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**glimpses of the
early history
of
arunachal**

L. N. Chakravarty

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**RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
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P R E F A C E

In the following pages an attempt has been made to produce the history of the North-East Frontier Agency, now known as Arunachal Pradesh. We have practically no material, written or unwritten, relating to the history of this area other than some oral literature and a number of historical ruins lying in the foothills along the Territory. Initially, upto 1865, we knew of only three ruins namely, Bhalukpung in the Kameng District, and Tamreswari temple and Bhishmaknagar in the Lohit District. But as a result of subsequent explorations and excavations a good number of other such ruins dating approximately from the early Christian era have been brought to light.

From the existence of these ruins, some of bricks alone, some of bricks and stones, and others of only stone connected by well built highways (*alleys*) as well as tanks of various shapes, some full of lotus flowers in season, it may not be too much to surmise that the area was not only known but inhabited by people having close relations with the rest of the country lying specially to the west. This contention is supported by the existence and type of extensive ruins lying near about Tezpur, the headquarters of the Darrang District of Assam and in some other places in the north bank of the Brahmaputra. From a cursory look at these ruins as well as those in the foothills it can be presumed that the whole of the north bank upto the foothills was inhabited by people who were very much advanced politically, culturally and in various other respects.

Very little was known about these ruins and about their far-reaching implications. But with very rapid progress in education and in various fields of knowledge the people have become quite aware about their importance and feel proud in having these evidences of the past glory within the geographical limits of their territory. Some of them go to the extent of claiming themselves as the descendents of the people responsible for the construction of these buildings, forts, *alleys* (roads), tanks with bathing 'ghats' etc. However, this is a sphere where we should

proceed with an open mind to mould our opinion in accordance with circumstantial evidences.

Though there were references in early *buranjis* as well as in other records about relations between the people of Arunachal and Assam and the influence exercised by the Ahom Kings over these areas, systematic administration started spreading over the area with Independence. The present history begins with the inception of British rule in Assam after the treaty of Yandabo concluded on the 24th of February, 1826.

I will fail in my duty if I do not mention the fact that it was Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, the former Governor of Assam, who was mainly responsible for inspiring me to undertake the work of producing a book like this. The late Dr. Verrier Elwin was very much interested in seeing the materials published and took the trouble of going through the manuscript and in suggesting improvements wherever necessary. I cannot forget the amount of interest taken by the Adviser, Shri P. N. Luthra in getting the various historical sites of NEFA (Arunachal) explored and excavated. Excavation at Siva Linga temple site and Bhishmaknagar in the Lohit District and Malinithan in the Siang district was sponsored by him. At the final stage the Director of Research, Shri B. Das Shastri took the trouble of going through the manuscript and helping me with his valued suggestions.

In the following pages, the history of the area now known as Arunachal Pradesh has been narrated very briefly upto 1960 only and as such the nomenclatures North-East Frontier Agency, Frontier Division, etc. have been retained.

L. N. Chakravarty

KAMENG FRONTIER DIVISION

It is very difficult to say as to who was responsible for giving the name 'NEFA' to the area *now* known as Arunachal Pradesh.

The Territory covers an area of about 31438 square miles with a population of 3.37 lakhs. The Agency is bounded to the north by Tibet, to the south by Assam valley, to the east by Burma and Tibet and to the west by Bhutan and Assam. It used to be administered by the Governor of Assam as agent to the President of India till 1972. The Governor in his turn was helped by an Adviser to run the day to day administration.

Nothing is known definitely about the conditions prevailing in the 18th century and prior to that, in the area lying to the north of Darrang, now known as the Kameng District. Only from casual references in Ahom Buranjis and some other records we get a few information relating to the area and the people inhabiting it. From what can be gathered from these records it can safely be said that these hill people were in the habit of attacking the Ahom subjects of the border area as and when they liked, causing serious loss to human life and property. There are references to such incursions as well as to the steps taken by the Ahom kings to stop them, but the efforts of the ruling power were not very effective and such troubles continued during almost the whole period of Ahom rule. On the other hand it is to be admitted that the Ahom rulers of Assam had some relations with the tribes living beyond the frontiers of their kingdom, and there are instances to show that at times, these people served in the Ahom army and fought for the king and the government of the day. The following extracts will be sufficient to prove the above statements.

“Since the reign of Susengpha alias Pratap Singh (1603-1641) Katakis used to be appointed to watch the Daflas and to keep the authorities informed of their movements” According to the Muhammadan account the hill-tribes paid no tribute, but

most of them 'regarded the Ahoms with awe, and generally submitted to their orders'. 'Of them,' wrote Muhammad Kasim in the days of Aurangzeb, 'Daflas are entirely independent of the Assam Raja and plunder the country contiguous to their mountains whenever they find an opportunity.'¹

King Luckinarayan, son of Naranarayan, sent back the Ahom Katakis saying, 'His master should obtain his desire when he had reduced the people of Nara, Naga and Dafla to obedience'. At that period the mountaineers were committing depredations in Assam.²

'In the later part of the month Dihna (Chaitra) one Hara-gam, one Radhagam and one Tarigam of the Daflas consulted together and one day they came down and cut three of our men of the village Taiban at Gagaldubi in the north, and took away forty inhabitants including girls, boys and infants. The inhabitants of Taiban came to inform the king of the news. The king called in all the officers and held a council with them. The king sent Katakis to the Barbarua the grandson of Lahan ordering him to march against the Daflas with one thousand men. The Barbarua accordingly marched against the Daflas. He proceeded by the river Subansiri with his men and arrived at Rangamati where he put his tent. Thence he advanced on and arrived at the mouth of the river Ulung, where he erected a fort and put up in it. The Barbarua sent our two Katakis, Tita and Tuba, to talk with the Daflas. The Daflas heard the news. They sent down three of their headmen to converse with our Katakis. They came down and said to our Tita and Tuba, 'We remain in the forest of the hill with the monkeys. Being angry, we have committed offence to the heavenly king. The king has sent his men to disturb us again even at our home. Now we have left our boats and remained safe in the jungle of the hill.' The Tita and Tuba said to the three men of the Daflas 'You must bring back our men, whom you captured, with other presents and offer them to the Barbarua to make him believe you. The Barbarua will forgive you and leave your country: and you will be allowed to remain unmolested in your country as

