CHAPTER 5

POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN MANIPUR

The administrative systems in the hills and the valley of Manipur had been discussed in the preceding chapters. The Government of Manipur, during the period of our study, was confronted with a number of popular movements and uprisings, both violent and non-violent. Such movements, however, were not primarily directed against foreign rule. These were manifestations of displeasure and discontentment against certain specific acts of the Government. In most of these movements the hill tribes and the plainsmen (Meiteis) were involved. A combination of the two groups in one movement was quite rare.

The movements by the people of the valley were mostly non-violent; while those by the people of the hills were usually violent in nature. The reason, partly, for such a difference could be that after the defeat in 1691, the Meitei soldiers were completely disarmed and dissolved. There were also threats from the Government at inflicting severe punishments like banishment or death if they were found indulging in antigovernment activity. Even carrying of lethal sticks in the streets was forbidden. People were ruthlessly punished for committing petty crimes; acts of harassment and atrocity were very common as the Rajkumars were disloyal to the White rulers.
A peculiarity of the movements by the people of the valley was that, in most cases, women were at the forefront of the movements. The men stood behind. A women-dominated movement was called Nupi-Lan (Women's War).

The tribes were prone to resort to rebellion mainly due to the fact that they had in their possession licensed firearms mainly for protecting themselves against wild animals. They possessed a number of unlicensed guns as well. These weapons could be conveniently used either in tussles with the Government or in intra-tribal feuds.

The First Nupi-Lan
Of 1904

The Manipuri princes (Rajkumars) were much displeased with the punishments and atrocities the British had inflicted upon the Manipuris after their defeat in 1891. But, they could not muster strong for a revolt due to the fact that they were deprived of arms by the British Government. But manifestations of discontents had been there.

The First Nupi-Lan (Women's War) of 1904 was a non-violent movement launched by a large number of women in the valley. It was a protest against the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, the Political Agent and Superintendent of State, which brought back into effect a temporary revival of Laiup system which was abolished in 1891. In that order the people
of Imphal town were asked by the Political Agent and Superintendent of State to rebuild a bungalow of the British officials that had been burnt down twice in six months. The members of the Rajbari, the members of the Cheiraap and the Panchayat Courts and the State Officials were excluded from the purview of this order. The details were as under:—

On the night of 15 March 1904 the building occupied by Mr. J. J. Dunlop, the Assistant Political Agent and Superintendent of State, caught fire. Again on 4 August of the same year the bungalow occupied by Mr. Dunlop and Captain I. A. Nuttall, the tutor to Raja Churachand Singh, was burnt down for the second time. Prior to that, on 6 July 1904 a portion of the Khwairamband Bazar (the main market at Imphal) was also set on fire. The Political Agent suspected the above-stated incidents as acts of 'pure incendiarism'. He offered a reward of 500 rupees for any information leading to the conviction of the guilty persons. But no clue could be found.

As a preventive measure and also as a form of collective punishment, the Political Agent ordered the revival of the Lalup system among the people of Imphal town only, with the exemptions noted above.

The above order of the Political Agent was insulting to the Rajkumars and the Brahmins of the Imphal town since they

1. F.D.P. Secret E, March 1905, Nos. 872-884.

** The stalls of the bazar had thatch-roofs. The women sold articles in the bazar.
were normally not liable to Lalup duties as of the period
before 1891. They submitted a petition to the Political
Agent requesting exemption from the operation of the order.

The Political Agent stated that the police and the Chou-
kidars had failed to detect the culprits. It would be easier
for the people to find out the guilty men. Further the people
were warned that, if they refused to rebuild the bungalow and
tried to challenge the authority, the Government would get a
police force posted at Imphal and the inhabitants would have
to pay for it. As a precaution, the Political Agent also pro-
hibited the assembly of more than five persons.

On 4 October 1904 the members of the Cheirap and the Sadar
Panchayat Courts approached the Political Agent to revoke the
order by way of mercy to the people. But the Political Agent
was adamant. The attempt of the Court-members to bring about
a compromise having failed, a huge crowd of women, about 30-0
strong, gathered at the compound of the Residency, the Politi-
cal Agent's bunglow, on the morning of 5 October. The women
pressed the Political Agent, in the form of a Gherao, to can-
cel his order. However, nothing untoward happened due to the
timely official intervention. The crowd dispersed on the assu-
rance by the Court-members that they would try again to con-
vince the Political Agent to reconsider his views. On the eve-
ning of 5 October, some 5000 people assembled near the Chek-
thong (pucca bridge) at the Khwairamband Bazar. On receiving
The British authorities suspected the Rajkumars of disloyalty towards them. After further inquiry about the incidents six Rajkumars were arrested on suspicion of being involved in the crime. They were: (1) Kalasana, (2) Matonsana, (3) Chamusana, (4) Laitonsana, (5) Sana Thangkokpa and (6) Magatzingsana. They were tried by the Political Agent and Superintendent of State; and sentenced to banishment.

However, after the arrest of the Rajkumars three persons surrendered confessing their crime. They were: (1) Chirom Thabal, (2) Haobam Chaoba and (3) Loitongbam Yaima. Their statements were recorded. On further examination, the Political Agent concluded that the evidence of the persons could not be taken as true. They were kept in the Hazat on the charge of giving false evidence.

The Government of India, on the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, sanctioned approval to the actions taken by the Political Agent to save the situation. The punishment of banishment for the six Rajkumars was also approved.

** Cheitharol Kumbaba records arrest of 7 Rajkumars, whom one was set free.


3. Ibid.
The people, finding the Political Agent adamant, began to collect building materials like, bamboo, bamboo-pieces, thatches, etc., in compliance with the Lalup system for rebuilding the bungalow. The Political Agent was satisfied with the good gesture of the people for the obedience to the orders. Thus the people were not compelled to rebuild the bungalow themselves; and the situation ended without any further trouble.

The incident of 1904 had the following effects:—(i) It had at least temporarily revived and also made it certain that the Lalup system could be used as a form of punishment by the authorities. (ii) The incident strengthened the plea against the removal of the regular regiments from Manipur and their substitution by the Military Police force. The Political Agent asked for more troops from Kohima which arrived at Imphal on 9 October 1904. (iii) It had brought about a change in the housing pattern of the State Office buildings and the quarters of the Government servants. The Political Agent imported professional tile-makers from Bengal. Gradually the roofs of the Offices and the quarters of the Government servants were converted into tile-roofs replacing the inflammable thatches. (iv) The people of Manipur got the first test of 'Unlawful Assembly' under Section 144 of the I.P.C. Although it was styled as a Women's War, no woman was punished during and after the incident in that connection.

