

S.M.A.W. CHISHTI

Political Development  
in  
**Manipur**  
1919-1949



This book is based on the Author's thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Aligarh Muslim University. However, he has made certain omissions and additions in the text. Bordered with Myanmar, Manipur occupies a strategically situated State in the north-eastern region. In the wake of the political upheaval of 1891, Manipur lost her identity and became a protectorate of the British Government of India. Since the uprising of the Manipuris against the British, she had confronted with several political problems from time to time. To make it more convenient, nine distinct periods of this process have been singled out for the detailed treatment in the body of the book. The important events of these periods which have had any significant impact on the course of the State's political development have been thoroughly researched. Based on intensive research, it constitutes, perhaps, the first kind of systematic, objective, and critical analysis of the political history of Manipur as well as the genesis, growth and rise of the political and constitutional movement in the erstwhile princely State of Manipur from 1919 till its merger with the Union of India. Thus, the dream of Sardar Patel's unification of India by abolishing the native state was accomplished. Rightly said, a new chapter in the history of Manipur was opened ending up the age-long dynastic rule in this small kingdom. Today, Manipur has become one of the full-fledged states of India. Since then the process of democratic political socialisation of administrative system has been going on; and people are very much involved in politics.

The book will be of immense use for the scholars who are doing research in the field of political and administrative history of Manipur.

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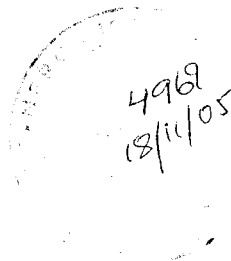
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# **POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANIPUR 1919-1949**

**Dr. S.M.A.W. Chishti**



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# 1

## **The Manipuri Polity in Historical Setting**

### **Introduction**

Manipur, with an area of 22,327 sq. kms. and a population of about 1.1 million\*, occupies a strategic position in east India. Surrounded by Nagaland in the north, Mizoram in the south and Assam in the west, Manipur has an international boundary with Burma in the east. The territory has had a variety of names in the past. In the memoirs of Rennel it is called 'Meckley'.<sup>1</sup> The Burmese and Shan tribes, knew it as 'Kase' or 'Kathe'.<sup>2</sup> Lord Irwin once compared Manipur to 'Switzerland' because of her scenic beauty and richness in natural resources.<sup>3</sup> Manipur is also referred to as the 'jewel of India'.<sup>4</sup>

Manipur was a princely state of India before 1947. On October 15, 1949, she became a Chief Commissioner's Province. Under the Indian constitution, Manipur was initially placed in category 'C' of States. An Advisory Council was formed in 1950 to advise on its administration.

It was replaced in 1957 by a Territorial Council composed of thirty and two nominated members. Manipur was made a Union Territory on November 1, 1956. Later, under the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963, a Legislative Assembly of thirty elected and three nominated members was established. On December 19, 1969, the chief executive was designated Lieutenant Governor. Manipur became a full-fledged State of the Indian Union on January 21, 1972.

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\* 23,88634 (Source: North East Council)

## **The Ethnic Structure, Culture and Religion**

The population of Manipur mainly consists of hill tribes and plain people. Some of the clans namely Meitei, Khoomal, Looang and Moirang came from different directions and settled in Manipur. The Khoomal clans was initially most powerful. After its decline the Meitei clans dominated all other clans to such an extent that they came to be known as sub-clans of the Meitei.<sup>5</sup> About the origin of tribal structure of Manipur, T.C. Hudson remarks that "... there is far more ground to conclude them to be descendants of the surrounding hill tribes.<sup>6</sup> He highlights similarity in language to prove his contention. R. Boileu Pemberton contends Manipuris "... to be the descendants of a Tartar Colony, which probably migrated from the northwest borders of China during the sanguinary conflicts for supremacy which took place between the different members of the Chinese and Tartar dynasties in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."<sup>7</sup>

There is yet another theory about the origin of the Manipur tribes. William Shaw traces the relationship between Manipuris and Thais during 707-717.<sup>8</sup> It may also be of interest to note that the Thais or Twangs of southern part of China had penetrated into Manipur and Burma (now Myanmar) in 1250 A.D. They were more Chinese than Thais. In the frequent skirmishes with the ruler of Manipur, some of them were taken as captives. Gradually they became part of Manipuri society by marrying local women. This introduced elements of Chinese-Thai culture in Manipur. The Chinese influence is evident in the royal insignia of the Manipuris which is winged lion which was the insignia of the Chinese T'sang dynasty.