1. U. Gohain, *Assam under the Ahoms*, (Jorhat, 1942) p. 135.

2. Dr. J. P. Wade, (Ed. by Benudhar Sharma), *An account of Assam* (1800), p. 253.

you were before. But if you do not wish to yield, you will be killed to a man and your hilly abode will be destroyed.' Then the Daflas said in reply, 'If the Barbarua be very angry, we will have no fear for that. We care very little for the Barbarua.' Our Tita and Tuba remained with the Daflas making negotiation. Tita and Tuba said to one Ramdhan Hatkhowa Phukan, 'You must go to the Barbarua and tell him to attack the Daflas.' He came to the Barbarua accordingly and informed him of it. Then the Barbarua proceeded with his army and halted at the mouth of the river, Sikling. Tita and Tuba told the Barbarua to pursue the Daflas. Thus told, our army began to pursue the Daflas. The Daflas ascended up the hill and our army could not see them. Our men came to a safe place in the valley.'³

'In the same year (1748 A.D.) the Daflas made an inroad in the north in our territory. The news reached the king. The king sent the Barchetia, the Maju Dihingia Phukan and Lefera Chaodang Barua to fight with the Daflas. The three officers with their army marched against the enemy and arrived at Japaripita where they stopped. The Daflas assembled together in greater number and after having had a consultation among themselves advanced to meet our army. The Barchetia, the Maju Dihingia Phukan, and the Chaodang Barua sent the news to the king and the Namtial Barbarua. The Barbarua was in Khamjang and was busy in the construction of a building. Soon after, the Daflas attacked our army. The Barchetia and Maju Dihingia Phukan were killed, Lefera Chaodang Barua fled away. Five of the Daflas, namely, Pakhas, Tami, Minu, Tabu and Ma collected the Moamaria Mataks and advised them to wage war against the king. Then the news of the battle with the Daflas in the north reached the king.'⁴

' . . . The Baskatia Barua came from Baskata with a large force of Miris, Daflas and others, and halted at Dergaon. He then went to Dichoï and interviewed the Buragohain Dangaria to whom he said 'O Prime Minister, give us a commander. The Baragi Commander who led our force has died.' As requested the Dangaria made presents to their Barbarua and their Barsenapati including a pair of bangles, and said,—'Move at once

3. G. C. Barua, *Ahom Buranji* (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 218-219.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

and collect all the men of the North Bank and remain in preparedness for proceeding to Rangpur. I will give you a commander.' Saying this he dispatched them to the North.⁵

'During the Barbarua's stay at Silabandha, the Dafla Bahatias and fugitives of the North Bank having met together crossed the Brahmaputra at Duimunisil and attacked our forces. Having received this news the Barbarua sent our three companies of sepoys to oppose the insurgents. They opened fire on the Daflas on the river bank, and the Daflas being unable to stand hastened to get into their boats, and in the consequent scare and confusion many of them fell into the river and were drowned. Many lost their lives by hostile bullets. A few others of the rebels were captured alive, they were subsequently beheaded by the Barbarua and their heads were transfixed to spears near the two celebrated rocks of Duimunisil. The Barbarua then communicated the tidings of victory to His Majesty.'⁶

'The country was still in a great disorder (1795-1810 A.D.). The Daflas, not content with harrassing the villagers, attacked the royal troops near Silghat. Even Europeans were not safe, and Mr. Raush, who extended his business operations to Darrang, was robbed and murdered. . . . Ultimately, however, they were conquered and dispersed.'⁷

'The district or province of Saridewar runs about 30 miles in length and twenty in breadth. The province derives its name from the four passes into the mountains; at each of which the officers of Government collect the tribute of the contiguous nations, Bhutan, Onka and Dafla.'⁸

From earlier records it appears that the plains people knew only about the following tribes, the Bhutias, Akas and Daflas; but as a result of constantly increasing contacts with the area we have come to know of some more tribes living in the interior, namely, Mijis, Khowas and Sulungs who live far in the interior and had no contact with the plains.

Mr. Mackenzie in his *North-East Frontier of Bengal* describes the Bhutias inhabiting portions of the Kameng District

5. S. K. Bhuyan, *Tungkhungia Buranji*, (Oxford, 1933), pp. 129-130.

6. *ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

7. U. Gohain, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

8. Dr. J. P. Wade (Edtd. by Benudhar Sharma) *op. cit.*, p. 12.

thus, 'the Bhutias of Kuriapara are under the direct government of a body of chiefs known as the "Sath Rajas" who call themselves subordinate of the Tawang Raja. Between 1830-40 these Bhutias gave as much trouble as their neighbours on the west and in consequence of outrages committed by them, the Dwar was resumed by the authorities of Darrang. In the cold season of 1843-44, the Sath Rajas in company with representatives of the Tawang Durbar, had an interview with Captain Gordon, Assistant to the Governor General's Agent, and formally relinquished all claim of the lands of the Kuriapara Dwar in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 5,000 the amount which they used to realise from the tract by direct collection during the eight months of the year for which they held it.'⁹

At this stage we should have some ideas about the people inhabiting the area. The main tribes living in the Kameng District are the following :—

- I. Sherdukpens and Bhutias.
- II. Akas (Hrusso).
- III. Mijis (Ddammai).
- IV. Khawas (Bugun).
- V. Daflas (Bangni).
- VI. Monpas.

I. SHERDUKPENS AND BHUTIAS

To the east of the Kuriapara lies the extensive division of Char-duar or the four passes beyond which are the Rooprai Gaon (Rupa) and Sher Gaon—the two important villages of the Sherdukpens. There are other temporary and small settlements round about them. In our early records these people have been mentioned as Rooprai Gaon and Sher Gaon Bhutias.

From Sherdukpen traditions we learn that they originally came from the north-west and had very close relations with Bhutan. They narrate that a certain Tibetan prince married an Assamese princess and had three sons by her. The first one remained at Lhasa, the second was given the Kingdom of Bhutan and the third one was given the area now occupied by the Sher-

9. A. Mackenzie, *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1884), p. 16.

dukpens. The present day Sherdukpens are the descendants of the third son and his followers.

The Sherdukpens say that the Tibetan king sent his third son to this area with the intention of checking the depredations of the warlike Akas. Coming here, the third son decided to keep the hill tribes in good humour by giving them a token present of six cows every third year and this was continued by their descendants till the time the British Government stopped it. Even up to these days descendants of the third son of the Tibetan king are called 'Raja' by the neighbouring tribes. The Dirang people call them 'Bapu' and the Akas and Mijis called them 'Thongli-Thongcheng' meaning Raja or King.

