Ava, he will march a force and attack the enemy to the east of Gowhatty; and the Honourable Company agrees, upon the conquest of Assam, to confer upon the Rajah a part of that Territory proportionate to the extent of his exertions in the common cause.

Seal and signature of Rajah Ram Singh of Jyntia

(Signed) D.Scott

Agent to the GovernorGeneral

Interview between Manick Sing and Mr.Robertson, 24 Sept. 1832

Although no definite arrangement was made for the surrender of Teerut Sing, the interview was not unattended with advantages; the most prominent of which were thus stated, by the officers who had deputed to treat with the disaffected parties.

- (1) "They were satisfied that Manick Sing was sincere in his intentions of effecting an amicable arrangement, and that he was deserving of confidence and encouragement."
- (2) "That although it would not be advisable to place much reliance on Teerut Sing, yet that an arrangement might be entered into for a peaceable adjustment of differences with his followers."
- (3) "That a schism would be effected amongst them, after witnessing our good faith, and finding that we were not so implacable as they had been led to suppose."
- (4) "That should hostilities be renewed, the interview had afforded an opportunity of observing, and again recognizing the countenance of Teerut's followeres." And
- (5) "They had ascertained, that the rebels were enabled to continue their opposition by the people of Churra and other avowedly friendly states from whom they obtained supplies." (Churra means Churra Poonji)

Subsequently to the interview on the 24th of September, 1832, several communications had taken place between Mr. Robertson and Manick, Sing the result of which was a second deputation of the same officers to Nongkreem, on the 20th October, 1832.

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Terms disussed between the British Officers headed by Mr. Robertson and Manick Sing 20th October. 1832

- 1. "Teerut Sing to be given up, on an assurance that his life would be spared; but with no other condition whatever, and to be dealt with as the Government might direct.
- 2. "In the event of his being so given up, the confederate Rajas were authorized, in conformity with the customs and usages of their tribe, to select a person to occupy his place, and a promise given that the election would be sanctioned by the British Government, and the person selected, be confirmed in all the possessions and privileges formerly enjoyed by Teerut Singh, subject only to such modifications as might be subsequently noticed."

Conditions of British Amnesty to the Jynteah Chieftains, 1832

- 1. "That the British Government shall have a right to carry a road, in whatsoever direction it may think proper, across the whole extent of country lying between Churra and the plains of Assam.
- 2. "That the British Government shall be at liberty to construct bridges, and to erect halting bungalows, stockades, guardrooms, or storehouses, at any point along this line of road." To render this condition less objectnable, the deputies were authorised to promise, if necessary, that no building would be erected at a greater distance than a hundred yards from the line of road.
- 3. "That each chieftain shall engage to furnish as many workmen as shall be required, on their receiving the usual remuneration for their labour, to assist in the completion and keeping in repair of the road, and other works, above detailed.
- 4. "That the posts of Myrung and Nunglow with an extent of territory of not less than—Coss or miles (the exact limits of which are to be fixed hereafter, and accurately marked out), shall be ceded in absolute sovereignty to the Brstish Government.

- 5. "That the chieftains shall engage to furnish, on being paid for the same, the undentioned articles for the use of any establishment which Government may set on foot, either at Nungklow or Myrung; timber, stone, slate and lime, for building.
- 6. That in consideration of no revenue or tribute being exacted of them, the chieftains shall engage to furnish grazing land for as many as cattle as Government may deem it necessary to keep on the hills, and for which it may be impossible to find pasturage within the limits laid down in the fourth article. The chieftains are severally to be responsible for the proper care of such cattle, as may be sent to graze on their lands.
- 7. "The chieftains shall engage to arrest, and hand over to the British authorities, any person accused of committing an offence within the limits of the posts of Myrung and Nungklow; and to assist to apprehending any convict or other person who shall abscond from either of these posts.
- 8. "The chieftains shall engage to any such fine as may be imposed upon them by the Governor-General's Agent, for any breach of the preceding conditions of which they may be convicted.
- 9. "In the event of their acceeding to the preceding terms, the chieftains are to be at liberty to return to, and re-occupy, their respective villages; and to exercise over the inhabitants of the same, whatever authority belonged to them, according to the established practice of the country before they placed themselves in a state of hostility towards the British Government."

As an additional motive for accepting these terms, the deputies were authorized to promise, that the Agent's influence should be exerted, in case of their compliance, to obtain from Government, restitution of all the lands formerly held by them in the valley of Assam; and in the event of failing to effect a pacific negotiation, Captains Lister and Rutherford were instructed to direct an immediate cessation of intercourse on the part of those chiefs who professed to be friendly, and to direct intercourse with those whose contumacy (obstinate disobedience

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or resistance) it would be necessary to punish by a renewal of hostilities.

Anglo Khasi Negotiations, 20 Oct. 1832.

"Subsequently to the interview on the 24th of September, several communications had taken place between Mr. Robertson and Manick Sing, the result of which was a second deputation of the same officers to Nongkreem, on the 20th of the following month, with permission to treat on the following terms:—

1st.—"Teerut Sing to be given up, on an assurance that his life would be spared; but with no other condition whatever, and to be dealt with as the Government might direct.

2nd.—"In the event of his being so given up, the confederate Rajahs were authorized, in conformity with the customs and usage of their tribe, to select a person to occupy his place, and a promise given, that the election would be sanctioned by the British Government, and the person selected be confirmed in all the possessions and privileges formerly enjoyed by Teerut Sing, subject only to such modifications as might be subsequently noticed.

"To all of the chieftains full amnesty was offered on the following conditions:—First—, That the British Government shall have a right to carry a road, in whatsoever direction it may think proper, across the plains of Assam. Secondly—"That the British Government shall be at liberty to construct bridges, and to erect halting bungalows, stockades, guardrooms or store-houses, at any point along this line of road". To render this condition less objectionable, the deputies were authorized to promise, if necessary, that no building should be erected at a greater distance than a hundred yards from the line of road. Thirdly—"That each chieftain shall engage to furnish as many workmen as shall be required, on their receiving the usual remuneration for their labour, to assist in the completion and keeping in repair of the road, and other works, above detailed. Fourthly—"That the posts of Myrung and Nungklow with an extent of territory of not less than cross or miles (the exact limits of which are to be fixed hereafter, and accurately marked out) shall be ceded in absolute sovereignty to the British Government.

Fifthly—"That the chieftains shall engage to furnish, on being paid for the same, the undermentioned articles for the use of any establishment which Government may set on foot, either at Nungklow or Myrung: timber, stone slate, and lime, for building. Sixthly—"That in consideration no revenue or tribute being exacted of them, the chieftains shall engage to furnish grazing land for as many cattle as Government may deem it necessary to keep on the hills, and for which it may be impossible to find pasturage within the limits laid down in the fourth article. The chieftains are severally to be responsible for the proper care of such cattle, as may be sent to graze on their lands. Seventhly—"The chieftains shall engage to arrest and hand over to the British authorities, any person accused of committing an offence within the limits of the posts of Myrung and Nungklow; and to assist in apprehending any convict or other person who shall abscond from either of these posts. Eighthly—"The chieftains shall engage to pay such fine as may be imposed upon them by the Governor General's Agent for any breach of the preceding conditions of which they may be convicted. Ninthly—"In the event of their acceeding to the preceding terms, the chieftains are to be at liberty to return to, and reoccupy, their respective villages; and to exercise over the inhabitants of the same, whatever authority belonged to them, according to the established practice of the country, before they placed themselves in a state of hostility towards the British Government."

Anglo-Khasi Agreements, 29 March, 1834.

"Rujun Sing, the nephew of Teerut Sing, a lad of between 13 and 14 years of age, fulfilling this condition, and being the heir apparent, according to the established Cossya law of succession, it was determined to confer the dignity upon him, and he was installed by Captain Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor General at Nungklow on the 29th of March 1834, on the following conditions, which had been previously prepared and sub-

mitted for the approval of Government by Mr. T.C. Robertson, the preceding Agent.