4. ibid. No.881.
5. ibid. (Enclosure 4).
Movement For Abolition Of
Pothang System-1915

Pothang system, a traditional social and political phenomenon, was in vogue both in the hills and the valley of Manipur as a supplement to the Lalup system. In 1811 the Lalup system was done away with just after the British authorities assumed the administrative power in the State. It was substituted by a house-tax both in the plains and the hills. However, the operation of the Pothang system still continued.

Under the Pothang system the inhabitants of the hills and the valley, with a few exceptions, were required to perform the duties of carrying of the bag and baggage and making arrangements for free food and lodging for the king, his royal kith and kin and the State Officials while on tour in their villages. Further, the villagers had to attend on the king in turn while he went for Sikar (hunting). Besides this, they had to do the repairing of the village school buildings in the villages.\(^6\) Till the first decade of the twentieth century, the system worked without much opposition from the people. But later on, because of the fraudulent policy of the Raja and the Darbar, the number of persons claiming the privileges under the Pothang system increased. Since these increased the burden on the people.

they resented the malpractices and thus arose the movement of 1913 demanding for abolition of Pothang system.

It was launched against the discriminatory and exploitative policy of the Raja and the Darbar which made only the humble and poor people of the rural and hill areas liable to Pothang duties. A general sense of dissatisfaction was there following a decision of the Darbar granting exemption from Pothang duties to a considerable section of the population consisting of: (a) all men living at the Imphal town, (b) all Rajkumars and Brahmins, (c) all the honorary servants of Sri Sri Govindajee, the God at the royal temple and His Highness the Maharaja, and (d) all the military police sepoys.\(^7\) The clear meaning of the decision was to impose the Pothang duties on the rural and the hill people only. It was an evident design to exploit the socially and economically weaker sections of the people of the state.

It was an incident at the beginning of 1913 which caused trouble. The servants of Chandrakas Singh, a brother of the Raja, extorted some amount of money from the people of Porching, a village about 15 kilometres west of Imphal on the Tidim road, on the ground that the villagers had refused Pothang duties to the Raja's brother and his servants. Such an act of atrocity made the villagers annoyed. They filed a

\(^7\) M.S.L., Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, Resolution No. 1 dated 15 June 1910.
a petition to the Manipur State Darbar setting forth the unreasonableness of the claims of the persons to Pothang facilities and also explaining how the innocent villagers had been troubled. The Darbar entrusted the matter to the Education Member of the Darbar for enquiry.

The villagers, however, felt that the action taken by the Darbar was only an eye-wash. They refused to give any evidence before the Education Member of the Darbar. The result was that the case could not proceed any further. The Darbar, or, for that matter, any court, felt it awkward to handle the case as it involved the Raja’s brother as the defendant. This infuriated the complainants. Finding no alternative, the Senapati, another brother of the Raja, requested the Political Agent to look into the matter. The Political Agent said that he had no jurisdiction in the case as the parties were purely Manipuris.

The villagers, having failed to get their grievances redressed, resorted to passive resistance involving a mass campaign against payment of taxes and absence from duties of the state servants. Some sort of civil disobedience and non-co-operation ensued demanding abolition of Pothang system and cessation of the public extortions.

The Raja pretended his ignorance of the facts on the ground that nobody had brought the matter to his notice so that he had received no complaint on that count. ⁸ The

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⁸ F.D.P. Political A, May 1913, op. cit. No.38.
Political Agent, though he did not take up the case, tried to convince the people and insisted that they should perform their allotted duties. He also tried to satisfy the people by ruling that any unauthorised person found to be claiming privileges under the Pothang system should be caught and brought before him.  

The people, at the beginning, asked for immediate relief. Later on, they agreed that the matter be referred to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. It was insisted that the Chief Commissioner should pass at least a provisional order towards solution of the problem within three months. But the people were dismayed as they received no desired response within the due date. By the last part of March 1913 the agitation gathered momentum. On 26 March a public meeting was organised; the meeting resolved not to perform any state duty as a mark of protest till the order of the Chief Commissioner was received. A non-violent movement in the form of civil disobedience and peaceful non-co-operation was launched under the leadership of one Ningthoujamba Ningthouba. The flames of the agitation spread to the adjoining villages. To win the state-servants on their side, the agitators threatened those loyal servants, who came for duty, with social ostracism unless they sided with the people in the movement. As a result of the agitation all state works came to a stand still.  

10. ibid. No.40.
The Manipur State Darbar, with a view to restoring order, felt that a severe punitive action was necessary. They considered that repressive measures would be best suited to bring the ring leaders of the agitation to book. In its meeting of 17 April 1913 the Darbar resolved to suggest the following measures to the Political Agent:—

(i) a fine be imposed on every house that refused to perform Pothang duties; (ii) the ring leaders be arrested, publicly whipped at Imphal and committed to prison; and (iii) the Government of Assam be requested to send sufficient force of military police from Kohima for assistance in these measures.

The Political Agent, however, decided not to take recourse to force so long as the agitation remained peaceful. Apparent- tly, his decision was influenced by two main factors: Firstly, he did not rely on the Manipuri military police which was under the command of the Raja. He also suspected that the military police might take sides with the agitators. Secondly, his request for reinforcement being turned down, the force at Imphal was not considered sufficient to suppress the movement by force of arms.

The Political Agent felt that the continuation of the Pothang system would be no longer justifiable. He, therefore, discussed the matter with the members of the State Darbar.

11. ibid. No.39.
12. ibid. No.41.
Assam opined that the issue of the order for abolition of Pothang could not be delayed. Further, it was observed that a reasonable cause of complaint existed in regard to the working of the Pothang system; but the disobedience was denounced. Thus, for the first time in the state, the method of passive resistance, as a means of winning political objective, was crowned with success.