The complexion of population in the islands on the Eastern Archipelago with adjoining portions of the mainland depicts fusion of cultures and races of the east, the west and the north. Apart from this, there has been vivid manifestation of the fusion of the Austric, the Bodo, the Dravidians, and the Aryans. Due to the situation of Manipur as a route for the migration of various races and cultures, the Manipuris appear to be Mongolians by features, Chinese by culture, Aryans by tradition. Naga by observance and Mithraic by faith.<sup>9</sup>

Among the hill tribes, the Kukis and Nagas are the only important ones. The Kukis largely live in the south hill portion of Manipur. The Nagas are found in the north and north-east hill areas. There are a number of sub-tribes about twenty-nine among the Nagas and Kukis.

Hinduism is claimed to be the oldest religion in Manipur.<sup>10</sup> It was at its highest during the reign of Gopal Singh or Garib Newaz (1714-49) as he was popularly known. When he got converted to Hinduism under the influence of some 'wandering Fakir'.<sup>11</sup> his subjects were made to follow willingly or unwillingly the same faith. Hinduism was declared as official religion and any religious dissent was severely punished. The advent of Hinduism and some of the traditions, which were established under its influence, resulted in a cleavage in Manipur society. The entire social structure of the plains was recast into Kshatriyas, Brahmins and other Hindu varnas. The Brahmins dominated all other castes and intermarriage was strictly prohibited. Untouchability was practiced. The distinction between the hill tribes and the people living in plains also became more apparent. The Marwaris and the Punjabis who were mainly engaged in business, were dubbed by the Manipuris as *Mayang* (foreigners). There is a minority of native Muslims forming about 6.62\* percent of the population. Various views have been expressed regarding the arrival of Muslims in Manipur. The origin of Manipuri Muslims could be traced to the reign of Meitei King Khagee-gama (1579-1651), whose brother Shelungba, tired of unjust treatment by his brother fled to Sylhet. With the help of Muslim soldiers, he invaded Manipur. The raid was not successful; for whatever reason might be some of the Muslim Soldiers had stayed behind after the incident. These Muslims soldiers got married to Manipuri women and this was the beginning of a new race, Manipuri Muslims. It was in 1622 that the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, sent three ambassadors to Manipur. This was reciprocated by the Maharaja of Manipur. This indirectly encouraged immigrants from outside.<sup>12</sup> Majority of Muslims came from Bengal and Assam.<sup>13</sup> Some of them also came from the western areas of the sub-continent with the sole purpose of preaching Islam. In the early days, as we have already seen, intermarriages between Meiteis and Muslims were very common. The population of Manipur was affected by the Burmese raids on Manipur. Many of them were taken as captives by the Burmese.<sup>14</sup> At present the Muslim population of Manipur has adopted itself to Manipur culture and they are known as 'Panggans', the corrupt form of 'Bengal'.

### **Political Evolution**

To trace the political history of Manipur is very difficult since ancient records are not fully available. Since the advent of the Christian

Era about forty-seven native kings have reigned till 1714. Only one important happening worth mentioning during all these years is the conquest of Khumbat by the united forces of Pong and Manipur in 1475. This followed the annexation of the Kabaw Valley in the territory of Manipur.<sup>15</sup> It is said that a king named Pakhangba reigned some 300 years before 1714. Edward Gait terms the accounts of this period as 'merely legendary'.<sup>16</sup> The present political history of Manipur started from 1714 with the rule of Garib Newaz (patron of the poor). He has been considered one of the most powerful kings of Manipur. During the years 1725 and 1749, he was able to capture many important towns of Burma. It would not be any exaggeration to say that Manipur owes her present shape to him. His influence in the west extended up to Cachar; to the south, as far as the water-shed flowing seawards; and to the north for about nine days journey from the capital.<sup>17</sup> As has already been mentioned – the remarkable event of his reign was the introduction of Hinduism. He was a peace-loving Raja. He was murdered by his second son, Jit Shai, on the bank of Ningthee river, while returning from the Burmese campaign with his eldest son, Sham Shai who also shared the fate of the father. Jit Shai immediately ascended the throne.