- 1st.—"That the British Government shall have a right to carry a road in whatsoever direction it may think proper across the whole extent of country lying between Sylhet and the plains of Assam.
- 2nd.—"That the Government shall be at liberty to construct bridges, and to erect halting bungalows, stockades, guardrooms, or store-houses, at any point along the line of road.
- 3rd. "That the Rajah and his Muntrees shall engage to furnish as many workmen as shall be required to assist in the completion, and keeping in repair of roads and other works, above detailed.
- 4th.—"That the Rajah and his Muntrees shall engage to furnish, on being paid for the same, the undermentioned articles for the use of any establishment, which Government set on foot at any place within the country ceded to him: timber, stone, lime, fire-wood for building and such other articles as may be procurable in the country.
- 5th—"That the Rajah and his Muntrees shall engage to furnish grazing land for as many cattle as Government may deem it necessary to keep on the hills. The Rajah and his Muntrees to be responsible for the proper care of such cattle as may be sent to graze on their lands.
- 6th.—"The Rajah and his Muntrees shall engage to arrest and hand over to the British authorities any person accused of committing an offence within the limits of any British post, and to assist in apprehending any convict or other person who shall abscond from any of these posts.
- 7th.—"The Rajah and his Muntrees shall engage to pay such fines as may be imposed upon them by the Governor General's Agent for any breach of the preceding conditions of which they may be convicted."
- 8th.—"On condition of Rujun Sing agreeing to and fulfilling the several articles already stated, the Government promises to continue his stipend of Rs. 30 sicca per month for one year after the date of this agreement, which will tend to settle his country in a quiet and comfortable manner; the above Rs. 30 being given him for his support."

Memorial of Rajundar Sing, Rajah of Jyntia, 1836

The Memorial of Rajunder Sing, Rajah of Joyntiapore respectfully sheweth.

That your Memorialist is the descendant and successor of a race of independent Chiefs, who for a long course of ages have ruled over a territory, situated on the north eastern frontier of Bengal and known by the name of Joyntiapore.

That the first connection between the Rajah of Joyntiapore and the British Government was in the Saka year 1695 of English year 1773/4 when Captain Oligar entered it in command of a Military force and took hostile possession on the part of the British Government. This occupation was however of no long duration. In the same year, the British force was withdrawn and the Rajah reinstated on the same footing as before Since that time hitherto the Raj of Joyntiapore has acknowledged the supremacy of the British Authority and has continued under its shelter and protection in the undisturbed possession of its ancient race of rulers, without claim or payment of tribute of any kind.

That on the 10th March of the Christian year 1824 the British Government being then engaged in warfare with the kingdom of Ava, the Right Hon'ble the Lord Amberst then Governor-General of India was pleased to enter into a formal treaty with Rajah Ram Sing then the ruling Prince af Joyntia-pore. The terms and articles of that treaty were not only fully complied with by the Rajah but he was so fortunate as by his faithful attachment and zealous exertions in the supply of men and provisions to the military forces in Assam to obtain the esteem and approbation of the British Authorities.

That Rajah Ram Sing died on the 11th Ashwin of the Bengal year 1239 (25th September A.D. 1832) leaving no male issue, and your Memorialist, as the nearest male collateral heir in due course according to the laws and usages of the Raj became his successor in the principality and assumed the dignities of its chief in which he was recognized by the British Government notwithstanding the open and secret intrigues and machinations of the Rajah of Poonjee and other neighbouring Chieftains who hoped to supplant him in his rights, and even entered into

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a league depose him and to possess themselves of the territory and used every exertion to obtain the sanction of the British Government to such aggression. In this however they found themselves baulked by its wisdom and justice and by that sacred regard to treaties and respect for the rights of others, which has gained it the confidence of the neighbouring powers.

That being thus foiled in their unjust design the enemies of your memorialist tried to injure and calumniate him with the British Government by every means in their power and for that purpose availed themselves of an unfortunate occurrence which had taken place in the life time of your memorialist's predecessor Ram Sing and which was as follows:—on the 21st Assar of the Bengali year 1239 (7th July 1832) it was reported to Mr. Robertson, then Political Agent in Assam that two subjects of the Company's territory were on their road to Assam, kidnapped by some miscreants set on by one Chutter Sing and carried off to the hills in the neighbourhood of Gobha in the Raj of Joyntiapore, and there together with two others supposed to have been seized in a similar manner, decked out for sacrifice at the Shrine of Kali, that one of them had escaped who told that tale but the other three were presumed to have been immolated.

This statement, made by a man who represented himself as the fugitive being corroborated by enquiry and information from other sources was accredited by the Agent, and laid before the Governor General and was shortly before the death of Rajah Ram Sing the subject of a remonstrance addressed to Rajah Ram Sing together with a demand for the surrender of the perpetrators, which he was in the very act of complying with, by the delivery of Chutter Sing and others, when his own sudden death set the accused at liberty.

The demand of their surrender was renewed and your memorialist exerted himself to comply with the demand. But difficulties and confusion incident to his recent succession and a variety of other impediments made it impossible to trace or retake Chutter Sing himself or indeed any of the other offenders till a considerable time had elapsed. Your memorialist however, after repeated attempts did at length succeed in laying hold of four of them whom he delivered up to the British

Authorities, as will appear by the original written acknowledgment of Captain Jenkins, the British Officer then in charge. dated the 21st September 1834 and now in your memorialist's hands, and of which a copy with translation is annexed marked (B). Meantime British Government wishing to vary terms of the treaty and demand tribute in lieu of the obligation to furnish a Military contingent in case of War on the south eastern frontier, availed itself of the opportunity offered by the demise of Rajah Ram Sing to require a revision of the treaty; and T.C. Robertson Esqr. then Political Agent for Assam, in pursuance of instructions from the Governor-General in-Council, on the 21st May 1833 made a formal demand in writing upon your memorialist to enter in a new engagement, in which the payment of a fixed annual tribute of Sicca Rupees 10,000 should be substituted in place of Article 4 of the former treaty; it was natural that your memorialist should feel surprized at this demand. It was the first time that any thing like tribute had been required by the British Government, and the compliance with such a demand was certain to alter the position and estimation of the Rajah in the eyes of the neighbouring chiefs. Surely therefore it was not unreasonable that your memorialist should at the moment solicit a space of no more than fifteen days time for deliberation, or that, in his reply of the 23rd Joystya of the Bengal year 1240, he should have respectfully urged his objections to the variation demanded. The Political Agent, however, without waiting for further communication was proceeding to take immediate steps for enforcing his demand and was only induced to pause by a request on the part of your Memorialist's Agent of seven days further delay. Your memorialist immediately dispatched Gopaulmony Duloojee and two others to the Resident, with a letter again urging his objections, and representing the fidelity with which the former treaty had been observed on the part of the Raj and the services of Rajah Ram Sing, his predecessor but the Resident paid little attention to the communication and made no other reply, than by requiring your memorialist's agents to give in a definite answer respecting the tribute demanded within twenty five days. No further communication having been made from your memorialist the matter stood over until the 16th of Joystya 1241 (28th May 1834) when

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your Memorialist received a letter from Captain Jenkins, the Political Agent renewing the demand of tribute and repeating the requisition for delivery of the offenders in the affair at Gobha. The letter was complied with as above stated to the utmost of your memorialist's ability; but your memorialist withheld the signification of his assent to the payment of tribute trusting to the liberality of the British Government and to insist upon a demand, to which your Memorialist was unable to offer resistance otherwise than by remonstrance and representation.

That this hesitation of your memorialist appears to have brought down upon him the heavy displeasure of his Lordship the Governor-General for in the month of March 1835 he was both grieved and surprized by receiving a letter from His Lordship in Council intimating that the whole of your memorialist's ancestral possessions in the plains has been confiscated by the British Government, and that orders had been issued for taking possession of them on its behalf.

The only ground assigned for this summary act was the non-delivery of the offenders in the atrocity of Gobha and the occurrance of a similar cause of offence in the English year 1821 together with an insinuation of your memorialist's participation either in the outrage itself or in the protection of the perpetrators. These orders were immediately carried into effect and your memorialist has thereby been stripped off the whole of the possessions in the plains which had been the patrimony of his ancestors for many generations.