'Their chiefs like those of the Kuriapara Bhutias are called 'Sat Rajahs' the principal one having the title of Durji Raja. In common with all the other tribes of this frontier, these Bhutias claimed a tribute or payment from the plains which they collected annually. In February, 1826, an arrangement was made with them by Captain Mathie, in virtue of which the Darang authorities resumed the right of direct collection and paid the Bhutias, Rs. 2526/7/ as. as compensation on that account. In 1899, however, this payment was stopped in consequence of their having murdered one Madhoo Sykeah, a British subject. The Durji Raja with the rest made in the usual inconsistent way the most earnest protestations of innocence of guilt and promised to behave better in the future, and as usual they were eventually pardoned, and a reduced allowance of Rs. 1740 guaranteed them. The boundary line of the Charduar Bhutias was laid down in 1872-73 from the Rowta river on the west to the Ghabroo river on the east. The Bhutias here put forward extravagant claims to lands on the plains, which were rejected by the officers demarcating the boundary. At a meeting with the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang in February, 1876, their chiefs expressed themselves satisfied with this decision. They have come down regularly on every cold season to trade, establishing themselves at a place called Darmara*, two miles north of our boundary.'¹⁰

It is learnt from G. A. Nevill, Political Officer, Western

* Better known as Doimara.

10. File No. 39 J, 1885 pp. 18-19.

Section, North-East Frontier, that during the early part of the century Rupa and Shergaon were ruled jointly by a council of 20 headmen, of whom seven were hereditary; who were originally called the 'Sat Rajahs' by the Assamese. Their whole trade was with Assam and they followed a trade route different from that of the Tawang Monpas.

They are good farmers and known the use of ploughs. The Sherdukpens are a peaceful and law abiding people. Once they told the Political Officer that they have never heard of a murder committed by their people.

The Sherdukpens complained about the highhanded activities of the Akas who claimed them as their subjects and exacted heavy tolls from them. The Mijis also visited the Sherdukpen country occasionally to realise tribute. The amount of tribute thus realised by the Mijis depended on their sweet will as there was nothing settled about it. Of course, they also gave something to the Sherdukpens in return.

During 1934-35 the Sherdukpens had some trouble with Chanzu of Tawang-dzong who was claiming a third part of the annual *Posa* received by them from the Government. But after the death of Chanzu the next year no further demand of a part of their *Posa* was made. It may be mentioned here that the Sherdukpens paid a nominal tribute to Tawang-dzong once in every three years.

In the last part of 1938 an expedition went to Nakhu and several other villages of the Bichom valley when the Chief of Nakhu, Kujjalong and other raiders were warned not to take tribute from any one as it was forbidden by the Government. But in spite of this warning the Mijis continued to oppress the Sherdukpens and exacted tribute from them. As a result a temporary outpost was established at Rupa for about a fortnight in 1939 and thereafter periodical patrols of Assam Rifles were sent to Rupa and Shergaon to prevent the Mijis from troubling these people and also to arrest any Aka found trying to realise tribute from them.

After the above mentioned warning a party of Mijis visited the Sherdukpen villages to exact payment of tribute but unfortunately for them the attempt was not successful. Next, two Miji Chiefs tried to realise tribute from Sher Gaon and Rupa but

being detected were heavily fined by the Political Officer in 1939-40.

In view of all these it was felt that some effective steps should be taken for stopping these raids and realisation of taxes. Accordingly the Political Officer called a *Mel* (Meeting) at Kudum in 1940 which was attended by the Sherdukpens, Monpas, Mijis and Akas. The meeting was presided over by the Political Officer. After prolonged discussion the Mijis agreed to stop taking tribute from the Sherdukpens.

In 1940-41 a quarrel took place between the Rupa and Sher Gaon people, who are usually placed. The quarrel was in consequence of the death of the leading king of Rupa who was an able ruler but had been succeeded by inefficient rulers who were unable to control their villagers. However, ultimately the quarrel was settled peacefully with the help of the Tibetan interpreter. (a Government official).

At that stage it was decided by the authorities to take some more effective steps to stop these depredations by the Mijis and Akas and accordingly a permanent Assam Rifles outpost was established at Rupa in 1941 to protect the Sherdukpens from blackmail and raids by their neighbours. Paying of taxes (House Tax) by the Sherdukpens along with the Monpas of the Digien valley and some Khowas (Buguns) started from 1945-46 and this practice has been followed till today.

With the shifting of the Headquarters from Charduar to Bomdi-La in February, 1953 the importance of Rupa from the point of Administration diminished as all the official establishments started moving to the new Headquarters at Bomdi-La.

The Thebengeas living to the north-east of the Sherdukpens are the last of the Bhutias living to the east of the Bichom valley. They formerly used, in conjunction with the 'Sat Rajahs', to levy contribution from the people of the adjacent plains. A feud, however, sprang up between them and for years they entered Assam for trading purposes only by the circuitous route of the Kuriapara Duar. Their annual visit to purchase goods was made to a mart called Mazhat in Charduar. From 1839-44 these people were excluded from the plains by the British Government in punishment for outrages committed by them. On their submitting and executing a formal agreement to refrain

from aggressions, they received an annual pension of Rs. 145/13 as. only.

II. AKAS (HRUSSO)

Next come the Akas who live in the Aka hills occupying almost the central position of the district. The Aka hills are bounded by the Bharelli river to the east, the Sherdukpen and the Monpa areas to the west, the Dafla hills to the north and the district of Darrang (Assam) to the south. The Akas call themselves Hrusso and are divided into two major clans :

- (a) Kutsun (Hazari Khawa)
- (b) Kubatsun (Kapachor)

Each of these clans is under a Chief or Raja who is the nominal head of the clan and whose post is elective. On the personality of the Raja depends in a large measure the extent of the power he enjoys. Each village has its own council presided over by an elected headman for conducting the domestic affairs. Over and above these the Raja has his central council controlling the foreign policy of the tribe and affairs of inter-village interest.