Since the abolition of Pothang system, the land revenue increased from 5 rupees to 5 rupees 15 annas per pari; while the house-tax for the hill people remained unchanged. Tuition fees were introduced in the schools. Officials in the state-employ were given tour allowances while on tour on official duty. A separate budget, called Pothang budget, was prepared. This Pothang budget came to be merged with the ordinary budget in 1915 under instruction from the Government of Assam.

The Kuki Rebellion
1917-1919

The Kuki Rebellion broke out in 1917 in protest against the recruitment of labour force to be sent to France for use during the first World War. The total number of force required was about 50,000 for employment in France purely as a non-combatant force. The Naga Hills, Lushai Hills, Garo Hills, Manipur, etc., in the north-east India were required to contribute at the rate of 2000 each.  

Commanders of the proposed labour corps were also appointed. Lieutenant Colonel Locke was appointed Commander for the Lushai corps; B.C. Allen for the Khasi corps; Mr. Barnes for the Naga Hills corps and Lieutenant Colonel Hillady for the Garo corps. The Chief Commissioner of Assam sent a telegram to the General Officer Commanding, Presidency Brigade, Calcutta, to send 2000 enrolment forms to each of the areas mentioned above. For Manipur State, however, no Commanding Officer was appointed by that time as Colonel H.W.D. Cole, the Political Agent in Manipur, volunteered himself to command the whole of the labour corps to go to France and final decision of the Government was awaited.

The Maharaja of Manipur expressed his desire to send 2000 coolies within six weeks of the demand and another 2000 within another six months.

Regarding the facilities to be extended to the members of the labour corps, it was decided that they should be entitled to (i) 15 rupees per month and free ration while in India; and after leaving India they should get 20 rupees with free ration; (ii) pensions for wounds and injuries during the discharging of their duties; (iii) the heir of a labour killed would get 300 rupees as gratuity; and (iv) the coolie labour.

18. ibid. No. 64.
19. ibid. No. 44.
20. ibid. No. 52.

** Colonel Cole commanded the entire labour corps to France.
would be exempted from payment of house-tax for life.\textsuperscript{21} The Chief Commissioner of Assam however, instructed the State Agents not to announce the above facilities till final order to start recruitment was conveyed.\textsuperscript{22} But, it appears that even at the time of recruiting the labour corps no detailed information about the facilities was published. Thus, important information about the facilities in case of death was not available to the potential recruits.

Due to the great interest taken by the Raja in the matter, two batches of the labour corps from the State left Manipur before the Kuki Rebellion broke out. By May 1917 a strength of 2000 members of the labour corps comprising the hill tribes had already been sent to France.\textsuperscript{23}

The Kuki Rebellion broke out while the enrolment for the second group of 2000 was in progress. There were a number of factors resulting in the rebellion. First, the Kukis were nomadic tribes; frequently they shifted their villages from place to place. They, therefore, found it difficult to part with the members of their family as it was uncertain about the place where they could find their relatives after return from the war services. Secondly, as per the traditional custom for recruiting labour, they were meant only for local employment and they resented employment outside their territory. Recruitment

\textsuperscript{21} ibid. No.39, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{22} ibid. No.78.
\textsuperscript{23} Reid, Robert, op. cit. p.79.
of labour under conscription in the circumstances was considered a gross injustice to the tribes. Lastly, the injury caused to the Kuki villages of the Somra tract had not been healed when the recruitment went on. The Kukis had for long nursed a grievance against the British authorities for burning down a whole village of 130 houses in 1911, only six years ago, during the Somra expedition. Further, adding fuel to fire, there was the role of Sanachaoba Chingakamba, prince of Manipur, inciting the Kukis for rising in support to usurp power in Manipur and assuring the tribes, particularly in the western hills, to end their sufferings.

At the beginning the conflagration was confined to the southern hills of Manipur which later spread as wild fire throughout the Kuki inhabited areas in the Chin Hills of Burma and the Manipur hills. The major centres of concentration of the rebels were: Chassad and Makot in the eastern hills of Manipur; Jampi, in the same area; Henglel-Loikhai Ukha in the south western hills; Hengtam-Singngat Ngaljang in the farther south; and Lonpi (Mombi and Lomhya) in the south eastern hills of Manipur. Pache Haokip led the rebels in the Chassad area; Thangkhothong Haokip in the Maokot area who also acted as a leader in the east.

The Chassad force extended to the farther east, north-east and the Somra district of Burma. The leaders in the area were:

24. F.D.P. Political A, August 1911, No.5.
Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailengjang; Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang and Haokhopao Kipgen, Chief of Molvailup.

In the western hills the rebel leaders were: Tintong Haokip, Chief of Laijang, who raised the Kuki sepoys known as 'Tintong Sipai' with Enjakhup Kholhou in command. The other leaders were Khotinthang Sitlou, Chief of Jampi, Mangkhoo Sitlou, Chief of Dulen and Songchung Sitlou, Chief of Sangma.

In the south western hills the fighting took place under the leadership of Pakang Haokip, Chief of Henglep and Semchung Haokip, Chief of Ukha.

In the south and the south-east the responsibility for conducting the rebellion was in the hands of Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Mombi, Ngulbul Haokip, Chief of Longja and Sumer Haokip, Chief of Toitung.26

The Kuki Rebellion lingered for one and a half years and proved a great headache to the British during their critical hours of the first World War. However, the rebellion was suppressed by a combined force of the Assam Rifles and the Gurna military police force with a strength of 2400 and 3000 respectively.27 The rebels armed with muzzle loading guns and flintlock guns could not be a match for the British forces, better trained and armed with more improved weapons. Many rebels died.

27. ibid. p.4.
fighting; while many others were imprisoned in the jails at Sadia in Assam and Taunggi in Burma. The cost for quelling the rebellion was calculated to be 28 lakhs of rupees.

The Maharaja of Manipur helped the British in the suppression of the rebellion. Manipuris, both sepoys and civilians, who supported the rebellion were arrested and punished.

The Kuki Rebellion brought about a number of political and economic changes in the administration of the state, mainly in matters of hill administration. Among them, mention may be made of the following:

(i) The hill areas of Manipur were sub-divided into four hill sub-divisions; three Sub-divisional Officers were appointed. (ii) Hill budget was separated from that of the valley allocating more funds for development of hill areas. (iii) The Government of India reduced the annual tribute payable by the State from 50,000 rupees to 5,000 rupees on the condition that the entire balance of 45,000 rupees should be spent on hill development works. (iv) The annual repayment of 60,000 rupees against liquidation of the loan of 2,75,000 rupees was also reduced to an annual instalment of 30,000 rupees. (v) The Government of Assam acceded to exemption of Manipur State from the annual payment of 30,000 rupees towards the maintenance of the Mao-Imphal road.