Jit Shai succeeded his father but after a short reign of five years, he was expelled from Manipur by his own brother Barut Shai. Barut Shai was on the throne of Manipur for about two years. After his death, Goura Sham, the eldest son of Sham Shai took over the administration. He being crippled was unable to perform his functions properly and so he took the help of his brother Jai Singh or Chingthungkhamba in ruling the country. Jai Singh took the throne after the death of Goura Sham in 1764.

During these years an active hostility developed between Burma and Manipur. The Burmese were unhappy with the murder of Garib Newaz by his son. In 1755 the Burmese king Alaungpaya attacked Manipur, and took away many captives. It was the 'first devastation' inflicted by the Burmese on the Manipuris. The Burmese could occupy Manipur for not more than nine days, as they were pushed back by the Manipuris. The second invasion, one of the 'worst disasters' in the history of Manipur,<sup>18</sup> resulted in the occupation of Imphal by Alompra in 1758.<sup>19</sup> This could have serious consequences but for the timely intervention by British. An agreement was signed between the Governor of the Bengal Presidency and Manipur. The former agreed

to help the latter in expelling the Burmese from Manipur. This agreement, however, was never put into practise. During the reign of Shemhegwen, the Burmese crossed the Hiroke Range and there was a ferocious battle at Tamu. Jai Singh escaped to Cachar. The Burmese put Kalemba, a descendant of the former Moirang Rajas, on the throne of Manipur as a nominal king. He reigned under the protection of Burma for three years. With the help of the Cachar king Jai Singh expelled Kalemba from Manipur. Kalemba immediately fled to Burma.

Between 1770-71, Kalemba's brother tried to recapture the throne of Manipur. This time Jai Singh could not resist their attack, and fled to Cachar. Between 1775 and 1782 Jai Singh repeatedly attempted to regain his throne. But he was always unsuccessful. Following this, there was an interval of political anarchy, during which period many princes, Burmese and Manipuri, would appear to have alternately held Manipur. Meanwhile, the year after 1782, a Manipur prince Eremba could bring a peaceful atmosphere for a period of three years. But this state of affairs was not permanent. Once again when Burmese attacked Manipur, but suffered heavy loss. Eremba handed over the administration to Jai after his return from Cachar.

Jai could rule only for one year when suddenly he was forced by the Burmese invasion to leave the country. He was compelled to flee from the country as he was unable to face the powerful Burmese army. There was complete disorder in the country and many important changes took place.<sup>20</sup>

Jai, shortly after he returned in 1798, apparently tired out by his constant wars against Burma, stepped down from the throne in favour of his eldest son Rabino Chandra. After the death of Jai in 1799, Manipur was once again plunged in a state of chaos and confusion. Rivalry among the princes was one of the main sources of political disorder in the country. This continued till 1819. During the regime of Marjit Singh, one of the brothers of the former king Rabino Chandra, a strained relationship developed between his country (Manipur) and Burma. Marjit appeared to have meditated throwing off the yoke of Burmese supremacy at the first opportunity. With change of kings occurring in Burma, the new ruler Bagyidaw (1819-37) sent a message to Marjit, demanding his presence as a feudatory. Marjit refused to obey the order of the Burmese king. This led to another invasion by the Burmese in 1819. The Manipuris strongly resisted for seven days,

but were at last overpowered, and Marjit fled to Cachar. During this invasion the Burmese army almost completely devastated the country. The houses of the villagers were extensively demolished, and the walls of the king's enclosures leveled with the ground. G.E. Harvey writes, "... it is now impossible to tell what their social and political conditions were like."<sup>21</sup> The great disaster of 1819, was followed by a period of anarchy and political instability. 'From this period the history of Muneepore (*sic*) presents an unvarying scene of disgusting treachery, between the numerous sons of Jai Singh, who in their contests for supremacy, arrayed the unhappy people of the country in hostile warfare against each other and inflicted miseries upon them..."<sup>22</sup>