He begs leave respectfully to represent that the avowed reason for this severe and summary treatment of the heir of an old and faithful vassal was not only insufficient in itself but was wholly untrue in fact, your memorialist having, as above stated, already complied, as far as it was possible for him to do so, with the requisition to deliver up the offender in the affair of Gobha and having obtained the written acknowledgment of their surrender. Your Memorialist cannot believe that this fact could have been known to his Lordship in Council when the orders complained of were given. If it had it must have been noticed in the letter of his Lordship. Moreover he begs to submit that it would be strange indeed to hold him responsible for an outrage committed three years before and in the time of

his predecessor; still less for one that had occured fifteen years ago upon which no measures had then been taken or insisted upon. As successor to the Raj, your memorialist was doubtless bound to follow up the offenders whom Rajah Ram Sing: had seized but was prevented by his death from surrendering and so he did. Nor is it to be wondered at that delay should have occurred in a matter of so much embarrassment and amongst tribes so wild and impatient of all rule. Your Memorialist on receiving the acknowledgement from the British Officer, without comment or further demand naturally concluded that his compliance with the requisition had been accepted. Had anything more been called for, it would surely have been intimated to him in the interval between September 1834 and March 1835 and had any such intimation been made, it would appear on the records of the proceedings of the British Autho-But none such has ever been made or pretended. rities.

Your memoralist scarcely knows how to advert to the charge against himself of participation in the atrocity of Gobha or at harbouring the perpetrators for the charge rather insinuated than brought forward in the from His Lordship in Council and it was new to the ears of your Memorialist, who can impute it to nothing else but the secret malevolence of his enemies and calumniators. Had there been any foundation for such a charge it would have been an effectual bar to the recognition by the British Government of your memorialist as successor to Rajah Ram Sing. reputation is the bare fact of your memorialist having in the interim traced out and delivered up four of the offenders, before the charge was even insinuated -His Lordship's knowledge of that fact alone would have effectually silenced the calumniator by whom the suggestion must have been made.

It will however naturally occur to your Lordship that the outrage at Gobha was merely the ostensible ground of charge, and that the real offence of your memorialist, which has been thus heavily visited was the silence of your memorialist as to the demand of tribute. Indeed the total omission of this topic in the communication of the ground of offence can be no otherwise accounted for than by the consciousness that it was un-

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tenable. In time of war or other emergency, the demand of a subsidy or money payment by the paramount state from its vassal is usual and just. But the demand of a permanent tribute in time of profound peace in lieu of an existing obligation to furnish temporary aid in men and supplies upon the contingency of war on the neighbouring frontier which might not occur for a century, seems neither usual nor equitable, and could appear to the vassal in no better light than an alarming innovation. But even the direct refusal of such a demand could scarcely be a just ground of forfeiture. Your memorialist however never did refuse compliance. He was sensible of his position and of the impossibility of refusal. Had that course been taken towards memorialist, however reluctant to part with the shadow of independence his exemption from tribute appeared to leave to him, or grieved at the necessity of discharging those retainers of his family which the exaction of a tribute equivalent to nearly half of the rent of the territory taken from him must render him unable longer to entertain, he must need to have yielded to the demand. If the interests of the British Government require that the tribute in question should be insisted upon as the condition of renewed treaty with the Rajah Joyntiapore, your memorialist was and is ready to subscribe to those terms. But he respectfully submits that his reluctance to part with the privileges of his forefathers was not unnatural and ought not to be construed as a mark either of contumacy or of disaffection.

In conclusion your petitioner confidently hopes, that, on full consideration of the case, it will be found by your Lordship that the forfeiture and degradation he has been subjected to have been inflicted upon him under misapprehension of the facts—and without regard to the actual circumstances of the Raj of Joyntiapore and of your Memorialist himself. And he earnestly solicits that he may be restored to the possession of the small territory of which he has been deprived and that the treaty of the British Government with the Raj of Joyntiapore may be renewed on such terms either of tribute or otherwise, as your wisdom and justice shall dictate.

Calcutta 18th July 1836.

Signed (In Bengal)

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On Burma

Treaty of Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826 Burmese Version

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between the English Company's Governor-General of India and the King of Burma, made by the Chief General, the Noble Archibald Campbell, Commissioner, Robertson, Esqr, Commissioner, and Chads, Esqr., Commander of the English war vessels on the Irrawadi river, appointed by the Governor-General and Mengyee Mahamen-hla-kyan-ten, Woon-gyee, Lord of Lakaing and Mengyee Mahamen-hla-three-ha-thu, Atwen Woon, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by the King of Burma, at Yan-da-bo, on the fourth of the decrease of Ta-boung, in the year 1187 (Feb. 24th. 1826).

- ARTICLE 1. Let there be perpetual peace and friendship between the Governor-General and the King of Burma.
- ARTICLE 2. The King of Burma shall no more have dominion over, or the direction of the towns and country of Assam- the country of Ak-ka-bat (Cachar) and

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the country of Wa-tha-li (Jyntea). With regard of Munnipore, if Gan-bee-ra-shing desire to return to his country and remain fules, the King of Burma shall not prevent or molest him, but let him remain.

- That there may be no cause of future dispute ARTICLE 3. about the boundary between the two great countries, the English Government will retain the country of Aracan, that is, Aracan, Ramree, Manoung (Cheduba) and Than-dwa, which they have conquered; and the King of Burma shall not have dominion. Let the Yo-ma and Bo-koung range of mountains, upto the Great Pagoda, on the Man-ten promontory (Cape Negrais) be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a about the boundary, let men be appointed by the English and the Burmese Governments, to decide correctly, according to ancient limits. The men appointed, shall be respectable officers of Government.
- ARTICLE. 4. The King of Burma cedes to the British Government the towns of Ye, Tavoy, Myik (Mergui) and Tenasserim, with their territories, mountains, shores, and islands. The Salwen river shall be the boundary. If hereafter there should be a dispute about the boundary, let it be settled as specified above.
- ARTICLE 5. The King of Burma, in order to make manifest his desire to preserve perpetual friendship between the two great countries, and to defray part of the expenses incurred by the British Government in the war, shall pay one crore of rupees.
- ARTICLE 6. No person who has gone from one side to the other during the war, whether a Burmese subject who has joined the English, or an English subject

who has joined the Burmese, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, shall be punished or molested on that account.

- That the friendship now settled between the two ARTICLE 7. great countries may be permanent, let one Government person be appointed by the British Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, to reside in the royal city of Burma; and let one Government person, appointed by the Burman Government, with fifty attendants and arms complete, reside in the royal city of the Governor-General. And let the Burmese Governor, residing in the Ku-la country and the Ku-la Governor. residing in the Burmese country, purchase or build a new, as they may choose, a suitable house of wood or brick for their residence. And in order to promote the prosperity of the two nations, an, additional Treaty shall be made, relative to opening the gold and silver (A Burman phrase) road and trading with one another.
- All debts contracted previous to the war, by the ARTICLE 8. Government people or common people, shall be completely liquidated, according to good faith. No one shall be suffered to excuse himself saving the war took place after the debt was contracted; nor shall either party confiscate the property of the other in consequence of the war. Moreover, when British subjects die in the Kingdom of Burma, and there be no heir, all the property left shall, according to the usages of white Kulas, be delivered to the English Government person residing in Burma; and in like manner, when Burmese subjects die in the British Kingdom, and there be no heir, all the property left shall be delivered to the Burmese Government person residing there.

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ARTICLE 10. The King of Siam, the ally of the British Government, having taken part with the British in the war, shall be considered as included in the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 11. This Treaty shall be ratified by Commissioners appointed by the King of Burma; and all English, American, and other black and white Ku-la prisoners shall be delivered to the British Commissioners. Also the Treaty, assented to and ratified by the Governor-General of India, shall be transmitted to the King of Burma within four months; and all Burmese prisoners shall be immediately called from Bengal, and delivered to the Burmese Government.