28. ibid. p. 32.
30. Reid Robert, loc. cit.
Bazar Boycott Of 1920
(A Foreigners' Issue)

The movement launched by the Manipuris in 1920 known as 'Bazar Boycott' was mainly an attempt to drive out the foreigner-merchants from the State attaching them with the cause of the rise in the prices of rice and other consumer goods.

Manipur was, for long, a surplus producer of food grains, specially Rice. Rice was exported outside the state. A comparative price list for Rice, as given below, would show how Rice sold cheap in Manipur compared to the places in the neighbouring areas in Assam:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Yearwise Average Price Of Rice (in seers per rupee)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IN 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imphal</td>
<td>26.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golaghat (Assam)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowgong (Assam)</td>
<td>9.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the cheap price of Rice and the improvement of the communication facilities between Imphal and Dimapur, large quantity of Rice was exported from Manipur every year to other parts of Assam. In 1911 the total quantity of Rice and Paddy exported rose to 1,15,712 maunds as against 94,889 maunds in

31. F.D.P. Political A, August 1913, Nos. 6-8.
the previous year. Contractors supplying Rice from Manipur to the Military Police outposts at Kohima and Makokchung were able to export the required quantity free of duty as the State Darbar had remitted duty for export of Rice to the tune of 5,000 maunds. Further, no tax was levied on exports of rice for consumption by the workers and the coolies employed under the Public Works Department.

Foreigner merchants in Manipur were treated very favourably. They were required to pay no tax to the State except for the rent at the rate of 2 rupees per month on the plot which they used as the shop-site. Since 1913 the rent was raised to 25 rupees and was renamed 'Foreigners' Trading Licence Fee'. For the shops in the villages the fee was only 10 rupees. The foreigner merchants who paid the Trading Licence Fee were exempted from payment of the Foreigners' Tax. Thus, Manipur State served as the best place for the merchants from outside for accumulating wealth with least pains.

In 1917-18 a devastating flood created a condition of famine in the state. It brought about naturally an increase in the price of Rice and other commodities as well. By 1918 the price of Rice was 17 seers per rupee. This was an abnormal economic plight for the Manipuris which they had not experienced before. There was a general panic among the people lest

32. ibid. No.5.
33. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.4 dated 18.1.1913.
34. F.D.P. Political A, August 1913, op.cit. No.4.
35. ibid. No.10.
the dearness of the goods, specially Rice, should become a continuous feature in the local markets.

The Manipuris, apprehending famine, staged an agitation in 1920. The general trend of the movement was marked by interference in the purchase and carrying away of Rice and Paddy by the outside merchants, mainly, the Marwaris. The agitators used arguments and slogans like: (a) Price of Rice had gone high because the outside merchants purchase and hoard it; (b) Turn out the 'Foreigner Merchants' from the villages; (c) Dearness of Rice would continue in the subsequent years; (d) Reduce the price of clothes; and (e) Stop looting money from the illiterate state subjects; etc.

Through anonymous notices, a public meeting was held at the Pologround at Imphal on 22 September 1920. The meeting was attended by about 2000 persons, Manipuris and Muslims; also present were the spies and agents of the Political Agent in Manipur. Resolutions were adopted requesting the Maharaja (a) to stop the export of Rice; (b) not to allow any Manipuri to enter Marwari shops to sell or purchase anything which they could do elsewhere; (c) to allow the Manipuris to sit at a daily-bazar in the State Military Police ground in the vicinity of Imphal town or to give them a plot of land to be used as market place or to allow them to sit the bazar in front of the new palace. 38

38. ibid. (Report by Amuba Singh dated 22 September 1920).
The Maharaja expressed his inability to allot them any plot within the British Reserve as the Maharaja and the Baras had no jurisdiction in the said area. He also expressed his difficulty in allowing them to use the Police ground as bazaar; but he had no objection to having the bazaar in front of the new palace-gate. 39

The movement naturally produced adverse effects on the outside merchants; the contractors supplying Rice to the Government from the local markets at Manipur were particularly affected. M/S Sureshchandra Mukherjee & Company, a contractors' firm, submitted an application to the Political Agent in Manipur stating that they would not be able to supply Rice from Manipur as per terms of the contract because of the resistance by the Manipuris to purchase Rice from the local markets. 40 The Political Agent took it very seriously as it would affect the supply of rations to the military police battalions at Kohima and Makokchung. He immediately wrote to the Maharaja for taking proper measures to redress the grievances of the contractors; punitive action was recommended against the persons involved in the movement. 41 In the meantime, the Political Agent informed the Chief Commissioner of Assam of the situation. He suspected the Bengalis of having instigated the Manipuris in the movement as the Manipuris did not show any sign of sub­terence towards the Bengalis. 42

The agitators did not receive any favourable response from the Maharaja in respect of their demands. They, therefore, applied to the Manipur State Darbar for a favourable decision. However, the Darbar, having nothing to do with the matter, referred it to the Political Agent. 43

The Political Agent did not react favourably to the petition. He even expressed his dissatisfaction in the action of the Maharaja whereby His Highness simply deplored the movement; and no action was taken to check it. 44 Proper precautionary measures were taken by the Political Agent by keeping the Khwairamband bazar area under constant patrolling by the 4 Assam Rifles assisted by the Manipur Agency Police.

The Marwaris made a dent in the movement by simply stopping the supply of Kerosine oil and Salt to the Bengali and the Muhammadan traders. 45

On 19 November 1920 the Maharaja directed the people of Imphal to assemble. He made an appeal to allow the use of the Khwairamband bazar as usual and not to interfere the non-Manipuri merchants in the purchase of Rice from the local markets insofar as it related to the contractors. The people responded by allowing the menfolk only to sit in the bazar.

43. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.12, dated 6.10.1920.
45. ibid.
report went, the men started sitting in the bazar since November. To make it more effective, the Maharaja requested the Political Agent to issue notices disallowing any other place except for the Khwairamband bazar to use as the bazar site at Imphal.