During the ascendancy of Chourajit Singh, one of his brothers, Marjit conspired against him. But it was an unsuccessful attempt and he had to flee to Ava. With the help of Burma, Marjit once again attempted to overthrow his brother Chourajit, but he failed to do so. He fled to Cachar. Then he reached Burma. This time the king of Ava helped him with a large and strong force, which could defeat Chourajit who escaped to Cachar. Finally, Marjit was placed on the throne of Manipur in 1813. As a token of friendship, Marjit had given the Kabaw Valley to the Burmese.<sup>23</sup>

Marjit reigned for a period of five years and the Manipuri had a peaceful state of affairs. A problem started when he refused to pay tribute to the Burmese king, a promise he had made during the Burmese help in overthrowing Chourajit. Hpagyidoa, the king of Burma, determined to punish Marjit, sent an army under the command of General Maha Bandula to depose Marjit. Burmese raided Manipur during the rainy season, and defeated Marjit in 1819. The Burmese this time destroyed a number of Manipuri villages. Marjit escaped to Cachar. He was received by his brother there. The Burmese placed Manipur under the rule of Jagu Singh, a son-in-law of Garib Newaz. He was succeeded by a brother of Nar Singh. Both these rulers were never really accepted by Manipuris and were regarded as stooges of Burma.

Before the outbreak of the Anglo-Burmese War in 1822, repeated attempts were made unsuccessfully to free Manipur from the control of Burma. In the meanwhile Gambhir Singh, a prince of Manipur, implored British help for his country. The British were ready to help

him as they were opposed to the Burmese policy of expansionism. This resulted in the Anglo-Burmese War. On March 5, 1824 the Burmese invaded Manipur and Cachar simultaneously. After a number of engagements at different places, the Manipur forces repulsed the Burmese from the territory of Manipur. The war was brought to close by the treaty of Yandaboo, in 1826.<sup>24</sup> Manipur was declared as an independent State. Gambhir was installed as the Maharaja. By the treaty of January 25, 1834, between the (British) Government of India and Manipur, Kabaw Valley was transferred by the former to Burma. As a compensation a monthly subsidy of five hundred rupees was granted to Manipur.<sup>25</sup> This continued till the death of Gambhir. Later it was withdrawn, and a Political Agent was appointed for preserving friendly relationship with the State of Manipur.

After the death of Gambhir, the administration passed on to his son, Chandra Kirti. As Chandra Kirti was minor the whole burden of administration was borne by his Senapati, Nar. Chandra Kirti's mother was sceptical about the loyalty of Nar and conspired against him. As she failed to get Nar murdered, she with her son fled from the country. She took shelter in a British camp. In spite of her best endeavours, the Chief Commissioner of Assam refused to give her help in overthrowing the Manipur Regent, Nar.

After the death of Nar in 1850, his brother Debendra Singh ascended the thrones. When Chandra Kirti became major, he successfully revolted against Debendra, who fled to Cachar. During the reign of Chandra Kirti several attempts were made to overthrow him by Debendra's brother and three sons of Nar. But always they were pushed back by the army of Chandra Kirti. And they had to take refuge in Cachar.

Chandra Kirti, the young Raja, assumed the title of Maharaja by virtue of his strength and popularity. He established a strong government. The British also seemed to be satisfied with his rule. Slowly however, some misunderstanding developed over the Maharaja's demand for the resumption of the payment of Kabaw Valley compensation, which had been suspended after the death of Gambhir. He threatened to forcibly take back the Kabaw Valley if they did not fulfill his demand. This was not liked by the British Government. The Political Agent characterized this demand as '... unbecoming from the court of the son of the man who owed his throne to the British

Government.<sup>26</sup> Analyzing the situation, the Political Agent wrote to the British Government of India, 'I have met with some petty acts of annoyance indicating a bad spirit in the authorities, who (at least many of them) seem to think the presence of the representative of the British Government ought to be no check on them; that by their prowess they gained the throne for the young Raja in spite of the British Government, and now they have got it, they may do exactly as they choose. I trust, however, as they cool down they may understand their positions. The young Raja, I believe, does'.<sup>27</sup> The British Government in India in reply warned the Raja of serious consequences if he did not stop the campaign against the British. This calmed down the Maharaja. The British Government promised to extend all help to him on demand.<sup>28</sup> Thus silenced, as a gesture of goodwill Chandra Kirti helped the British during the outbreak of Indian Mutiny in 1857 by putting his troops at their disposal.<sup>29</sup> For this act the Maharaja was highly honored by the British Government of India.