Additional Article

The British Commissioners, in order to manifest their desire for peace, and that the King of Burma may pay with ease the crore of rupees mentioned in the Fifth Article, agree that when he has paid eighteen and three quarters lacs of ticals, or one fourth part of the whole sum of rupees, the English army will retire to Rangoon. Upon further paying eighteen and three-quarters lacs of ticals, within one hundred days from this date, the English army shall speedily depart out of the Kingdom of Burma. In regard to the remaining two parts of the money, one part shall be paid within one year from this date, and the other within two years, to the English Government person residing to Burma.

Results of the Treaty of Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826

Burmese ceded to the British, the territories and towns of:-

- 1. Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, Tenasserim, and Arracan.
- 2. The King of Ava ceased to have dominion over the states of Cachar, Jyntea, and Assam.
- 3. The Burmese acknowledged the independence of Munipoor, and the right of Siam, to the benefits of this treaty.

- 4. The mutual right of keeping resident from one state at the court of the other.
 - 5. A commercial treaty to be afterwards negotiated.
- 6. One crore of rupees, as a token of His Majesty's sincere friendship, and part indemnification of the expenses of the war.

For the accommodation of the Burmese, the tribute was to be paid in four equal instalments, the first instalment of 25 lacs to be paid down, and the British army to retire to Rangoon; the 2nd, within three months, when the army would evacuate the Burmese dominions; the 3rd was to have been paid within one year; and the 4th, within two years from the date of the treaty: but unfortunately, our negotiators took no security for the punctual performance of this engagement.

Anglo-Burmese Commercial Treaty of 1826.

A Commercial Treaty, signed and sealed at the Golden City of Rata-na-pura, on the 23rd of November, 1826, according to the English, and the 9th of the decrease of the Moon Tan-soung-mong 1188, according to the Burmans, by the Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Ruler the Company's Buren, who governs Infia, and the Commissioners, the Atwenwun Mengyi-thi-ri-maha-men-thi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue, appointed by His Majesty the Burmese rising Sun Buren, who reigns over Thu-na-pa-ran-ta-Tam-pa-di-pa, and many other great countries.

According to the Treaty of Peace between the two great Nations made at Yandaboo, in order to promote the prosperity of both countries, and with a desire to assist and protect the trade of both, the Commissioner and Envoy Crawford, appointed by the English Company's Buren, who rules India; and the Commissioners, the Atwenwun Mengyi-thi-ra-maha-tnundathen Kyan, Lord of Sau, and the Atwenwun Maha-men-thathi-ha-thu, Lord of the Revenue appointed by His Majesty the Burmese rising Sun Buren, who rules over Thu-na-pa-ra-Tampa-di-pa-, and many other great countries: these three in the conference tent, at the landing-place of Ze-ya-pu-ra, north of Golden City of Rata-na-pura, with mutual consent completed this Engagement.

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Peace being made between the great country ARTICLE 1. governed by the English Prince the India Company Buren, and the great country of Rata-na-Pura, which rules over Thu-na-pa-ra-Tam-pa-dipa, and many other great countries, when merchants with an English stamped pass from the country of the English prince and merchants from the Kingdom of Burma pass from one country to the other selling and buying merchandize, the sentinels at the passes and entrances, the established gate-keepers of the country, shall make inquiry as usual, but without demanding any money, and all merchants coming truly for the purpose of trade, with merchandize, shall be suffered to pass without hindrance or molestation. The Governments of countries also shall permit ships with cargoes to enter ports and carry on trade, giving them the utmost protection and security: and in regard to duties, there shall none be taken beside the customary Duties at the landing places of trade.

Ships whose breadth of beam on the inside (open-Article 2. ing of the hold) is eight Royal Burman cubits or 19-1-/10 English inches each, and all ships of smaller size, whether merchants from the Burmese country entering an English port under the Burmese flag, or merchants from the English country with an English stamped pass entering a Burmese port under the English flag, shall be subject to no other demands beside the payment of duties, and ten takals 25 per cent. (20 sicca Rupees) for a chokey pass on leaving. Nor shall pilotage be demanded, unless the Captain voluntarily requires a pilot. However, when ships arrive, information shall be given to the officer stationed at the entrance of the sea, in regard to vessels whose breadth of beam exceeds eight Royal Burman cubits, and remain, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Yandaboo, without unshipping their rudders, or landing their guns, and be free from trouble and molestation as Burmese vessels in British port. Besides the Royal Duties, no more duties shall be given or taken than such as are customary.

- ARTICLE 3. Merchants belonging to one, who go to the other country and remain there, shall when they desire to return, go to whatever place and by whatever vessal they may desire, without hindrance. Property owned by merchants, they shall be allwed to sell, and property not sold and household furniture, they shall be allowed to take away without hindrance or incurring any expense.
- ARTICLE 4. English and Burmese vessels meeting with contrary winds or sustaining damage in masts, rigging, etc., or suffering shipwreck on the shore, shall, according to the laws of charity, receive assistance from the inhabitants of the towns and villages that may be near, the master of the wrecked ship paying to those that assist suitable salvage, according to the circumstances of the case; and whatever property may remain, in case of shipwreck, shall be restored to the owner.

Anglo-Ava Agreements, 1834 English Version

(Secret Cons. 24th April 1834, No. II)

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

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Second—The British Commissioners will withdraw the Muneepooree Thannas now stationed within this tract of country and make over immediate possession of it to the Burmese Commissioners on certain conditions.

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

Fourth—The boundaries are as follows:—

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

2nd.—On the south, a line, extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at the point where the river, called by the Burmans, Nansaweng enters the plain upto its sources, and across the hills due west down to the Kathe Khyoung (Muneepooree River).

3rd.—On the north, the line of boundary will begin at the foot of the same hills at the northern extremity of the Kubo Valley and pass due north upto the first range of hills, east of that upon which stand the villages of Choeter, Noongbree, Noonghur of the tribe called by the Muneepoorees Loohoopa, and by the Burmans Lagwensoung, now tributary to Muneepoor.

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

Seal F.J. Grant, Major.

Seal R.S. Pemberton, Capt., Commrs. Sunmyachil Ghaut, Ningthee River. 9th January 1830.

Translation of a Transcript of the Burmese Version by Major General Nuthall, Offg. Poltl. Agent Manipur

(Political A., May 1871, No. 158.)

First.—The British Commissioners, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, agree to make over to the Woondouk (Under Secretary), Maha Mengyan Raja, and to Tsayedangyee (Chief writer of Court), Nemyookaythoo Commissioners appointed by the King of Ava, all the villages in the Kubau valley, together with Tumoo. Kumpat, and towns of Loungwat (alias Sumyok), also the Ungan Hills and the lands between those and the Khyendwen River.

Second.—The British Commissioners will withdraw the Manipore Thannas now stationed within this tract of country, and make over immediate possession of it to the Burmese Commissioners on certain conditions.

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

Fourth.—The boundaries are as follows:

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

2nd. On the south a line extending from the eastern foot of the same hills at the point where the river called by the Burmans Nansaweng, and by the Munipoories, Numsailung, enters the plains, up to its sources and across the hills due west to the Nankathee Kayong (alias Munipore river).

3rd. On the north, the line of boundary will begin at the foot of the same hills at the northern extremity of the Kubau Valley, and pass due north up to the first range of hills, east of that upon which stands the villages of Tswaitara. Noangbyee, and Noauhara now tributary to Munipore.

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

SEAL

SEAL

R.B. PEMBERTON.

F.J. GRANT. Major.

Capt.
Woondouk Maha Mengau
Rajah. Tsayed Auguee
Nemyookauthoo.

Signed, West of Natkwon on 9th January 1843.

Literal Translation of the Burmese Version, received from the Chief Commissioner, British Burma.

(Political A. June 1872, No. 107.)

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

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

- 1st. That they take over the tract of country as pointed out by the two British Political Agents.
- 2nd. That the villagers living on the Cassay side shall not be interfered with, or in any way molested.

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

The boundaries to be as follows:

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

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

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

The boundary on the north shall begin from the eastern foot of the same range of hills and run along to the end of the Kubao Valley, and from thence due north as far as a hill which is situate on the eastern side of the range of Cassay hills, on which stand the villages of Tswatard, Hnabyee, and Moamhara belonging to Munipore.