It was reported that since 2 of January 1921 the women also started sitting in the Khwairamband bazar along with the men. Probably, in the Bazar Boycott campaign the shops at the Khwairamband bazar, the main market at Imphal, remained closed for about three months. During such closure theManipuri common men equally suffered with the others. It specially produced intolerable hardship to those who earned a living by selling commodities at the Khwairamband bazar. Therefore, the continuation of the Bazar Boycott would have meant a disaster for the common men. It ended without any apparent success either in putting a stop to the export of Rice or to driving away the 'foreign' merchants.

In the last week of December 1920 the price of Rice shot up further; selling 12 seers only a rupee. But no protest seems to have been organised against it till 1938-39.

The Naga Unrest Of 1930-31

The next tribal disturbance to peace that followed the
Kuki Rebellion was the Naga Unrest in 1930-31. In January 1931 a report came to the effect that the western hills of Manipur were in trouble because of unlawful activities of the Nagas under the leadership of Jadonang and Gaidiliu. The report further stated that Jadonang had declared a Naga-Raj in the western hills bordering Cachar and Jadonang had claimed to be himself. The Nagas had declared that the Government, the Kukis and the Khonoma were the enemies of the Nagas.49 As many as 70 villages of the Naga Hills, Manipur and the districts of Cachar were suspected to be taking part in, or at least expressing sympathy with, the activities of the Naga leader, Jadonang.50

The Political Agent in Manipur did not use any force as the unrest was reported not to be serious. He sent the Lam-Subedar and two Lambus, men of civil police in the hills, for the arrest of Jadonang and his lady Lieutenant, Gaidiliu.51 He also informed the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar of the situation and instructed the latter to arrest Jadonang and Gaidiliu if they were found in Cachar.52 Jadonang was arrested without any trouble by the Sub-Inspector of Police of the Lakhipur Thana; and was sent to the Manipur authorities for trial under an extradition warrant.53 But, Gaidiliu had absconded.

50. ibid. No.40.
51. ibid. No.26, op. cit.
52. ibid. No.31.
53. ibid. No.42.
The Political Agent, after the arrest of Jadonang, went to the affected villages with a force to have a final settlement of the issue. Similar method was simultaneously taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar; and the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills followed suit. There was, however, no obstruction from the Nagas. Official show of force was of value in averting possible fights between the Nagas and the Kukis. Of all the acts that created hostility between the two tribes, the most important was that occurred during the Kuki Rebellion; it was alleged that during that time the Kukis captured two Naga girls; one was brutally murdered while the other was carried alive.\(^{54}\) Therefore, the Nagas were making a plot for revenge against the Kukis. Being completely disarmed after the Kuki Rebellion, the Kukis were in panic lest the Nagas should launch a general attack on them.

The Political Agent found that the Kabuis did not intend to give any trouble and that they had no plan to do so.\(^{55}\) It was also revealed that there was no attempt by the Nagas to wage a war as such against the British Government. It was, however, confirmed that a general attack on the Kukis was contemplated.\(^{56}\) Even Jadonang himself denied that he had ever heard of a talk of war against the British.\(^{57}\) Even then, as a precautionary measure, the Political Agent fined a number of

\(^{54}\) ibid. No.69.

\(^{55}\) ibid. No.65, Political Agent's Diary, entry on 12.11.11.

\(^{56}\) ibid. No.68.

\(^{57}\) ibid. No.82, Political Agent's Diary, entry on 22.11.11.
villages: Kambiron, Jadonang's village, was fined 340 rupees (at the rate of 10 rupees per house); Khoupum and Nonguang 180 rupees each; the villages of Mukti Khullen, Bolongdai, Mangjarong, Mangjarong Khunou, Kekru, Thingau and Okoklong were fined two Mithuns each (valuing approximately 120 rupees). Guns were also confiscated from the villages of Luwanglung, Luwanglung Khunou, Nungang, Nungdang and Khoupum. The villages of Sibilong, Thilou, Saramba and Tamingjam surrendered their guns as they were directed by the Political Agent.

Pending a final decision about the charges levelled in the above stated incident, new facts of alleged criminal offences committed under the leadership of Jadonang and Gaidiliu became exposed as the secrets about the murder of four Manipuri were revealed as stated below:

On 23 April 1930 Thouchom Tombi Singh, an inhabitant of Khagempalli, near Imphal, submitted a petition to the Judicial Member of the State Darbar requesting for a search for the missing persons: (1) Thounaojam Mera Singh, (2) Waikhom Saija Singh, (3) Waikhom Tomchou Singh and (4) Waikhom Pheijac Singh, all Manipuri-Meiteis of Nareng Konjin village, eight miles to the south of Imphal. These persons left their homes for Cachar via Imphal-Cachar road for trade in betel-leaf and were missing. A search was on for the whereabouts of these persons.

58. ibid. No. 61.
59. ibid.
60. ibid. No. 71.
61. Foreign and Political Department, File No. 18(7) Internal, 1931, p. 31 of file (Application of Tombi Singh.)
On 3 April 1931 one Jialkpon, a road mohorrir, reported to Mr. S. J. Duncan, Sub-Divisional Officer, that a person, Kuru-rei by name, of Mukti Khullen village, had informed him that the four missing Manipuris had been murdered at Kambiron by Jadonang and his men. Mr. Duncan sent the Lam-Subedar and some Lambus to arrest the criminals involved in the murder.

As a result 24 persons were arrested. The charge was that they were directly or indirectly connected with the Kambiron murder case wherein four Manipuris were murdered at the rest house at Kambiron, in the western hills.

Mr. Duncan took evidence of the arrested persons. Machung-uong of Kambiron stated that 'Jadonang and Gaidiliu were at the rest house. They said that the four Manipuris would be killed as they wanted to offer a sacrifice to their Lai (god). The

** They were: (1) Jadonang, (2) Lungton, (3) Machung yoğun, (4) Mudunang, (5) Nambiral, (6) Taidoung, (7) Gaipuiqga, (8) Tinlingam, all from Kambiron village; (9) Lungoung, (10) Gaidiliu, (11) Molingbam, (12) Bonpuijai, (13) Lunglimnang, all from Nungkao village; (14) Dilong, (15) Tangangang, (16) Namdeichung, (17) Gongdonang, all from Okoklong village; (18) Nampoungpou, (19) Namchungpou, (20) Guirangang, all from Kungkao village; (21) Donjei and (22) Sirang of Bolongdai village; (23) Siphai of Nungba village; and (24) Lubungpou of Mukti Khullen village. Of them Donjei died before sentence. Tangangang and Namdeichung were released as they were young minors having taken no direct part in the murder.