The Akas, though a small tribe, are held in much respect by their neighbours and are quite able to hold their own. They were not subordinate to anybody but realised taxes from the Sherdukpens and the people living in the foothills region of the Aka hills. To the Hazari Khawas the Assamese conceded the right to share in the produce of the *Duars* and afterwards the Assam Government, granted the right of *Posa*, and it was being paid to the Akas by the Government of the country when it changed hands from the Ahoms to the British. The new Government maintained the status quo and from a record dated 1825 we learn that from each of the house of their allotted *Khels* the Hazari Khawas received one portion of a female dress, one bundle of cotton thread and one cotton handkerchief. Ultimately the defects of the system were appreciated by the Government and arrangements were made with the hillmen for lump payments instead. In accordance with the policy the Hazari Khawas were granted an amount of Rs. 175 as *Posa* but this was not enjoyed by them for long as their connections with the Kapachors brought them into trouble with the Government in 1835.

Next by the agreement of 1842 it was settled to give an amount of Rs. 360 per annum to the Akas. They proved true to their oath taken on that occasion on the skins of a tiger and a bear, on elephant's dung and by killing a fowl. But with a view to increasing their stipends, in April 1857, they refused to accept the amount though it had been gradually increased to Rs. 668. At this the Government stopped the payment of stipends and closed the *Duars* to trade. The chiefs could not stand this and sued for peace in 1859. The Thagi Raja, leader of the Akas, also submitted in 1860 and a fresh agreement was signed. After this the Akas lived peacefully for nearly a quarter of a century.

The story of the Akas will not be complete unless we say something about Thagi Raja who was a leader of the Kapachor Akas. It was under him that the Akas insatiably plundered the people that pleased them to prey upon; but in 1829, this formidable freebooter was captured and kept confined in the Gauhati jail for four years. Whilst there he attached himself to a Hindu spiritual guide, who later on offered to be surety for the good behaviour of the proselyte and in 1832 the Governor General's agent released him; but when he once more set foot on his native earth, he forgot the Guru and his first action was to put to death all who had been in any way concerned in his capture. He then attacked and cut up a British outpost established at the head of the pass leading to his country, massacring men, women and children; and for seven years after this, though vigorously hunted, he not only evaded capture, but continued to make raids on the plains. At length weary of this life he with all his subordinate chiefs surrendered and on their taking a solemn oath to maintain peace on their frontier in future they were granted an amnesty. Small pensions were granted to them amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 360 per annum.

In 1872-73 their frontier line with those of the tribes west of them was demarcated. The Hazari Khawas raised no objection about the demarcation of the boundary and as a reward the Government in 1873 gave them a grant of 49 acres of land in the plains. But the Kapachors, at first, refused to accept the lines of demarcation and put forward extravagant claims. However, the Kapachor chief Medhi ultimately accepted the decision and the line was finally demarcated in 1874-75. With the exception of some troubles in 1878 everything went on peacefully

till 1883-84 when the first expedition since British occupation entered into their hills.

That was the year of the Calcutta Exhibition and specimens of agricultural implements and products, wearing apparel, ornaments and weapons were wanted for the purpose. Lakhidhar Mauzadar of Balipara was sent up by the Government to procure these articles, and if possible to obtain one Aka man and a woman for the purpose of modelling. As soon as they heard about the purpose of the Mauzadar's visit, they got infuriated and seized the Mauzadar and his servant and confined them but allowed the remaining of his followers to go unmolested. At the same time Medhi's brother Chandī, raided the forest outpost near Balipara and carried off a ranger and a clerk. The officials tried all peaceful measures to get back those persons but without any result. In the meantime Lakhidar died in captivity. All these incidents left no other alternative for the Government but to take a firm decision to bring the Akas back to their senses by force. An expedition to the Aka hills, for the purpose, was approved by the Viceroy on the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Elliot.

The first object of the expedition was to recover the captives from the hands of the Akas, and to obtain fullest proof about Lakhidhar's death. The second object was to punish the leaders of the raid in which the two forest officials were carried off, and the persons guilty of the violent detention of Lakhidhar; to put down by force of arms any resistance that might be offered by the Akas, and generally to reduce them to complete submission and convince them that any future acts of violence would meet with severe punishment.

The forces under the command of General Hill entered the Aka Hills in the cold weather of 1883. The advance guard was attacked and held up at Tenga river and two men were killed and seven wounded. The main body then came up, the passage of the party was forced, the Akas retreated, the Kovatsun village was occupied and the two forest officials and the servants of the Mauzadar were released. The chiefs, however, did not come in but General Hill was not ready to stay there any longer and so evacuation started from 21st to 23rd January, 1884.

After the return of the party, Mr. Elliot proposed some steps for further reduction of the Akas, the principal object of

which was nothing but complete blockade of the country until Medhi and other Aka chiefs came down to make submission, and also to stop the *Posa* till 1886.

The Government of India agreed to the proposals and the blockade was not lifted till January 1888 when Medhi and Chandi appeared before the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang and made their submission. Written agreements were executed according to which the blockade against the tribe was raised but they were not to get the *Posa* for two years, and then only, provided that their conduct during the interval had been satisfactory. In 1889-90 the Kapachor Aka chief came to Tezpur and received their *Posa* which had been withheld since 1883. After the appointment of Capt. G. A. Nevill as Political Officer, Western Section, North-East Frontier, in the cold weather of 1913-14 he visited the Aka country with the object of establishing friendly relations with the inhabitants there. He also intended to visit the Mijis, the people living north of the Akas and to survey as much of the country as possible. This expedition of 1913-14 came to be known as the Aka Promenade. The party had no trouble in the Aka country and returned with a very good impression about them.

The Kutsun Akas had some trouble with the Mijis during 1921-23 when Lombi, the Miji chief, was killed but ultimately the trouble was brought to an end amicably.

In 1924-25 Captain Neville again visited the Aka country and described the Akas as an excellent and most interesting people, much more civilised than the Daflas and capable of great improvements. In 1925-26 the Secretary of State sanctioned establishment of an outpost of Assam Rifles and a dispensary at Jamiri, an Aka village. Some time after that, work on the Jamiri-Charduar road was started, which proved to be of great help to the Akas.

In 1928-29 an Assam Rifles outpost was established at Jamiri which was there only for two months. The post was occupied again for some months in the following winter after which it was abandoned for good.

During 1933-34, the Aka Raja, Shri Dibru Jushosho, one of the most influential men in the hills and a good friend of the Government, died. He settled a long standing feud between the Akas and the Mijis. His death led to dissension among the

tribes and the Mijis exploited the opportunity and threatened the Akas but a major trouble was somehow averted.