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

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

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On The Nagas

Lord Dalhousie's Minute as Regard to the Relations to be Maintained with the Angami Nagas, 20 Feb, 1851

I concur in the conclusion to which the Hon'ble the President in Council has come respecting the relations to be maintained with the Angami Nagas, and consider that his Honor has judged wisely in directing the withdrawal of the force which has been sent, and of the post which has been established in advance in that country.

I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended of what is called obtaining a control, that is to say, of taking possession of these hills, and of establishing our sovereignty over their savage inhabitants. Our possession could bring no profit to us, and would be as costly to us as it would be unproductive. The only advantage which is expected from our having possession of the country by these who advocate the measure, is the termination of the plundering inroads which the tribes now make from the hills on our subjects at the foot of them. But this advantage may more easily, more cheaply, and more justly be obtained by refraining from all seizure of the territory of these Nagas, and by confining ourselves to the establishment of effective means of defence on the line of our own frontier.

I cannot, for a moment, admit that the establishment of such a line of fronting defence is impracticable. Major Jenkins describes the troops who compose the Militia and the Police as active, bold, and hardy. With such materials as these, there can be no impossibility nor even difficulty, in establishing effective lines of frontier defence, if the plan is formed by officers of capacity, and exceuted by officers of spirit and judgment. This opinion is not given at random. The peace and security preserved on other portions of the frontier of this Empire, where the extent is greater and the neighbouring tribes far more formidable, corroborate the opinion I have given.

"As it is impolitic to contemplate the permanent possession of these hills, so it seems to me impolitic to sanction a temporary occupation of them. We have given our aid to the friendly tribe and replaced them in their villages. We have destroyed the military works and have "broken and disspirited" their enemies. I can see, therefore, no injustice or impropriety in leaving that tribe to maintain the ground which is now its own.

Our withdrawal now, under the circumstances above described, when our power has been vindicate, our enemies dispersed, and our friends re-established, can be liable to no misrepresentation, and can be attributed to no motive but the real one, namely, our desire to show that we have no wish for territorial aggrandizement, and no designs on the independence of Naga tribes.

And as there is, in my judgment, no good reason against our withdrawing, so there are good reasons why we should withdraw.

The position of the European Officer and of the troops during last season appeared to me far from satisfactory. I would be very reluctant to continue that state of things in another season. The troops so placed are isolated; they are dependent, as appears from Major Jenkins' letter to Lieutenant Vincent, on the Naga tribes for their food, and for the carriage of supplies of every description; while Major Jenkins evidently has no great confidence that even the friendly tribe, for which we are doing all this, can be relied upon securely for supplying the food to the force which is fighting its battles.

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For these reasons I think that the advanced post should be withdrawn now, at the time of our success, and when we have executed all we threatened. Hereafter we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds or fights of these savages; encourage trade with them as long as they are peaceful towards us; and rigidly exclude them from all communication either to sell what they have got, or to buy what they want if they should become turbulent or troublesome.

These are the measures which are calculated to allay their natural fears of our aggression upon them, and to repel their aggression on our people. These will make them feel our power both to repel their attacks and to exclude them from advantages they desire, far better, at less cost and with more justice, than by annexing their country openly by a declaration, or virtually by a partial occupation.

With respect to the share the State of Manipur has borne in these transactions, I must observe, that the reasoning by which Major Jenkins is led to assume that Manipur has been abetting the Nagas is loose in the extreme.

If, however, better proof of the fact be shown, and the complicity of Manipur either recently or hereafter shall be satisfactorily established, there can be no difficulty in dealing with it.

In such case it would be expedient to remind the Rajah of Manipur that the existence of his State depends on a word from the Government of India; that it will not suffer his subjects, either openly or secretly, to aid and abet the designs of the enemies of this Government; and that if he does not at once control his subjects and prevent their recurrence to any unfriendly acts, the word on which the existence of his State depends will be spoken, and its existence will be put an end to.

The increase of Police which is asked should be granted, and Major Jenkins should be desired to submit his scheme of frontier posts when it is prepared, together with a map showing its disposition.

In conclusion I would observe that I have seen nothing in these papers to change the unfavourable opinion I expressed of the conduct of affairs relative to the Angami Nagas, as it appeared in the documents previously transmitted to me.

Extract from the lertter from the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the Govt. of India in regard to the Policy to be putsued towards the Angami Nagas (Judicial Proceedings, June 1966, Nos. 133-34, 1867.

In regard to the policy to be pursued towards the Angami Nagas, the Lieutenant Governor is clearly of opinion that the abandonment, of the position we held previously to 1854 and withdrawal of our line of frontier posts to the left bank of the Dhunsiri is proved, by the events which have since occurred, to have been a grave mistake and that the only course left us consistently with the duty we own to the inhabitants of the adjoining frontier districts as well as to the Angami Nagas themselves, who are torn by intestine feuds for want of a government, and unable to excreise any general selfcontrol, or to restrain independent action on the part of any village or even of a section of any of the numerous villages inhabited by the tribe, is to re-assert our authority over them, and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances. and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlesseness to those of order and civilization.

These Angami Nagas are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of late years as independent Nagas, and a distinction is made between the tract they inhabit and British territory, as if the former were not included in the latter. But for this distinction there is no real ground. The treaties with Burmah and Manipur recognize the Patkoi and Burrail hills running in a continuous line from the sources of the Dehing in the extreme east of Assam to those of the Dhunsiri in North Cachar as the boundary between those countries and British India. There is no intermediate independent territory, and while the wild tribes who inhabit the southern slopes of those ranges are subject to Burmah and Manipur, those who inhabit the northern slopes are subject to the British Government. These latter, including the Angami Nagas, are independent only in the sense that British Government has refrained from

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reducing them to practical subjection, and has left them, except at occasional intervals, entirely to themselves: but they have never enjoyed or acquired political or territorial independence: and it is clearly open to the British Government in point of right, as it is incumbent on it in good policy, to excercise its sovereign power by giving them the benefit of a settled administration.

This is the course advocated by all the local authorities, and it is the one which the Lieutenant-Governor strongly recommends as the only means of establishing peace in this part of the frontier, and of putting an end to the atrocities which have prevailed more or less for the last thirty years, and which a policy of non-interference and purely defensive action is now found to be wholly inadequate to prevent. Even if the right of the British Government were less clear than it is, the existence on its border of a savage and turbulent tribe, unable to restrain its members from the commission of outrages, given up to anarchy, and existing only as a pest and nuisance to its neighbours, would justify the Government in the adoption of any measures for bringing it under subjection and control.

Lieutenant-Governor therefore proposes to direct Lieutenant Gregory to remove his headquarters from Assaloo (North Cachar) to abolish Assaloo as a sub-division. apportioning a part among the districts of south Cachar, the Cossya and Jynteah Hills and Nowgong, and constituting the remainder lying on the right bank of the Dhunsiri together with the Angami Naga Hills and the country on both banks of the River Doyeng (a tributary of the Dhunsiri a separate district, to be administered by Lieutenant Gregory as Deputy Commissioner, under the direct orders of the Commissioner, and no longer dependent on the District of Nowong.

Orders of the Govt. of India in response to the above letter.

The orders of the Government of India thereon were as follows:—

With reference to various passages of your letter reply, indicating a desire to bring the whole country of the Angami

Nagas at once under the subjection of the British Government, I am desired to observe that such a policy is more than the local Officers recommend, or the Government of India prepared to sanction. Colonel Hopkinson appears to agree entirely in Lieutenant Gregory's proposals, and the only instance which the latter officer comtemplates any assertion of actual authority over the Nagas is that of the villagers of Samoogoodting who are said to have been always friendly to us, and to be really anxious for our reoccupation of their territory. Lieutenant Gregory's object is, from his position at Samoogoodting and by the exhibition to the other Nagas of the kindly relations subsisting between the Samoogoodting people and himself, gradually to win the confidence and friendship of the neighbouring villages, and so, village by village, to bring the whole Naga country under control, but he deprecates strongly any attempt to do this by force, he is 'totally averse to any attempt to subdue the country. This, I am to intimate, is the policy which commends itself to the approval of the Governor General in Council.

