Chapter II

Political Background Of The Garos Before Sonaram R. Sangma.

The Garos as stated earlier belonged to the great Bodo race, who have been described as one of the earliest inhabitants on the mighty Brahmaputra valley. The Garos were described as an independent settlers with no power or authority controlling over them for some centuries. Their existence as an independent tribe could still be seen even after the establishment of the Garo Hills as a separate administrative unit in 1866 when Captain Williamson, the first Deputy Commissioner of the newly constituted district made his headquarters at Tura. It was only in 1873 that they could be completely subjected and brought under the British rule.

Ancient Period

Very little is known about the early history of the Garos. Before the British occupation they engaged themselves in a series of inter-clan feuds leading to bloodshed, misery and muddle. They had an evil reputation for committing numerous raids by sallying down from their mountainous recesses, attack an unarmed, unsuspecting village in the plains: murder, plunder and burn, and swiftly retreat again into the jungle, leaving behind only the headless corpses of men and women. On return they would collect the whole village round the captured heads, eat, drink,
and dance, chanting songs of triumph.\textsuperscript{1} It was quite impossible to bring the offenders to book owing to the difficulty experienced in moving troops through such a wooded tract of mountainous country.\textsuperscript{2} The raids made by the Garos on each other and on the plains’ people were not always the outcome of feuds or to revenge a wrong. The death of a Nokma often called for a sacrifice, and if a slave was not forthcoming in the village it was often necessary to procure a victim elsewhere, and the chance of capturing a harmless Bengali cultivator who was not able to defend himself, must on such occasions have been a great temptation to them. The return of a successful foraying party to its village was heralded by great rejoicings, in which dancing and drinking were essential features.

Between the foot of the Garo and Khasi hills and the Brahmaputra, most of the Rajas were of Garo origin and the art of war was so primitive among the plainsmen that they could not strip the Garo Rajas of their dominion. On the contrary, these Garo Rajas have contended themselves with moderate tribute, and conciliated the friendship of their independent Garo kinsmen of the interior hills by a free commercial intercourse. The Rajas of Amjonga, Damra, Raumari, Baraduar, Lukiduar, Vagaduar, Dumuriya and Rani were of such Garo Rajas or chiefs. The Koch and the Moghuls could not subdue them as their cavalry were totally incapable of making any encroachment on the hills and woods of the Garos. Only the British penetrated into the territories to whom the Garos surrendered all their arms consisting of bows and arrows, swords, shields and spears, all imperfect kind.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Fr. Pianazzi, In Garoland, p 3.
\textsuperscript{2} Playfair, The Garos, p 76.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, p 78.
During Moghul times, the Garos played an insignificant part in the fortunes of the Brahmaputra valley. It has repelled approach on their inaccessible habitations rather by grim menace than by any wide flung challenges. Aggressive acts have mostly been in self defence. Only on two occasions the Garos took part in a contest for the mastery of Assam. One was during Mirza Nathan’s campaign between 1608-1624, when about 4000 Garos were recruited by Mirza Nathan to attack a fortress of Rongjuli in the present Goalpara district. The other was in 1671, when the Garos, along with the raja of Rani helped the Ahoms to expel the Mohamadhan invasion led by Raja Ram Singh. 

The contemporary Moghul writings on the north eastern province of Bengal did not throw much light as to the relationship of the Garo people and the Garo Hills with those of the Moghul zamindars. During Moghul times and even after the British acquisition of Assam, the Garos were not only by their traditional heads or Nokmas the post of which is hereditary. Other than the Nokmas, the British later, in the course of their administration introduced Sorder or Lasker system among them. These Nokmas and sorders were made tributary only to the ruling power and they were charged with the defence of the passes against the invading tribes of the interior. Later on these Sorders or Laskers were transformed into Jagirdars i.e enjoying lands as lakhiraj lands or lands with revenue free estates. They were also empowered to collect rent from the ryots.
and the rent so collected has to be deposited into the Government treasury.

The earliest British records described the Garos of the lower ranges of the hills in a state of intermittent conflict with those of the neighbouring zamindars. When the British took over the revenue administration of Bengal, things continued on much the same footing as it was before. A \textit{sezawal} was annually appointed who contracted to pay the Government demand by making his own arrangement with the Choudries. The system left them as independent as before and up to the year A.D. 1787-88, their revenue was always paid in cotton. After 1788, the collection of Sirius dues or miscellaneous cesses was made illegal, government compensation all zamindars for any consequent loss of revenue. The Choudries of the Garo frontier received compensation just as others did and government was for sometime under the impression that the dues formerly levied on these hats or Garo fairs had been given up. But as the government did not itself proceed to realize them the zamindars continued to levy them illegally.\footnote{Alexander Mackenzie, \textit{North East Frontier of Bengal}, p 246.}