After the death of Dibru Jushosho, his son Shree Shadeo, was elected as Raja in his place and carried on satisfactorily. However, the orders passed in 1939-40 forbidding the Akas to exact tribute from the Sherdukpens caused some troubles. Some of their chiefs tried to violate the order and as a result were heavily punished.

The old Rani Kelime, widow of the late Thagi Raja of the Kutsun Akas died some time in 1936-37. She was the last of the old generation of the Aka Rajas and Ranis of the Jushosho clan. She wielded great influence over her people, and being the last of the old generation was considered as the guide and guardian of the other clan, Kuvatsun by virtue of the fact that she was the younger sister of one of the principal Kuvatsun chiefs. Rani Kelime was succeeded by her son-in-law Labi of the Jushosho clan who also died in 1940-41.

After the death of Labi, Sankandu Delusha a Kutsun, but lower in rank than the chief's clan carried on as a chief.

III. MIJIS (DDAMMAI)

The early records are silent about the existence of the Mijis either during the Ahom Rule or the early period of British Administration. We came to know about them for the first time from the Administrative Report of 1882-83, where they were described as Mijis, living to the north of the Akas. Mr. Mackenzie in his book *The North-East Frontier of Bengal*, published in 1884, mentioned this tribe as 'a fierce and cognate race in the interior'.

The Mijis live to the north-west of the Aka country. This area is bounded by the Dafla hills to the east, Monpa area to the west, Tibet to the north and Aka hills to the south. There are about 25 villages inhabited by a few thousand Mijis. The Mijis very closely resemble the Akas with whom they inter-marry. They speak a language of their own, which however, has a certain amount of similarity to that of the Akas. The Mijis call themselves 'Ddammai'.

The Chief villages of the Mijis are Nakhu and Kujjalong. They were in the habit of exacting tributes from the Sherdukpens.

and the Monpas of the Digien valley by raiding and plundering their villages.

The Mijis have similarities with the Akas in almost all walks of life but have no chiefs. The Miji village is the unit with its own council and headman who look after the internal and external affairs of the village. Although we find a great deal of tribal spirit amongst the Mijis there are practically no inter-village quarrels. In matters concerning the community as a whole, the village representatives meet together and talk the matter over.

In the last part of 1938, an expedition went to Nakhu and several villages of the Bichom river valley when the chiefs of Nakhu, Kujjalong and other raiders on the Monpas of the Digien valley were warned and the taking of tributes and raiding were forbidden by the Government. But in spite of the warning, the Mijis continued to oppress the Sherdukpens and the Monpas and to extort tribute from them. As a result, a temporary outpost was established at Rupa in the Sherdukpen country, for about a fortnight in 1939, and thereafter periodical patrols of Assam Rifles were sent to Rupa and Shergaon to prevent the Mijis and the Akas from troubling these people.

After the above mentioned warning, a party of Mijis visited the Sherdukpen villages to exact payment of tribute, but the attempt was not successful. Next, two Miji chiefs tried to realise tribute from Sher Gaon and Rupa in 1939-40 and were heavily fined by the Political Officer.

A more effective step for stopping these raids and taking of taxes was taken by the Political Officer in 1940 when he called a *Mel* (Meeting) at Kudum (one of the Monpa villages of the Digien Valley) which was attended by the Sherdukpens, Monpas and Mijis. The meeting was presided over by the Political Officer. In that meeting the Mijis agreed to stop taking tribute from the Sherdukpens but no settlement could be reached on the question of tribute taken from the Monpas as they claimed that their right to take tribute from the Monpas was based on a written agreement reached between themselves and the Tawangdzong Dzongpens which was kept either at Dirangdzong or Tawangzong. In the face of such claims and in the absence of anything to prove contrary, the Political Officer had nothing more to do.

In 1941-42 some Miji chiefs visited the Monpa villages of

Kudum, Rahung and Dirang-dozong to collect taxes but departed without doing so on hearing that a patrol of Assam Rifles was about to visit the area.

At that stage it was decided by the authorities to take some effective steps to stop these depredations and accordingly a permanent Assam Rifles outpost was established at Rupa in 1941 to protect the Sherdukpens from blackmail and raids by the Akas and Mijis.

The Mijis themselves were in a state of considerable unrest during 1941-42, the cause of the trouble being the usual complaint of sickness-carrying made by the mixed Miji and Dafla villages of Sachong, Bishoyi, Lada, Vurru and Shekang against the friendly Miji villages of Divra, Nakhu and Nijong.

Owing to the presence of the Rupa post and the establishment of another Assam Rifles post at Dirang-dzong in 1944 their activities for exacting tribute from the Monpas of the Digien valley were brought to check, but there were some inter-village raids among themselves. The Mijis of Lada-Vurru, pressed by their Dafla neighbours, became very aggressive. But they were reported to have said that they in their heart all wished to remain friendly with their neighbours and so also to become friendly with the Government by cooperating with them and giving up raiding and looting their western neighbours, both Mijis and Monpas, but for the constant pressure of the overbearing and powerful Dafla neighbours. If the Government could check the activities and the encroachment of the Daflas they would always remain friendly with the Government and obey their orders. They earnestly desired that a post of Assam Rifles be established at Kujjalong as at Rupa and Dirang-dzong for their protection from inroads of the Daflas from the east. In such an event they would combine with the Akas and supply tribal porters to meet the transport requirements of the out-post.

Next, it was decided to spread the influence of the Administration toward the east of the Monpa country among Mijis of the Pachak valley who had been a source of constant danger to the peace and tranquility of the Monpas and the friendly Mijis of the Bichom and the Dinam valleys. These Mijis in collaboration with their Dafla neighbours, were harassing the peaceful Monpas and the friendly Mijis by raiding them for captives and to realise heavy ransom from them for alleged sickness-

carrying. The Political Officer visited the Miji country as far as Lada during the months of November and December, 1946, secured the surrender of hostile Mijis of Lada and Sokong and the release of the captives held by them. As a result of the tour, friendly relations were established with the hostile Mijis, and the position of the Monpas of But and Konia became somewhat secured. These two villages, being unable to put up with the constant raids of the Mijis had gradually been disintegrated, most of their houses being shifted to other villages within the sphere of Government protection, but after the tour they began to return gradually to their abandoned homes and again brought the land under cultivation.