Manipuris were beheaded; the heads were taken to the house of Jadonang and distributed among the four villages of Kekru, Nungkao, Okoklong and Bolongdai, getting one head each. Donjei of Bolongdai village stated that 'the killing was done according to the orders of Jadonang and Gaidiliu. The heads were brought to Jadonang's house'. Siphai of Nungba village stated that 'the call from the Thel (crying place) was in order to kill the Manipuris because Jadonang and Gaidiliu wanted to offer a sacrifice to their Lai. The heads were taken to Jadonang's house'.

Mr. Duncan framed charges against all the accused connected with the murder except Gaidiliu who was still an absconder. Some were charged with murder; some others with abetment of murder. The case was committed for trial in the Court of the Political Agent in Manipur.

The Court of the Political Agent, Mr. C. J. Gimson, after examining the charges in the light of the evidence, concluded that the murder was cold blooded, deliberate and brutal, and even after the murder they cut off the heads and distributed the same among the villages of Bolongdai, Kekru, Okoklong and Nungkao; and the dead bodies were buried after they were beheaded. The Court, however, observed that in assessing

64. ibid. p. 30 of the file.
65. Political Dept. Political Branch, File No. 447-P/1, pp. 12-31; (Proceedings of Criminal Case No. 10, Kambiron Murder Case, in the Court of the Political Agent in Manipur).
penalties it was not necessary or desirable to treat all the accused as guilty of murder and to inflict the extreme penalty upon all who were involved. The Court, therefore, passed death sentence, subject to confirmation by the Governor of Assam, on only six persons, viz., Jadonang, Lungtong, Machungou, Lubungpou, Siphai and Mupoungpou. As for the rest, some were sentenced with imprisonment and others were released.

The order of the Political Agent's Court in Manipur was duly examined by the Governor of Assam with reference to the appeal petition from Jadonang dated 24 June 1931. The appeal petition raised in Jadonang's defence the following points:

(i) that the petitioner was not concerned at all with the murder of the Manipuris; (ii) he was not present at Kambiron during the occurrence of the murder as he was staying at Nungkao; (iii) he had no intention to cause the murder; (iv) he could learn the fact when Gaidiliu brought the four heads of the murdered Manipuris at Nungkao for distribution; (v) the evidences of Lungloung of Nungkao, Lubungpou of Mukti Kuanlen, Molingbam of Nungkao and Tiningam of Kambiron against the petitioner were given according to the prevailing opinion after one year at the time of enquiry and were given through after-thoughts. When the fact came to light the main mover of the murder, Gaidiliu, absconded. So the villagers put the whole responsibility on the petitioner; and (vi) the petitioner...

could learn the story of the case that opinion was passed from the whole village to murder the Manipuris through the prediction of Gaidiliu in order to satisfy their god. Thereby all villagers attacked the Manipuris at the guest house guided by Gaidiliu of Nungkao. 67

The Governor also heard Rohinikumar Choudhury, advocate, on behalf of the six accused sentenced to death by the Political Agent's Court in Manipur. After careful and minute examination of the evidences, the Governor in Council entertained that 'the Manipuris were murdered by most of the villagers at the direct instigation and with active assistance of Jadonang.' The death sentence passed by the Political Agent's Court at Imphal was upheld in the case of Jadonang. The orders of death sentence on the remaining five convicts were set aside and averted to transportation for life. 68

Jadonang also submitted a mercy petition to the Governor General in Council of India stating almost the same grounds as mentioned in his appeal petition. But, the Governor General declined to interfere. 69 Thus, Jadonang was hanged on the charge of murder of Manipuris. 70

Gaidiliu, who was absconding earlier, was arrested in 1933. She was tried in the Court of the Political Agent in

69. File No.18(7)/1931 op.cit. No.2.
Manipur under Criminal case No.2 of 1933. The Political Agent's Court held that it had been proved that both Jau-
nang and Gaidiliu instigated the murder of the Manipuris. It was held that she was present at the time of committing the murder and also took active part in distribution of the heads of the murdered men. Gaidiliu was sentenced to transportation for life, subject to confirmation by the Governor of Assam, and ordered to be lodged at Sylhet jail.

The Governor of Assam, after examining the case and after considering the appeal petition from Gaidiliu dated 23 January 1933, concluded that Gaidiliu's heavy share in the responsibility for the murder was fully proved. The Governor, thus, confirmed the sentence of Gaidiliu for transportation for life. The appeal petition was rejected. The place of confinement was, however, changed from Sylhet to Gauhati.

In the light of the facts stated above, it would be clear that the Nagas did not raise any armed rebellion against the British. The disturbances talked about were those of the war preparations between the Nagas and the Kukis in their attempt to take revenge for their previous feuds. It seemed to the hill tribes in Manipur that because of the removal of the offices of the Sub-Divisional Officers and the military out-

71. ibid. p.9 of the file (Record of proceedings of Criminal case No.2 of 1933 dated 11.1.1933 by Political Agent).
72. ibid.
73. ibid. Governor's order dated 7.3.1933.
** Death sentence to women was not in practice among the tribes of Manipur.
posts from the hills in 1929, the tribal affairs had been left to themselves for settlement. In the absence of the direct administrators, the tribes considered themselves to be their own masters; a return to the earlier rivalries was the inevitable result.

The aftermath of the Naga Unrest was that it more or less revived the Sub-Divisional Offices at Ukhrul and Tamenglong. The designations of the officers were, however, changed as 'Assistants' to the President of the Darbar. Military outposts consisting of one Native Officer and fifty men were again stationed at Tamenglong and Ukhrul. For the first time, the Darbar was allowed to nominate one officer to be attached to the Hill Office as the Assistant to the President of the Darbar. The Assistants to the President of the Darbar were given the powers of the Magistrate First Class.