Chandra Kirti was succeeded by his son Sur Chandra in May 1886. But his ascendancy was challenged by Bara Chauba Singh, the eldest son of Nar. He was not successful and Bara Chauba was taken into custody by Sur Chandra. Sur Chandra was a weak ruler. This encouraged rivalries among his eight brothers, which later on resulted in the emergence of two groups<sup>30</sup>—the Maharaja (i.e. Sur Chandra Singh), Pucka Sena, Samoo Hangaba, and the Dolairoi Hangaba formed one side; whilst the Jubraj (i.e. Kula Chandra Singh), Senapati (i.e. Tikendrajit Singh), Angau Sana, and Zilla Singh all combined together. It reached a climax when the group of Tikendrajit attacked the palace in September 1890. The Senapati Tikendrajit and two of his other brothers (i.e. Zilla Singh and Angau Sana) took possession of the palace. Panicked, Sur Chandra abdicated the throne and sought asylum at the residence of the Political Agent whose advice to the contrary he disregarded.

In the meanwhile Jubraj Kula Chandra Bhaja was installed on the throne as the king of Manipur, with the help of the Senapati, Tikendrajit, who was the chief architect of the uprising. The British government recognized the new king. But they developed bitterness against Senapati for his illegal acts against the former king. A small military force was sent to Manipur by the Assam Government, to carry out the decision of the Government of India, including the arrest of Senapati.<sup>31</sup> The party which included Chief Commissioner, Quinton, reached Imphal on

March 22, 1891. The Senapati had sensed the British designs and so he avoided attending the Durbar held in the honour of the British. When the Chief Commissioner decided to arrest the Senapati at his residence, it resulted in serious hostilities in which the Chief Commissioner and his four officers were brutally murdered by the Manipuris. The remaining British officers fled to Silchar (Assam) as they found the situation beyond their control. On 27 April, 1891, a big military force arrived at Imphal to control the Manipuri uprising. The Manipuris were completely overpowered. The Jubraj, Senapati and other brothers who had taken part in the rebellion were arrested. Tikendrajit was convicted of waging war against the Queen Empress, and abetment of the murder of the British officers. He was sentenced to death; Consequently, he (along with General Thangal) was executed by hanging on August 13, 1891. Kula Chandra and his brother with thirteen others were transported for life.

After the sudden political upheaval of 1891, Manipur lost her identity for the time being. In September 1891, plans for future administration were finalized, and Chura Chand Singh, a great grandson of Nar Singh was nominated to be the future king of Manipur. By Sanad No. LXXII, the State of Manipur was made brought under the complete control of the British Government. Manipur was made to pay a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 to the British Government with effect from 21 August, 1891.<sup>32</sup>

Since Chura Chand Singh was a minor, the administration in fact was in the hands of the Political Agent. In May 1907, the State Administration was handed over to Chura Chand Singh. The Lieutenant Governor formally installed him as Raja. A council of six persons was nominated to help him run the affairs of the country. Beside this he was assisted by an officer of Indian Civil Service in his day to day administration. The hereditary title of Maharaja was bestowed on him on 1 January, 1918. The Maharaja, with the help of the British, efficiently ruled the State and abolished the system of slavery and *Pothang*.<sup>33</sup>

### References

1. James Rennel, *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan; or the Mogul Empire* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1793), p. 295.
2. R.B. Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier India* (Gauhati: The Government of Assam, 1966), p. 21.