At this time it was appreciated by the Administration that nothing less than an Assam Rifles out-post at But would be able to control the source of constant trouble suffered by the Monpas of But as well as the neighbouring Mijis. Accordingly in 1946 an Assam Rifles out-post was opened at But which helped to bring peace to the country.

However, on one occasion fighting took place between two groups of the same Mijis village called Sachong on account of an old feud of 24 years' standing resulting in the killing of eight persons. Prompt intervention by a patrol from But brought the situation under control.

IV. KHAWAS

The area lying between the Akas, the Mijis, the Monpas and the Sherdukpens is inhabited by a tribe known as the Khawas (Buguns) with the then estimated population of 2,000 approximately. The existence of this tribe came to light long after the tribes mentioned already and this was due to the fact that they are not an assertive type of people and are treated more or less as slaves by the Akas. They worked for the Akas in the field as well as for construction of houses but were paid very little or nothing in return. Similar is the relation between the Sulungs and the Daflas.

V. DAFLAS (BANGNIS/NISSI)

The Daflas occupy the eastern part of the Kameng district and western part of the Subansiri district. The total population

of the tribe is approximately 14,475 in Kameng and 35,069 in Subansiri district. The term Dafla, whatever may be its origin, is not recognised by the people to whom it is applied, except, in their intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains. 'Bangni' and 'Nisi' the terms in their language to signify a man are the only designations they give themselves in relation to the eastern and western Daflas respectively. Robinson in his article 'Notes on the Daflas and peculiarity of their language' says—when the internal disorder and dissensions of the Government, during the later days of Ahom suzerainty, gave ample chances to the bordering tribes to start the acts of plundering and lawless aggression on their lowland neighbours, the Daflas did not lose time to take a proper share out of the common spoil. Several attempts were made to check their atrocities; and on one occasion Raja Gaurinath Singh, himself marched an army into their hills for chastising them. But the Government failed to stop those high-handedness and in the long run was compelled to submit to them and to yield to plunderers the right of imposing a blackmail on all the frontier Mahals. The exactions fell very heavily on the inhabitants of the Mahals and specially during the period of Raja Purandar Singh's reign it resulted into the entire desertion of almost all the villages on the frontier.

When the British occupied the Raja's territories, active measures were taken to check the predatory habits of the Daflas and the *Posa* which they were so long realising from the plains people, in kinds, came to be fixed in terms of money. However, though they were anxious to leave them alone unfortunately that could not be and steps for the preservation of peace had to be taken. Under the circumstances the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang and Lakhimpur had to deal with the tribes of the area which afterwards came to be known as the Balipara Frontier Tract.

It has already been noted that the sporadic activities of the tribes, specially of those residing along the plains were creating trouble not only in the hills but also in the plains and thus were a source of headache to the Ahoms as well as to the British Administrators.

The Daflas were in receipt of *Posa* under the Ahoms as a condition of their refraining from aggression on the northern tracts of Darrang and Lakhimpur and these allowances were

continued by the British. "From an account bearing date the 13th May 1823 it appears that the Daflas were entitled to receive, from every ten houses, one double cloth, one single cloth, one handkerchief, one dao, ten heads of horned cattle and four seers of salt. The *paiks* of the 'Dafla Bohotea Khel'; or that section of the Assamese cultivators which had originally been partially assigned to the Daflas as responsible for their dues, being subject to this heavy import paid only Rs. 3 instead of Rs. 9 per '*Ghot*' to Government, the balance being remitted to enable them to meet their engagement. The different clans of Daflas did not interfere with each other on the plains. Each knew the villages to which it had to look for *Posa*. But they claimed a right to collect from their allotted *paiks* wherever these might migrate, and they demanded full dues whether the *paiks* could pay or not. This exacting spirit made them very difficult to deal with. Such indeed was the dangerous character of this tribe that Government did not for many years see its way to insisting upon commutation of *Posa* where the clans objected to it. The Daflas of Charduar in Darrang were the first to come to a settlement. Early in 1835 they had raided probably under the instigation of the Taghi Raja and, as a punishment, had been forbidden to enter the plains to collect their dues. In November following, some few months after the Taghi Raja's successful raid near Balipara, the Daflas attacked that place and carried off several British subjects. An expedition consisting of a small military force, was sent into the hills and rescued the captives, taking at the same time several Dafla prisoners. Of the thirteen Dafla clans north of Charduar eight clans came in and submitted to Captain Mathie, the officer in charge of Darrang. In course of discussion they agreed to resign the right of collecting direct from the ryots, and consented for the future to receive the articles of *Posa* from the *Malguzars* or the Revenue Officer of the village according to a revised tariff. Any complaints they might have against the *Malguzars* they promised to refer to the magistrate. They undertook not to aid the enemies of the Government, and to help to arrest the offenders. One chief was to live on the plains near the magistrate, to be a medium of communication and represent their interests. Their *Posa* was fixed at one coarse arkut sheet, one long cotton handkerchief, two seers of salt, one dao, and one goat for every ten

houses, The other clans shortly afterwards made similar agreement.¹¹

However, after a long-drawn process, the *Posa* paid to the Daflas was finally commuted for a money payment in 1852. After that the Daflas gave very little trouble to the authorities with the exception of the raids of 1870-72 by the Hill Daflas on their brethren on the plea of carrying sickness. These raids were punished first by a blockade, but that having proved ineffectual, a military force was sent into the hills. The Daflas offered no opposition, and in the end, surrendered. Since then the relations with the tribe for the rest of the century have been peaceful.

During the period, some of the Daflas from the hills came down and settled in the plains. Their number increased gradually and ultimately assessed to land-revenue which they paid willingly.

In 1907-1908 there were some troubles created by the high-handedness of the Daflas but these were settled without much difficulty and they were made to understand that unless they lived peacefully, things might not be very happy for them and the *Posa* of the guilty persons would be stopped as a first measure. These warnings did not improve matters, and during the next year they committed some serious crimes in British territory, as a result of which the authorities took the final step in sending an expedition to the hills to punish the particular section of the tribe implicated in the incidents. The Daflas offered no active opposition and in the end surrendered their captives. Again in 1910 another small military force was sent to the Dafla hills to exact repatriation for raids on the camps of elephant-catchers in the plains of Darrang and Lakhimpur.