The Second Nupi-Lan
Of 1939

The Second Nupi-Lan of 1939 was launched, as was done in the First Nupi-Lan of 1904, purely by the Manipuri women. It started as an agitation against the rising prices of Rice; and initially demanded a ban on the export of Rice. However, at later stages, the movement took up other issues like, the abolition of Wakheisel, Chandan Selkhai, the question of

** Arambam Ibungobal Singh was deputed to the Hill Office.
++ Every Manipuri Hindu family had to pay at the rate of 4 annas towards Chandan Selkhai.
Mangba-Sengba, etc., which were regarded to be social and political evils of the Manipuri society in those days.

In 1938-39 there occurred a devastating flood just before the harvest. The Manipur State Darbar sanctioned an amount of 16,000 rupees for repairing the flood damages. Because of the excessive rain a satisfactory harvest was not expected. A situation of famine was lurking in Manipur State. To cope with the situation, the State Darbar resolved to check all export of Rice without special permission of the Political Agent. This included export of Ushna and Chura. Further, the State took over the sale and purchase of Rice and Paddy as a state monopoly; and if at all exports were to be made, it was decided that the Darbar should do it out of the State Warehouse. The Maharaja, however, did not approve of the Darbar resolution regarding the ban on the export of Rice, Ushna and Chura. The Maharaja was, apparently, hard pressed by the Political Agent and the 'foreigner' merchants and contractors to lift the ban on export of Rice and Paddy. The Maharaja's veto on the Darbar resolution made the latter change their mind. The Maharaja also instructed the Darbar (under Memo No.3011 dated 21 November 1939) to open the export of Rice immediately. The Darbar, therefore, lifted the ban on the export of Rice and Paddy since 24 November 1939. Such a step of the

75. ibid. Resolution No.3 dated 23.9.1939.
76. ibid. No.13 dated 1.11.1939.

** Like those of untouchables.
Darbar made the people more panicky about the threatened famine. Under the circumstances, any slight provocation could have ignited the agitation.

The fear of the impending famine was not an isolated grievance of the people. It was accompanied by others like, the practice of Wakheisel, Chandan Selkhai, questions about Mangba-Sengba, etc., which the people regarded as evils created by the Maharaja in collusion with the Brahma-Sabha, a Brahmin organisation under the Maharaja's patronage. It was, therefore, a general belief that a demand for constitutional reforms limiting the powers of the Maharaja would be a solution to all the social evils.

It might be pointed out further that the Manipuri women, in launching the agitation, had commanded sympathy and support from the Nikhil Manipuri Maha-Sabha, a miniature Congress party, acting as an abettor of the movement. By 1936 the policy of the Indian National Congress towards the Native States was that the Congress works should be carried on in the Indian Native States too. By 1939 the traditional Congress attitude of non-interference in the affairs of the States was abandoned. The demand for administrative changes and constitutional reforms in the rest of India had spread to this part of the eastern end of India. Parallel demands were also made in Manipur as well.

The real agitation and mob fury started from 12 December 1939. The women found that the price of Rice and Paddy was exorbitantly high in the local markets.++ Moreover, there was scanty supply. So their first target of attack was at the Rice-Mill owners who were buying Rice and Paddy for export. The first victim was one Khumukcham Telchouk who was forced to close down the Rice-Mill.79 The women then went directly to Mr. T.A. Sharpe, the President of the Darbar, urging him to issue orders prohibiting export of Rice. On his assurance of giving the decision the next day, he was left scot-free.80

On 13 December the Bazar women caught hold of all the cart-loads of Rice and Paddy brought to the bazar for sale and accumulated them in front of the Darbar-Hall. They requested the Darbar that orders be issued prohibiting export of Rice in any form. The Darbar members sneaked out one after another. Only the President of the Darbar was left behind. The women gheraoed the President and insisted on his doing the needful so as to stop the export of Rice. The President sought an excuse and said that he could not issue the desired order unless the Maharaja arrived from Nabadwip and gave his consent to it. The women then pressed him to go immediately with them to the Telegraph Office and send a wire to the Maharaja; and they went together. After sending the

++ The price varied between Rs.2/8/-annas and Rs.5 per anna.
80. ibid. p.627.
telegram, the President, sensing that the women were not going to let him free, managed somehow to send out a chit to Colonel Bulfield, Commandant 4 Assam Rifles at Imphal. The Commandant immediately rushed to the spot with his troops and tried to disperse the women. In the course of the tussle between the sepoys and the women, some women got bayonet injuries. They were sent to the Civil Hospital at Imphal. The following day the Maharaja wired to stop export of Rice excepting for the supply under contract to the Assam Rifles at Imphal and Kohima. 81

On December 15 the Political Agent and the State Engineer, on being approached by the women, had to accompany the women; they disconnected all the electric power connections of the Rice-Mills. The Khwairamband Bazar observed a complete hartal for seven days. The women came to the bazar and threw spread the articles of anybody they found selling goods in the bazar. On 28 December the women caught nine carts of Rice at Keisampat, near Imphal, and asked the cart-men to sell the Rice at 1 rupee 12 annas per maund. The price offered being too low, the cart-men refused to sell. They expressed their preference to sell it to the outside merchants who would offer a higher price. The women became furious; scattered the Rice and had threatened them with beating. 82 The movement took a different turn with the repressive steps of the Government of Manipur. As a result of the movement many women were arrested and

81. ibid.
82. Criminal Case No. 1 of 1940, Orders by the Manipur State Darbar, dated 4.1.1940.
sent to jail. On 6 January 1940 Sri Hijam Irabot Singh was arrested on the charge of inciting the women in the movement. Later on, the unity of the women fizzled out gradually.

The movement continued for about fourteen months during which the bazars were closed continually. If at all some came to the bazar for sale of goods, it could be done strictly under police guards. The women, with the long continuance of the movement and most of their leaders being kept behind the bars and with a split in their unity, became gradually inactive; and the movement gradually died down.