3. *Manipur: A Decade of Progress*, August 15, 1962, p. 46.  
Sir William Birdwood found Manipur to be a place of beauty – ‘a Kashmir in miniature’. *The Times* (London), December 24, 1926, p. 9. It is also described as a ‘little paradise on earth’ Sir Geoffrey Evans, Antony Brett-James, *Imphal* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
5. Mac Cullock, *Munnipore and the Hill Tribes* (Calcutta: 1859), p. 4.
6. T.C. Hudson, *The Meiteis* (London: David Nutt, 1908), p. 5, Supporting the theories of T.C. Hudson and R. Brown, B.C. Allen shows the close relationship between Nagas and Meiteis, as in the coronation ceremony the kings were dressed in Naga fashion ‘rimchaw’.
7. R.B. Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier India* (Gauhati: The Government of Assam, 1966), p. 37.
8. W. Shaw, “The Manipuris”, *Eastern Sentinental*, June 17, 1959, p. 4.
9. R. M. Nath, *The Background of Assamese Culture* (Assam: A.K. Nath, 1948), p. 86.
10. According to Manipuri pundits and authorities, Hinduism can be traced back to the ancient time. They claimed that it existed even before the reign of Garib Newaz. But for some time its popularity seems to have been eclipsed. It was revived only during the reign of Garib Newaz. The proof of the revival is so meager, and the statements in support of the idea that the Hindu religion existed in the country at a very ancient period are so contradictory and unsatisfactory, that there is no hesitation in stating that in all probability, although a spurious and imperfect form of Hinduism may have existed in individual cases previous to the reign of Garib Newaz, about 1750, it was during his reign that the Hindu religion became general, and was adopted by him and by the majority of people.
11. Santidas Goswami, an enterprising Vaishnava of the Chaitanya Mahaprabhu School of Narsingha Akhara of Sylhet (Bangladesh), crossed the hills of Jirighat and reached Manipur and within a short time bewitched as it were, the king including the whole population, with his melodious *Kirtana* bearing on the life story of Lord Krishna and Radha. Thus the Meities gradually converted to Hinduism.
12. R.M. Nath, *The Background of Assamese Culture* (Assam: A.K. Nath, 1948), p. 90.
13. E.W. Dunn says, ‘The Mussalman are the descendants of Bengali immigrants, retain a knowledge of Hindustani and Bengali, and are hardly distinguishable in appearance from the Bengali, who have never left Cachar’. Similarly T.C. Hudson writes at one place, ‘The Panggans (Muslims-mine) were believed to have originated from Cachar...’ R. Brown also infers that Manipuri Muslims are ‘chiefly from the districts

- of Sylhet and Kachar'. E.W. Dunn (comp), *Gazetteer of Manipur* (Calcutta: Government of India, 1886), p. 14.
14. From great antiquity Muhammadans, have formed part of the population of the Manipur Valley. Naturally, during Burmese invasion, Muslim population was affected considerably, as they chiefly reside to the east of the capital of Manipur.
  15. E. Gait, *A History of Assam* (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1933), p. 321.
  16. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
  17. Before the arrival of Britishers in Manipur the roads connected with the neighbouring states were not motorable, rather they were only way ferring by bullock-cart, or on feet or horse, and so the journey could be measured by the time.
  18. D.G.E. Hall, *Burma* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1950), p. 85.
  19. G.E. Harvey, *Outline of Burmese History* (Calcutta: Bose Press, 1925), p. 133.
  20. After 1786 there was a rapid succession of rajas in Manipur. There was instability in the country. It led to a state of chaos and confusion. Moreover, during this period, in the reign of one Wankai, a great flood in the valley of Manipur, caused great loss to life and property.
  21. G.E. Harvey, *Outline of Burmese History* (Calcutta: Bose Press, 1925), p. 133.
  22. R. Boileau Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* (Calcutta: Bagchi & Co. 1966), p. 45.  
In 1801 Rabino Chandra was fatally murdered by his step brother, when he was watching a hockey match. The killer faced the same fate when he was killed by his brother Chourajit Singh in a battle in 1806.
  23. Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma* (London: 7 A High Street, Wanstead, 1967), p. 229.
  24. C.U. Aitchison (comp.), *A Collection of Treaties*. Vol. XII (Calcutta: Government of India, 1931), p. 230.
  25. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
  26. R. Brown, *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, 1874), p. 68.
  27. *Ibid.*
  28. In 1851, 1859, 1862 and between 1864 and 1866 several attempts were made by rival princes to overthrow the Government of Chandra Kirti, but all of them were made unsuccessful with the British help.
  29. *Ibid.* p. 69.

30. Ethel St. Clair Crimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur and Escape from the Recent Mutiny* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1891), pp. 133-34.
31. Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam from 1893-1914* (Shillong: Assam Government Press, 1942), p. 56.
32. C.U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties ... Vol. XII* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1931), p. 106.
33. Under this old custom of *Pothang* every village was compelled to repair roads and school buildings and carry the luggage of touring officials within its boundary.