The Western Daflas caused no trouble during the next few years but the Eastern Daflas committed two raids—one in October, 1916, when a small party raided the coolie lines of the Hurmuty tea gardens, killed two coolies, wounded a third and burnt five of their houses. Seven men connected with the affair were arrested and lodged in jail. The other disturbance was in March 1919, when a few Daflas carried off three persons to the hills from a plains Dafla village. The Political Officer made

11. A. Mackenzie, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

a short tour to some Dafla villages and arrested four men who were concerned in the raid. Out of these four, two were acquitted and two were sentenced to imprisonment. During 1917-18 a great deal of unrest existed in the Dikrang area and villages raided each other.

There were some troubles in the next year when the Miripathar Daflas raided the plains Dafla villages of Gaigaon and Boranipathar and carried off 59 captives, of whom 14 escaped and returned to the plains. The raiders killed two captives on their way to the hills. The Political Officer visited Pigerong, the principal village of the Miripathar area and brought back 20 captives. The remaining few, with the exception of one who decided to stay in the hills, came back later.

The Daflas created some trouble again in the year 1919-20. During the year some of these raided a Marwari shop in the Singlijan Tea Garden, looted some cloth from the shop and returned to the hills immediately. Shortly afterwards there was another small raid on the Assamese village of Dubia Borigaon in which one Assamese was killed. The Dafla villages responsible for these raids were visited and suitably dealt with. The whole of the Eastern Dafla country was in a state of great unrest, the chief cause was the influenza epidemic, for it was a Dafla custom for one village to raid another if they believed that the village had infected them with disease.

Next year the Political Officer visited Pigerong again and realised the fine imposed upon them for their raids on the plains Dafla villages in 1918. He also visited the Dafla villages of the Dikrang valley and reported about a general state of war existing there, where raids were the order of the day and so none were feeling secure. During the visit, the Political Officer settled a number of quarrels and restored some captives to their relatives.

In 1922-23 the Political Officer visited the Lareng and Balisa villages of the Western Daflas. It was due to his efforts that the captives taken by the Daflas of the Borpani hills from the plains village of Kathoni were restored and the offenders punished. Raids occurred in 1925-26 also and in the course of one such raid five Daflas were killed and three were taken as captives to Jarum which was five days' march from the border. As a result a punitive expedition, was sanctioned by the Govern-

ment of India. The ring leader and several others who took part in the raid were arrested and suitably dealt with. A fine was inflicted on the offending village.

There was no serious trouble during the next few years but in 1933-34 conditions again deteriorated and there were some raids in course of which a number of Daflas were killed and some were taken prisoners. Pache raided Mopop and seized 17 people. As a result the Government took some precautionary measures and nothing happened after that but with the advent of the dry season, conditions in the hills again became anything but peaceful, there were inter-village raids amongst the Daflas and some of them were killed and some were taken prisoner. But the speciality of the year was the death of two Akas in the hands of the Daflas of Riang.

The position deteriorated further during the next year and became serious. There were raids with murder and prisoners were also taken. The most important raids took place between Sengme, Mopop and Bibbite. Sengme raided Mopop, killed one man and captured three women. In reply the Daflas of Mopop and Bibbite raided some Daflas of Pilyapu in North Lakhimpur. They captured two men and took them along with some property to the hills. The Pilyapu people were raided because they were of the same clan as the people of Sengme to whom they were closely allied. As the raid took place in British territory, the Mopop and Bibbite people were ordered to release their prisoners. The previous year's Pache raid on Mopop resulted in breaking up the Mopop village, the inhabitants moving to Modok. Such raids among the Daflas went on for some time in spite of serious attempts by the Government to stop them, and it was clearly realised by the Government that unless effective administration was spread over the area, it would not be possible to stop such raids, and so, to facilitate this as well as for various other reasons, the Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into two. The Daflas, who were previously termed as Eastern and Western Daflas, roughly fell under the jurisdiction of two different Divisions known as Subansiri Frontier Division and Kameng Frontier Division respectively.

VI. MONPAS

The North-West portion of the Kameng district is occupied

by the Monpas. This area is under their occupation from the early days of the Christian era, may be even earlier. They are Buddhists and had trade relations with the north, south and west i.e., Tibet, Assam and Bhutan. The Buddhist (Monpa) monastery at Tawang is possibly the largest in India. The people of the area speak in Monpa dialect. It may not be out of place to mention here that with the exception of the Khamptis of the Lohit district the Monpas are the only people in the North-East Frontier Agency who can claim to have a script. The Library in the Tawang monastery can boast of a large number of books almost all of which are in manuscript.

In the early part of 1914 Captain Nevill, the Political Officer, Western Section of the North-East Frontier, visited Tawang and suggested in his report about the appointment of a European Officer to be in charge at Tawang and some other measures for the benefit of the people of the locality. But due to various difficulties mainly in connection with the Great War no action could be taken in the matter.

During the Simla convention of 1914 attended by the representatives of India, China and Tibet a settlement of the Frontier between India and Tibet was negotiated. As a result of these negotiations an agreed line known as the McMahon Line was defined on a map fixing the boundary for a distance of some 850 miles from Bhutan to the Isu Razi pass on the Irrawaddy-Salween water-parting and the Tawang area fell to the south of this line.

Lonchen Shatra, the Tibetan representative in the convention, suggested that the Tawang area should be taken over quickly and tactfully; but owing, presumably, to pre-occupations with the Great War, necessary steps for the occupation of Tawang could not be taken. It was not until over 20 years later that consideration was given to the question of making the frontier a reality.

In 1938 active attention could be paid to Tawang and Captain Lightfoot, the then Political Officer in charge of the Balipara Frontier Tract, led an expedition to Tawang. On return from tour he submitted a detailed report suggesting some active measures to be taken to improve the conditions of the Monpas in general. But the Government of India could not agree to the proposals at that stage.

In the meantime the Tibetans started showing signs of increased interest in Tawang and sent a high official with an escort of troops who started collecting taxes from villages far south of Tawang and issued summons to villagers as far as Rupa and Shergaon, claiming them to be Tibetan subjects and asking them to present themselves for official Tibetan enquiry. He not only claimed them as Tibetan subjects but also told them that Tibetan territory extended far to the south.

Coming to know about these the Government of India addressed a letter to the Tibetan Government to protest about the activities of their officers in the Tawang area. In reply the Tibetan Government intimated that 'The most friendly relations now exist between the British and the Tibetan Governments, and if Rupa, Shergaon and Kalaktang are within the territorial jurisdiction of the British Government, the calling-up of villagers and attempts to obtain taxes from the above places cannot be justified.' The Tibetan Government accordingly issued orders to their officers not to call up villagers or endeavour to levy taxes from the above mentioned places. But they avoided mentioning Tawang which had been specifically mentioned in the note from the Government of India.