The Choudries, as the zamindars were popularly called, of Karabari, Kalumalupara, Mechpara, Bijni or Habraghat were the chief landholders of this kind who held all the low country under the Garo Hills on the Assam side. Their principal duty was to repress the incursions of the savage tribes of the uplands who were then a source of constant terror to the cultivators of the plains. The zamindars as a mark of loyalty or allegiance to the Moghul power, had to pay a small tribute in kind usually in cotton to the Mohamadhan \textit{Fouzdar} stationed at Rangamati. Along with it, they had to supply certain number of elephants or a small quantity of Aghur. \footnote{Alexander Mackenzie, \textit{North East Frontier of Bengal}, p 246.}
paying these they were left free and independent for all intents and purposes. Their lands were never assessed to land revenue and the amount they paid to the Mohamadhan *Foujdar* was given out of the miscellaneous collections known as Sayer and not from Mal or land revenue. The Moghul authorities at Delhi never enquire about the nature of the revenue or miscellaneous collections so long the *zamindars* paid the stipulated amount. Hence they were left free to arrange the system of their own collection.\(^9\)

Taking advantage of the situation and the lucrative trade advantages out of the various hill products of the Garo Hills the *Choudries* set up weekly markets at the entrances on the foothills to which the Garos would come down to barter their hill products. Cotton and lac were the principal hill products of the Garos which they carried down to the market at the plains for exchange for salt, cattle, hogs, dogs, cats, fowls, ducks, fish dry and fresh tortoise, rice and extracted of sugarcane for eating, tobacco, betel nut for chewing, some hoes, spinning wheels brass ware, *Monohari* ornaments and some milk, *erendi* and cotton cloths. When the Garo arrives at the market, the *zamindar* commences by taking part of cotton as his share and the remainder is exchanged.\(^10\) Damra was one of the weekly markets at the entrance on the foothills of the Garo hills where most lac was available. About 2000 *maunds* are said to have been brought to market. The value of the lac was about rupees 20 a mound at the local markets.\(^11\)

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\(^11\) *Political Proceedings, Political A*, November 1875, Nos. 88-91.
The Bijni raja owned two large estates bordering the Garo Hills. The estates were Khuntaghat on the north and Habraghat on the south side of the Brahmaputra river. At each market place a person who paid a rent to the Bijni Raja kept a warehouse for salt. This he sold out to petty traders at eight rupees a Maund (sic) (8410/16 s.w a ser). The petty traders adding clay and water increased its weight 1/8th part, and then exchanged it with the Garos, at one Maund (sic) of salt for three annas Maunds (sic) of cotton. The Garos therefore, for eight rupees worth salt, which were no monopoly or duties except the company's would cost about 5½ rupees, gives 3 Mound 15 Sers of cotton in the seed which at Goalpara is usually worth five rupees the Maund (sic). He besides pays a share of the cotton to the Raja for permission to trade in his market. The petty trader is permitted to bring for sale any article except salt, on these he only pays some transit duties.¹²

Such illegal and undue exactions of the zamindars often led the Garos to quarrel with them leading for many bloodsheds in the frontiers. Their popular habit of hunting for human skulls required to accompany the spirit of the deceased Garo man also acted as an incitement to send raiding parties to the plains.

It is no uncommon practice with the Garos to enter the villages and make demands of pigs, goats, fowls, or any other articles they may fancy with to which the ryots are of course glad to comply well knowing that if they do not there is neither the fear of punishment nor any better motives to deter their visitors from murdering them on the spot. Such occurrences when unattended with wounding or homicide are seldom if ever reported to the police officers by the sufferers who naturally conclude when they

repeatedly see people of consequences murdered and their houses plundered by the mountaineers with perfect impunity that it is useless to complain of offences of comparatively so trivial a nature and when such acts became too frequent for endurance they either desert the village and retire to some more secure spot or purchase the forbearance of the Garo by one additional donation of matarakha a species of black mail very generally paid by the ryots in remote situations in that Pargana to the neighbouring Garo chiefs for the preservation of their heads as the time imports.13

For all these there had been a constant civil strife between the Garos and the zamindars living adjacent to the Garo Hills and as such there had occurred occasional attacks and counter attacks between them resulting loss of life and property.

The Garos had not ceased to make incursion into plains to avenge themselves on the Choudries for the extortion and oppressions suffered at their hands. In 1816, after a particularly atrocious raid in which the hillmen had invaded Karaibari and burnt the zamindar's residence, the passes to the plains were closed to trade and Mr. David Scott was deputed by the Government to visit the frontier.14 David Scott visited the neighbouring estates of the zamindars bordering the Garo Hills and prepared a report on them which may be reproduced here.

1. Karaibari. The Choudry of these estate having been the most vigorous and least control had reduced nearly all the Garos actually living on his estate to the condition of ordinary ryots, but a few of the frontier chiefs still remained merely tributary, subject to the provision of cotton on terms highly favourable to the zamindars and paying sums of

14 Alexander Mackenzie, North Eastern Frontier of Bengal, p 248.
money on the occasions of Hindu festival. Of these chief was Rengtha, who had been prevented from emancipating himself from the Choudrie’s supremacy.