Lieutenant Gregory may take up the propossed position at Samoogoodting, and do his best by tact and good management, supported by a moderate display of physical force, to bring that portion of the hill tract adjacent to the plains into order. will remember that our main object in having any dealings with the hill people is to protect the lowlands from their incursions. Instead, therefore, of exerting himself to extend our rule into the interior he will rather refrain from such a course. Subject to this general principle, his lineof action may advantageously be left in great measure to his own good judgment. A conciliatory demeanour will of course be indispensable, and perhaps the expenditure of a little money to leading men will be useful. When conciliation fails, punitive measures will not be shrunk from. In some instances a blockade of the passes, so as to exclude the offending tribe or village from our bazaars, may be attended with good results. But in all cases the great point will be to select a penalty suitable to the circumstances of the particular affair. Where roads are necessary, they must be constructed in a simple and inexpensive manner, just sufficient for the opening of the country to the extent actually required.

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Government Orders on Boundaries of the "Naga Hills fixed in 1867.

The boundaries of the District of the "Naga Hills" were thus fixed in 1867:—

Eastern Boundary. - The "Doyeng" or" Rengmah" river.

Northern Boundary.— A line from the confluence of the "Doyeng" and "Dhunseery" river along the "Dhunseery for a distance of six miles, thence up the "Nambar" Nulla to its source and across country to appoint on the "Doeegoo-roong" Nulla, thence along it northwards for a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, from which point it takes a due westerly course across to a point on the "Kolleeance" river along which it runs for a distance of 28 miles.

Southern Boundary.— A line along the crest of the Burrail range from the source of the "Bengmah" or "Doyeng" river to the small western feeder at the source of the "Dhunseery" river.

Western Boundary: A line from the crest of the "Durrail" range down the "Dhunseery" river for a distance of 26 miles, thence across the Hills to a point on the "Loongteng" river and along it to its confluence with "Doyeng" river across the Hills to "Gungah Ghat" on the "Kopilee" rivers; and along it to the junction of the "Kopilee" and "Doyeng" rivers; along the Kopilee for three miles, from whence in an east by south direction it extends for eight miles to a point three miles east of "Deeklem", thence in a N.N.E. direction crossing the "Longboomlong", "Ranga Jan "Long-koi Noi, Dikreng-long" Nullah, to a point on the "Kakez-Noi" which from the boundary till its confluence with the "Tereh Langsoh Jan," from which point with a semicircular line it touches the "Jumoona" Nuddee about a mile above the confluence of the "Booreegunga" with the "Jumoona," which forms the boundary to the "Sessah Jan" Nullah, from whence it crosses the "Meekir" and "Rengmah" Naga Hills in a northerly direction till it strikes "Kolleeanee" river.

MacKenzie's Memorandum on the N. E. Frontier. 1869.

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

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

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

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

"Among the Garos the task of management was not less difficult than it had been among the Nagas. We found them exasperated by years of conflict with the great Choudries of the plains; eager to trade but resentful of injury; not very apt to discriminate between the gripping chicanery of the Bengali tradesman, and the dealings of that Government whose Police kept order in the marts. The low-land villages had for generations supplied them with slaves and heads—the spoil of their bow and spear; for without these the souls of their heroes passed unhonoured away on the long journey to Mount Chikmung, from which there is no return. To check the custom of raiding on the occasion of the death of a chief, was to change the cardinal doctrine of a religion. and tamper with the dearest feelings of a Garo's heart. The central fastnesses of these hills too were more impenetrable, and their bordering jungles supposed to be more deadly than those of any other such tract of country. No British troops had marched across, no road had

ever been carried through them; and the people themselves were held to be more uncouth and fierce than any other of our border tribes. But here, too, the Lieutenant-Governor held that a British Officer living in their midst, able to repress outrage, and ready to redress complaints, would do more to secure the safety of the plains than any number of stockaded posts and armed patrols.

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

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

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

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

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

"When we turn to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, we find ourselves face to face with a state of things which has no parallel elsewhere in Bengal. It must not be forgotten that, as regards the hills within our own acknowledged boundary, our administration has been as successful here as it has been elsewhere. The development of prosperity among the subjects of the ON THE NAGAS 213

Kalindi Rani, the Man Rajah, and the Bohmong, is as truly due to the British Government as is the flourishing condition of any district on the plains. It is on the outer verge of our own hill tracts that we come upon a disturbing element. Tribes, over whom we can exercise no control come surging up against our outposts from the unknown mountains of Burma and from valleys yet unsurveyed. Of the causes that press them forward we know nothing. New names crop up. A raid by savages of a strange fashion of hair tells us a tribal change has taken place across our frontier, and we have nothing for it but to strengthen our outposts, increase our patrols, and watch to see what follows. On the north, within our own nominal territory, we have still the anomalous tract of the Lushai Hills; and it is open to us either to repudiate it politically, or to enter in and dwell there. One way or other the decision must ere long be made.

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

11

On The Various Tribes

An Agreement entered into by the Taghi Raja of the Aka Parbat, 26th Maug 1250 B.E. (1842)

Although I entered into an Agreement on the 28th January 1842 A.D. that should in no way injure the ryots in my dealings with them, and have received from the British Government, since 1842 a Pension of 20 Rupees, and treated in all the villages in Char Dwar, it being now considered that my trading in this way is oppressive to the ryots, and therefore required to be discontinued, I bind myself to confine my trade to the established market places at Lahabarree and Baleepara, and to adhere to the following terms:—

- 1st. Myself, with my tribe, will confine ourselves in our trade exclusively to the markets in Lahabarree, Baleepara, and Tezpor. We will not, as heretofore, deal with the ryots in their private houses.
- 2nd. I will be careful that none of my tribe commit any act of oppression in the British Territories.
- 3rd. We will apply to the British Courts for redress in jour grievances, and never take the law in our own hands.
- 4th. From the date of this Agreement I bind myself to abide by the foregoing terms, on condition that the following Pensions are regularly paid:—

To Seemkolee Aka Raja	•••	32 Rupees.
To Soomo Raja	•••	32 Rupees.
To Nesoo Raja	•••	26 Rupees.

Total. . 120 Rupees.

5th. In the event of my infringing any of the foregoing terms, I subject myself to the loss of my Pension of 20 Rupees, and shall also forfeit the privilege of visiting the Plains.

(True Translation) FRANS. JENKINS, Agent, Governor General

An Agreement entered into by Changj Hazari Khawa Aka Raja, Chang Sumly Hazari Khawa, Kabooloo Hazari Khawa Aka Raja, and Nijum Kapasorah Aka Raja, on the 29th Maug 1250 B.E. 1842.

We hereby swear, according to our customs, by taking in our hands the skin of a tiger, that of a bear, and elephant's dung, and by killing a fowl, that we will never be guilty of any violence of oppression towards any of the ryots of the British Government, and that we will faithfully abide by the following terms:—

- lst. Whenever any of us come down into Char Dwar, we will report our arrival to the Patgarre, and fairly barter our goods, being guilty of no theft or fraud in any way with any of the ryots. It shall also be our particular care that none of our people shall be guilty of any crimes in the territories of the Honourable Company.
- 2nd. We also engage never to join any parties that are or may hereafter be enemies to the British Government, but pledge ourselves to oppose them in every way in our power. We will also report any intelligence we may get of any conspiracy against the British Government and act up to any order we may receive from their authorities. Should it ever be proved that we have forfeited our privilege of coming into the British Territories.
- 3rd. In coming into the Plains we will always appear unarmed, and confine ourselves exclusively to the hauts or

market places established at Lahabarree, Baleepara, Oorung or Tezpor, and not, as heretofore, traffic with the ryots at their private dwellings; neither will we allow our people to do so.