The matter did not stop there. The question was raised by the representative of the Government of India at Lhasa who informed the Tibetan Government that India had been gradually extending their activities for the good of the inhabitants of the territory in question and her officers would continue to move forward up to the frontier. But they would not extend their activities beyond the McMahon Line.

In 1944 an Assam Rifles outpost was established at Dirang, north of Rupa and Mr. Mills, the then Adviser to the Governor of Assam, visited Dirang-dzong in May, 1945 and tried to explain the position to the Dzongpens who approached him with their claims. In spite of all these, further attempts on the part of the Tibetan Officials were made to realise taxes from the area but with no success.

Sometime by the end of the year Mr. Hopkinson visited Lhasa to help in maintaining and, if possible, strengthening the good relations existing between India and Tibet. After meeting the officials he informed the Government of India that in fact the Shapes did not dispute the existence of the McMohan Line

and of the treaty. But they believed the line in practice was invalid because it was slept over for 30 years.

However, in spite of the previous decision of the Tibetan Government, the Tsona Dzongpens in 1947 issued notices on the people of Kalaktang area asking them to pay taxes to their representatives and not to the representatives of the Government of India. But as a result of the tactful dealings of our officers the agents of the Tsona Dzongpens had to go back to Tawang without collecting any taxes from the Kalaktang area.

At last in 1950 the Government of India decided to assert their rights over Tawang, south of the McMahon Line and accordingly a party was sent under Major Khathing, the then Assistant Political Officer, at present Chief Secretary, Nagaland.

After preliminary arrangements, Major Khathing started for Tawang and reached there on the 6th of February, 1951. From there, he reported that the representatives of the Tsona Dzongpens and monastery officials had met him and his party on their way. On the 9th of February, they met him again and gave him to understand that a special messenger was being sent to Lhasa to apprise their Government of the situation. Next, the Dzongpens again called on the Assistant Political Officer at Tawang on the 14th and requested him to allow them to collect the arrear taxes and to get free services of 20 labourers daily but these requests were not agreed to and the Assistant Political Officer carried on the Administration of Tawang.

From our activities in Tawang the Tibetan Officials realised the futility of their claims and so finally recognized our authority over the Tawang area and left the place gradually.

Hitherto, the people of the area had been leading a very precarious life just sufficient to keep their body and soul together. They were being taxed heavily under various pretexts without getting any help from the authorities in times of necessity. In view of the circumstances the Government of India took all possible steps to help the people in order to improve their lot and to make them happy. As soon as the advance party established themselves, the representatives of various nation-building departments such as Medical, Education, Agriculture, Engineering, Cottage Industries started their respective activities which made the people appreciate the differences between the

old and the new regimes. The various activities of the Government through these departments changed the fact of that part of the country and the conditions of the people both materially and spiritually.

Unfortunately there was a great set back as a result of the Chinese aggression of 1962; people suffered immensely, many of them left the country and took shelter in Assam. Buildings, roads and bridges were damaged, hospitals and schools were closed and all other nation-building activities came to a sudden stop. However, after the departure of the Chinese the people were sent back to their own villages and the development activities were accelerated. Now the people are deriving all round benefits and they are leading a happy life.

Starting with the Political History of the area as a whole we find the year 1912-13 was a very eventful one in the history of the frontier administration. Attention was directed mainly to the North-East Frontier and the policy to be followed to secure its more effective control. To this end several important measures were introduced with the sanction of the Government of India. Sanction was also accorded to the appointment of a Political Officer to have charge of the section of the frontier west of the Subansiri-Siyom divide, and effect was given to the orders from the close of the year.

A policy of peaceful penetration was pursued successfully during 1913-14. The British Officers visited Dirang-dzong and Tawang. The only opposition experienced on these various expeditions was from the Daflas during the promenade through their country.

During 1914-15 the southern boundary of the Western Section of the North-East Frontier was notified and rules for the administration of the area were issued. The existence of a state of war in Europe rendered it inadvisable to advance far beyond the administered boundary and the year was uneventful in comparison with the previous period of energetic exploration. In 1919, on the recommendation of Sir Beatson Bell, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, the title of the Western Section was changed to that of Balipara Frontier Tract.

The outbreak of war prevented any action being taken after the Tibet conference of 1914 which resulted in the deli-

mitation of the Indo-Tibetan Frontier from the eastern frontier of Bhutan to the Isu Razi pass on the Irrawaddy-Salwin water parting. However, due to the development in the international situation the Government of India began to take interest in the North-East Frontier of India, specially in Tawang, and as stated above an expedition to Tawang started in the spring of 1938 under the command of Captain G. S. Lightfoot but he came back without any action of a permanent nature. Then only in 1951, as a result of the decision taken by the Government of India, Major Khathing led an expedition to bring Tawang under effective administration. He had no difficulty in doing so and from then it became the Headquarters of an Assistant Political Officer till 1959 when one Additional Political Officer was posted there with representative of all other Departments.

We have already seen how the Balipara Frontier Tract was created and functioning under one Political Officer. But due to increase in Government activities it became extremely difficult for one Political Officer to supervise the administrative works of the whole area and so in 1946 Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into two separate districts, namely Se-La Sub-Agency and Subansiri Area. Charduar remained the headquarters of the Se-La Sub-Agency for some time to come but ultimately it was shifted to Bomdi-La with effect from the 28th February, 1953.

In 1954 the name of the Se-La Sub-Agency was changed to that of Kameng Frontier Division. Incidentally 'Kameng' is the name of an important river of this District. It was during this period that some extensive tours were undertaken specially in the north-east direction and as a result of these tours some areas, so long under loose administration, were brought under the direct administration and two administrative centres were established—one at Bameng and the other at Leyak. From these places the officers administered the whole of the North-Eastern part of the Kameng Frontier Division.

The development activities of the Government spread over the northernmost territories of the division gradually. In 1957 the Political Officer visited the Pachak valley lying to the north of Lada.

Extensive tours were carried out by the Political Officers upto the last village in the upper reaches of the river Kameng

and produced a clear picture of the geography of the area lying adjacent to the Tibetan border.

As a result of a new act passed by the parliament in 1965 the name of Kameng Frontier Division was changed to Kameng district.