The result of the movement, at face value, was simply the prohibition of export of Rice excepting the supply to the Kohima battalion and the 4 Assam Rifles at Imphal. However, as the movement was also directed at the removal of the social and political evils like, Wakheisel, Chandan Selkhai, Mangba-Sengba, etc., it had far reaching effects. The Darbar resolved to abolish the abusive practice of Wakheisel both in the town and the rural areas. The tax in the name of Chandan Selkhai was opposed by the public and the Government did not insist on regular payment. The Nikhil Manipuri Maha-Saoha had run a counter organisation challenging the attitude of the Brahma-Sabha, a protege of the Maharaja which harassed the people with the so called Mangba-Sengba.++ The Nikhil Manipuri Maha-Saoha had run a counter organisation challenging the attitude of the Brahma-Sabha, a protege of the Maharaja which harassed the people with the so called Mangba-Sengba.++ The Nikhil Manipuri Maha-Saoha had run a counter organisation challenging the attitude of the Brahma-Sabha, a protege of the Maharaja which harassed the people with the so called Mangba-Sengba.++

** Chandan Selkhai was imposed vide Darbar resolution No. dated 25.3.1914.

++ The Brahma-Sabha could declare a person as Amangba (untouchable) and excommunicated him. He could be converted into Asengba (opposit of Amangba) on payment of money.
Manipuri Maha-Sabha came to the rescue of the victims of the Brahma-Sabha and co-operated with the Manipuri Hindus in performing their religious rites though the Brahma-Sabha had declared them Amangba. Such reformatory action of the Maha-Sabha made it popular among the common people while the influence of the Maharaja and the Brahma-Sabha dwindled.

It might be said that the Second Nupi-Lan had generated the first demands for constitutional reforms in the state. Because of the peoples' abhorrence towards the Maharaja and the Brahma-Sabha, popular demands for curtailing the powers of the Maharaja and establishment of representative democratic government followed. The Nikhil Manipuri Maha-Sabha, which later became the Manipur State Congress since 1946, took active part in the popular movement. The slogan of Bande-Mata-ram was used in Manipur for the first time during the Second Nupi-Lan of 1939.83

The World Wars And Manipur

During the period of our study between 1891 and 1947, two World Wars occurred; one in 1914-1919 and the other in 1939-1945. The Manipuris called the first 'German-Lan' (German War) and the second, Japan-Lan (Japanese War). In both the wars Manipur State played a significant role by helping the British Government in her successful conduct of the wars.

During the first World War, though the actual scene of the battles were at far off places from Manipur, the war had its impact on all the territories in India, both the British India and the Indian Native States. Manipur, in her turn, contributed much, considering the size of the state and her economic worth, by subscribing both men and money to feed and finance the war expenditure of the British Government.

At the outbreak of the first World War, the Manipur State Darbar resolved to assist and support the Empire with all the resources at her disposal. On the Government of India's order dated 5 July 1915 recruitment of the labour force from Manipur was in progress. Two batches of the corps were sent in 1917, while further recruitment had to be stopped because of the Kuki Rebellion opposing the labour recruitment from the state. A special corps called 'the Double Company' was raised. The corps was trained and sent for service during the war.

The Political Agent in Manipur, in response to the instructions from the Government of India, wrote to the State Darbar about the Indian War Loan. The Darbar immediately issued a notice advertising and recommending subscription towards the War Loan. The Darbar also decided to institute a lottery subject to the approval of the Government, the proceeds of which were to go towards the War Loan.

84. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.1 dated 12.3.1916.
86. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.2 dated 16.7.1916.
which should be invested in the War Loan.\textsuperscript{87} The Government of India, however, did not approve of the scheme and the idea was dropped.\textsuperscript{88}

Maharaja Churachand Singh made a gift of four motor cars and ambulances for use during the war. He also subscribed a sum of 50,000 rupees to the New Loan, a war loan floated by the Government of India.\textsuperscript{89} The Maharaja further proposed imposition of some taxes on the people for the war finance. But the Local Government discouraged it.\textsuperscript{90} The State invested one lakh rupees as the War Loan.\textsuperscript{91} The State also gave 70 rupees to the Commandant of the Labour Corps to purchase a Gramophone and some records.\textsuperscript{92} The Indian Naval and Military News Ordinance was enforced in Manipur; thereby all publications relating to the war were censured.\textsuperscript{93}

The assistance and support rendered by the Raja and the State were much appreciated by the Crown. In appreciation of such loyalty towards the British Government the Raja was entitled Commander of the British Empire (C.B.E.) in 1917; and in 1918 the hereditary title of Maharaja was conferred upon him.\textsuperscript{94}

87. ibid.
88. ibid. Resolution No.2 dated 25.4.1917.
89. F.D.P. Political A, October 1915, Nos. 31-43.
90. ibid. December 1916, No.10.
91. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.1 dated 25.4.1917.
92. ibid. Resolution No.3 dated 9.5.1917.
During the second World War the situation was different. By that time Manipur was converted into a war front. Manipur was bombarded by the Japanese planes on 10 and 11 May 1942 causing a number of serious casualties and deaths. The Japanese and the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) had entered the State.

The Azad Hind Fauj, in their attempt to liberate India from the British yoke, had spread pamphlets in appealing words seeking co-operation of the people of the State in their endeavour. The I.N.A. enrolment forms were distributed with a view to enrolling the young patriots of the State in the rank and file of the I.N.A. Many Manipuris and tribals were helping the Japanese and the I.N.A. in various ways like, supplying intelligence, serving as guides and even as sepoys. Many others harboured sympathy with the I.N.A. At the fag end of the war some Kuki leaders were arrested in connection with giving of such assistance to the Japanese and the I.N.A. They were tried by the President of the Court and sentenced them under SS 26/24 of the Ordinance XXXVII of 1943 with imprisonment for three years.

The Government of Manipur, on the other side, were giving full support and assistance to the British Government.

97. ibid. Appendix III, pp. 42-44.
The State Darbar constituted a state level committee known as the Manipur State War Fund Committee which was entrusted with the work of the National War Front Propaganda throughout the state. The Darbar appointed Sri L. Ibungohal Singh, Darbar Member, as the War Publicity Organiser for the State. At the close of the war in 1945 Maharaja Bodhachandra Singh of Manipur organised the 'Victory Day'.

During the second World War Manipur proved to be of great strategic importance. It was made a transport base for despatch of troops and supplies to the Burmese front through the Kohima-Imphal road. A transport depot and air-strips were constructed. A camp for 30,000 refugees was established at Koirengei, five miles north of Imphal.99

As a mark of appreciation of such support, His Majesty King Emperor was pleased to remit since 1945 the annual tribute of 5,000 rupees payable by the State to the Government of India.100

98. Manipur State Darbar Resolutions, No.15 dated 29.4.1945.