- 4th. All civil debts with the ryots shall be recovered through the Courts, as we acknowledge ourselves subservient to the British laws in their country.
- 5th. I, Kapasorah Aka Raja, agree to take in lieu of the Black Mail of Char Dwar a yearly Pension of 60 Rupees and I, Hazari Khawa Aka Raja, a Pension, in like manner of 120 Rupees; This will be considered to deprive us of any connection with Char Dwar, and of expecting anything from the ryots. We pledge ourselves to abide strictly by the above terms, or forfeit our Pension.

(True Translation)

FRANS JENKINS,
Agent, Governor General

Walter Hamilton's Report on the Dophlas, 1820

DOPHLAS.—This tribe occupies the hilly country to the north of Rungpoor, and far east to where the Brahmaputra is supposed to change the direction of its course, and to run nearly north and south. In 1814, the Boora Gohaing, or Regent of Assam, in his correspondence with the Bengal Presidency, attributed the desolation of a considerable portion of the incursions of this tribe.

An Agreement between the British Government and eight Communities of Meyong Abors, Camp Lalee Mukh, Nov. 1862

Whereas it is expedient to adopt measures for maintaining the integrity of the British Territory in the District of Luckim-pore, Upper Assam, on the Meyong Abor Frontier and for preserving peace and tranquillity; and whereas, by virtue of a letter, No. 11th October 1862, from the Officiating Commissioner of Assam, transmitting orders from the Government of Bengal, conveyed in a letter, No. 256T., dated the 8th August 1862, from the Officiating Junior Secretary, to the Government

of Bengal, The Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore has been authorized to proceed in, has been entered into with the Meyong Apors this 5th day of November A.D. 1862, at Camp Lalee Mukh:—

First. Offence commenced by the Meyon Abors in a time of hostility towards the British Government, and for which the assembled heads of villages have sued for pardon, are overlooked, and peace is re-established.

Second. The limit of the British Territory which extends to the foot of the hills is recognized by the Meyong Abors, who hereby engage to respect it.

Third. The British Government will establish stations, post guards, or construct forts, or open roads, as may be deemed expedient, and the Meyong Abors will not take umbrage at such arrangements, or have any voice in such matters.

Fourth. The Meyong Abors recognize all persons residing in the plains in the vicinity of the Meyong Hills as British subjects.

Fifth. The Meyong Abors engage not to molest or to cross the frontier for the purpose of molesting residents in the British Territory,

Sixth. The communication across the frontier will be free both for the Meyong Abor and for any persons, British subjects, going to the Meyong villages for the purpose of trading, or other friendly dealings.

Seventh. The Meyong Abors shall have access to markets and places of trade which they may think fit to resort to and on such occasions they engage not to come armed with their spears and arrows, but merely to carry their daos.

Eighth. Any Meyong Abors desiring to settle, or occupy lands in the British Territory, engage to pay such revenue to Government as may be fixed upon by the Deputy Commissioner, the demand, in the first instance, to be light.

Ninth. The Meyong Abors engage not to cultivate opium in the British Territory or to import it.

Tenth. In event of any grievance arising or any dispute taking place between the Meyong Abors and British subjects, the Abors will refrain from taking the law into their own hands, but they will appeal to the Deputy Commissioner for redress, and abide by his decision.

Eleventh. To enable the Meyong Abors of the eight khels or communities who submit to this engagement, to keep up a police for preventing any marauders from resorting to the plains for sinister purposes, and to enable them to take measures for arresting any offenders, the Deputy Commissioner on behalf of the British Government, agrees that the communities, referred to shall receive yearly the following articles:—

100 Iron-hoes.

30 Maunds of salt.

80 Bottles of rum.

2 Seers of Abkaree opium.

2 Maunds of tobacco.

Twelfth. The articles referred to above, which will be delivered for the first year on the signing of this engagement, will hereafter be delivered from year to year the representatives of the eight khels or communities of the Meyong Abors, as aforesaid on their meeting the Deputy Commissioner at Lalee Mukh, or at any other convenient place on the Meyong Dwar side.

Thirteenth. On the occasion of meeting the Deputy Commissioner the Meyong Abors, in earnest of their continued friendly feeling, engage to make a tribute offering of a pig and fowls, in exchange for which they will obtain usual suitable acknowledgments.

Fourteenth. The original of this engagement, which is drawn up in English, will remain with the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, Upper Assam, and a counterpart or copy will be furnished to the subscribing Meyong Abors.

Fifteenth. In ratification of the above engagement contained in 15th paragraph, the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore Assam, on behalf of the British Government, puts his hand and seal, and the recognized Headmen or Chiefs of the eight khels or communities of the Meyong Abors affix their signatures or marks this 5th day of November in A.D. 1862.

H.S. BIVAR, Major, Deputy Commr., First Class, Luckimpore, Upper Assam, and Agent, Governor General, N.E. Frontier.

Walter Hamilton's Report on the Khamtis, 1820.

KHAMTI.— This small district is situated nearly due south from Jorhaut, the modern capital of Assam, and is bounded on the south by Munipoor. It is described as a plain country, but much overgrown with jungle, and recently rendered subject to Assam.

Report of the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore on the Khamptis, 9th May, 1871

All the information that the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore could give regarding them in 1871 is contained in the following extract from a report of his dated 9th May of that year:—

The Khamptis.—In the year 1839, owing to their misbehaviour, the Khamptis were removed from the villages of

On the north bank of

Brahmaputra.

Narainpore.

Bungfang.

Dickrong.

Dhamage.

Sadiya.

On the south bank of Brahma-

putra.

Bogyarah.

Sessee.

Mankatta.

Choykhowah.

Derack.

Makoom.

Joypore.

Nidopani.

Tengapani.

Debing.

Marowapani.

Kopahatoli.

Tengapani, Makoo Derack, and Sadiya, where they had till then resided, and were sent to Narainpore in North Luckimpore, Maijain, and Debroogurth. Since then persons have come down from time to time from the Bor-Khampti country and settled in the villages or settlements marginally given.

The Population of these settlements is estimated to be 3,930 souls, of which 1,870 are estimated to be male, 930 female

adults, and 1,130 children of both sexes. Besides, there are four khels known as Mongiong. Panangpan, Chamangthee, and Manoho, who live with the Singphos, and have the same relations with Government as the Singphos. They number, it is estimated, 400 souls, 130 being male and 150 female adults and 120 children of both sexes.

The Khamptis have also taken to agricultural pursuits to some little extent. The settlers at Sadiya, Derack, Nidopani, Tengapani, Dehing, Morowapani, and Kopahatoli do not pay any revenue, the rest pay revenue, and are much on the same footing as the other ryots of the plains.

Report of the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore on the Singphos, 9th May 1871.

The following extract from a report by the Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, dated 9th May 1871, shows all that is locally known of the present state of the Singpho cantons:—

2. Singphos.—The names and sites of the principal settlements of the Singphos are given herebelow:

1	Tanaanani
1.	Lengapani

- 2. Morowapani.
- 3. Pechela Wookh.
- 4. Dissopani.
- 5. Menaboom.
- 6. Naginipani.
- 7. Merippani.
- 8. Tangon Joop.
- 9. Momoidan.

- 10. Dehingpani
- 11. Borooah Pattar.
- 12. Kherimpani.
- 13. Dhekori Doobie.
- 14. Monking Tap.
- 15. Terap Mcokh.
- 16. Noyan Pattar.
- 17. Nangdoo Pattar.
- 18. Jingthoopani.

These settlements contain forty-eight khels or sections, numbering about 3,435 souls, of which 1,120 are estimated to be male, 1,180 female adults, and 1,135 children of both sexes.

- 3. The arrangements made after the Singpho rising of 1843 have been carried out to good purpose, and they may now be reckoned as peaceful and friendly neighbours.
- 4. The Singphos have settled down to agriculture, and do now for themselves what formerly they depended on their Assamese slaves to do for them. They apparently, however,

only cultivate sufficiently to meet their own consumption for a portion of the year, the remaining months they live upon wild yams and other jungle products, and what they can procure from other places.

- 5. The Government has no fixed relations with them: they are generally obedient, and in such way recognize British supremacy.
- 6. There are a handful of Singphos ten or twelve only in number who have settled in the villages of Tegee and Koolie in the Megela mouzah of this district, who pay revenue, and are on precisely a similar footing as the other ryots of the mouzah.
- 7 The Singphos meet the Government officer yearly at the mela held at Sadiya, and they are in the habit of visiting the officer in military command at that place. Further than this there is no material intercourse.

12

ON HILL TIPPERAH

Report of Henery Rickette 1847

Mr. Henery Rickette, the Commissioner of Chittagong was deputed to inquire into and report upon the whole subject, and the scheme which he submitted was eventually approved. It has been printed at length in No. XI. of the Selections from the Bengal Records. The following is an abstract of its provisions:

Mr. Rickette held that as we had, from the inaccessible nature of country, no hold upon it save through the Phrus, it was politic to ignore the connection which any of them might have had with the recent raids. We must manage through them, or not at all. Of course, if everything failed we might remove the whole family to the plains, and try to work through the rajas or village headmen; but for many reasons such a plan was to be deprecated. We had therefore first to adjust the family feuds. This could only be effected by insisting on treating the chieftain-ship as an impartial heritage, subject only to liabilities for the support of the rest of the family. A little pressure brought the Phrus to consent to this. It was agreed that Komalagnio should be manager and chief; the others taking office under him as tehisildars or revenue collectors for certain clans, but all were to live together

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at Bindabun. On these conditions the revenue payable to Government was reduced to Rs. 2,918—a remission of Rs. 1,645. Mr. Rickette proposed that it should be formally notified to them that Government acknowledged no right on their part to the soil of the forests, the whole of which belonged to State; that their revenue should not be enhanced for twenty years, and no separate engagements be taken during that period from new joomeas south of the Karnafuli; that they were to undertake the defence of the frontier against marauders; that, should forays take place, or family quarrels arise, the management of the tract and the frontier defence should be taken by Government, and the Phrus be deported to the plains. One argument brought forward to justify these concession to the Phrus is worth noting. It was the fact that for many years raids upon the actual plains had been unknown. Whatever, therefore they had done or failed to do, they had been able to keep their own tribes under control, and had proved an effectual sereen to the people of the lowlands. It was only through our more intimate connection with the hill joomeas, owing to the nature of the revenue settlement, that we had any cognizance of the existence of raids. But where we realised revenue, we were bound to give or procure safety. Mr. Rickette first at this time pointed out the anomaly of considering the Kapas Mehal as part of the regulation district of Chittagong. For thirteen years, however, things were left in this respect in status quo.

Report of Mr. J.D. Gordon 1860

The following extracts from a Report, by Mr J.D. Gordon will show the state of affairs in Hill Tipperah, and the causes of the raid:—

I wrote at length concerning an attack made by the Rajah's people upon the Dopptung Kookies. I am stil of opinion that occurrence led to the disturbances in the hills which terminated in the massacres at Ramghur and Khundul. The Thakoors no doubt used their endeavours to extend the disturbances, and many disaffected Reangs, subjects of the Rajah, joined the Kookies. A good number of these men, Reangs, left the Rajha's Territory two or three years ago with the Thakoors. They, it is believed, returned with them to

plunder at Khundul. But, independent of these, there were numbers of the Tipperah Rajah's subjects, men I mean who are avowedly his people, paying him rent, who secretly joined the marauders. Mr. Steer has ably described the disorganized state of the hills. The fact is, that their rent, of late years, has been enormously raised and they are, at all times, liable to opression of some kind. They were in a state, then, ready to join in any expedition that had plunder in the foreground and possible release from the Rajah in the distance.

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

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

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

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

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

"Such is the case with internal state of Tipperah.

Report on the Survey of the Tipperah Frontier and the Country between Cachar and Chittagong.

Survey operations. 1873

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

The survey on the Chittagong side was conducted by Mr. Cooke, in company with aptain Lewin, the Deputy Commissioner. They explored thoroughly the Oheepoom and Saichul ranges, the two most promising lines of possible defence, and Captain Lewin was also met by the Deputy Commissioner of the Arracan Hill Tracts, who worked his way across from

Talukmai to discuss the question of how best to link on our line of defence with that of British Burma.

The reports of these surveys, and the proposals based upon them by the Lieutenant-Governor, may be briefly stated as follows. It was ascertained Proposals of the Bengal Government that the eastern part of Hill Tipperah is quite uninhabited, and that a chain of posts along either the Hachil or Jampai would be enormously expensive and in such a country quite ineffective. The Lieutenant-Governor therefore abandoned the idea of carrying a chain of posts down those ranges. He proposed to maintain the present posts on the frontier of Cachar and Sylhet, and encourage as muc has possible the development of trade with Bepari other Lushai marts. The reports showed that Bazar and Sookpilal, the leading chief of the Western Lushais, had been moving his villages southward and nearer to our Chittagong hill Tracts, from whence the Lushai country is much accessible than on the Cachar side. It seemed therefore advisable to attempt to reach and influence him and the heighbouring tribes from the south rather than from the north. During the cold season, while the surveys were going on north and south, the police of the Chittagong Hills were establishing themselves at Sirthey in the immediate vicinity of Rutton Pcea and the Syloo tribes of Lushais. The effect of this measure was most marked and gratifying. Captain Lewin was able to establish the most friendly relations with the Syloos, who were utterly cowed and broken by the expendition. They were said to have become a perfectly friendly and subservient clan, grateful to us for our aid when they were starving from loss of crops, and anxious to settle under our protection. At the request of the one branch of the clan under a chef Lalljeeka, a guard of 50 police was stationed in their midst to protect them from the Howlongs, the whole cost of feeding this guard being voluntarily borne by the tribe. There had also been a good deal of friendly intercourse with the Howlong clans, and they have referred some of their quarrels to the arbitration of our The Lieutenant-Governor, in concurrence with the local officers, believed that it was only by maintaining posts in somewhat advanced positions that we could hope to bring

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political influence to bear upon the Syloos, Howlongs, and other Lushais. He would work upon Sookpilal and the Western Lushais by throwing out an advanced post from the Chittagong side somewhere among the Syloos, as was done last season. This post would dominate Sookpilal, protect any trade route opened between Bepari Bazar and the Hill Tracts, and form a centre of political influence in the manner desired by the Supreme Government. To protect our own Hill Tracts from raids by the Supreme Government; to protect our own Hill Tracts from raids by Southern Howlongs and Shirdus, it was proposed to establish a system of posts and patrols along the northern part of the Oheepoom and southern part of the Saichul ranges. The local officers desired that British Burma should advance the Arracan Hill Tracts posts and patrols to meet ours. It was understood that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma thought the Chittagong Hills should depend entirely on its own arrangements for defence. The fact, however, was that the southern portion of the Hill Tracts was chiefly exposed to raids from Shindus, a tribe only approachable from the side of Arracan, and of whom we know nothing. Looking to this and to the fact that the Sungoo valley was inhabited almost exclusively by tribes of Arracan origin and connections, the Lieutenant-Governor was disposed to think that this portion of the hills, and also the Cox's Bazar Sub-Division of Chittagong, mainly inhabited by Mughs, should be made over entirely to Arracan, which could then make its own arrangements for defence and patrol. The Government of India generally accepted the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals, it having been discovered by the survey that the ranges to which the local officers proposed to advance the posts offered the only suitable sites for a proper line of defence. The idea of dominating Sookpilal from the side of Chittagong was afterwards found to be impracticable; and the southern portion of the hills were not transferred to Arracan. The most important part of the correspondence will be found in the Appendix.

As regards the eastern boundary of Hill Tipperah, the Lieutemant-Governor proposed to prescribe a river rather than a mountain boundary. In these countries the tops of ranges are generally occupied and cultivated, and unsuited for that reason to serve as boundaries. It was suggested that the Lungai

river, running between the Jampai and Hachick ranges, should be taken as the boundary line up to its source at Betlingsib. The line would then run across the watershed to Dolujuri, and thence along the recognised Hill Tipperah border by Surduing to the Fenny. These proposals were accepted and the boundary notified accordingly.

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