2. *Kalumalupara*. This had been in feeble hands. The Garos on its borders were virtually independent, though some paid a nominal cotton tribute.

3. *Mechpara*. The Mechpara Choudry had in 1776–77 effected large conquests, but succeeded soon after him by a minor and now only a few outlying Garo villages in the plains remained in the condition of ordinary *ryot* villages, and in these the Regulations of the Government were current. But in the Hill tracts the Garo Chiefs were merely tributary paying cotton on terms favourable to the *zamindar* and occasionally admitting him as their criminal judge.

4. *Habraghat*. Here Garos on the first ranges of the hills had been reduced to unconditional submission, but had been liberally treated and their *Sirdars* transformed into *Jagirdars*, charged with the defence of the passes against the tribes of the interior. They were under the Regulation of the Government.\(^{15}\)

Since the main perpetrators of a series of outrageous crimes on the border areas were those of the independent Garos they were to be permitted to trade there only on entering into engagements to keep the peace and a light duties to be imposed upon and collected from them as well. The collection was to be exempted from the tributary Garos. Thus the management of the Garo tract and the markets at the passes were to be brought under the control of the Government. In the meantime, David Scott found that the Regulation XLI passed in 1793 was unsuitable to be extended to the areas inhabited by the Garo people due to their peculiar

\(^{15}\) David Scott’s Report on the Garos, 1816; Tour Diary of the Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills from 9th December 1886 to 4th January 1887.
habits, nature and of their language. He remarked "The Regulations are evidently inapplicable to the existing state of society amongst them, people in general entirely ignorant of the Bengal language or any dialect understood in our courts". The authorities were therefore, unanimous to devise a special system of governance with a framed legislation to suit the people inhabiting the tracts inhabited by the Garos. They also felt that the success of the scheme would be mainly depend on the personal character, vision and experience of the officer who would be appointed as the civil Commissioner. Obviously there could not be a better choice than Scott himself to execute his own plan. In December 1821 Scott was nominated to the office on a salary of Rupees 40,000 per annum.

As mentioned earlier, a tributary Garo village pays a sort of rent to the zamindars as a mark of fealty to them. Although none of the Garo tributary villages lying close to the estates of the zamindars appeared in the collectorate Register of the estates, the zamindars discriminatedly collected the rent from those Garo villages, lying adjacent to their estates on consideration that they formed part of their estates which they occupied through the policy of encroachment. Scott found that these pretensions were groundless and the zamindars had no claim on the grounds of proprietary right to exercise any interference with the Garos. He proposed a separation of the tract inhabited by the Garos to the Governor General in Council with suggestions who accepted in no time. The Government said that the zamindars had already received liberal compensation for loss of Sayer and as tributary Garo villages were not among the assets on which their land revenue had been settled, they were...

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16 Regulation X of 1822.
entitled to nothing more now. It is stipulated to compensate the zamindars if they could show any claim to consideration. The Garo Chiefs were also to pay a slight tribute as acknowledgement to the Supreme British Government.

Considering the different suggestions of the Government and the acute need of separation of the tributary Garos from the dependence of the zamindars, a draft Regulation was framed and submitted by Scott. But the Regulation was not passed in the precise shape as submitted by Mr. Scott, but sufficient discretions to meet all cases that could arise was left in the hands of Government. This Regulation was later on came to be known as the Regulation X of 1822 passed on 19th September 1822.\(^{19}\)

By this regulation, the tract of country now comprised in the then jurisdictions of Goalpara, Dhubri and Karaibari in the district of Rangpur was declared separated from the said district and the operation of the rules for the administration of the police and of criminal justice as well as those for the collection of the land revenue, customs, abkarace, and stamp revenues, together with all other rules contained in the Regulation No. 1793 were suspended. The administration of civil and criminal justice, the collection of revenue, the superintendent of Police, and every other branch of Government within the said tract, were declared to be vested in an officer appointed by the Governor General in Council who had since been denominated as the Civil Commissioner for the North Eastern part of Rangpur.\(^{20}\)

Under the new Regulation, many Garo villages were removed from the control and interference of the zamindars and all collections were made by an officer called the Surbarakar appointed by the Government. Of the

\(^{19}\) Ibid.

\(^{20}\) Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit, p 251.
collection 25% were deducted as collection charge and the remainder were paid over to the zamindars of the respective estates. The Surbarakar appointed by the government was of Garo by caste who commonly reside at Singimari. Over and above their land, the Garos were protected by the new Regulation and brought under the direct management of the civil Commissioner, pay tribute or fines for offences committed. These group of Garos were termed as tributary Garos or the revenue paying Garos. The second group of Garos were those of the Nazarana. The word Nazarana has been derived from the word Nazri which means an act of showing allegiance to the ruling power. The group of Garos living next to the tributary Garos in the southern side came under this category. As a mark of their suzerainty to the British power, they made an annual payment in the form of a metal gong, pig, fowl etc. to them. These Garos were known as Nazarana Garos and the tracts or hills inhabited by them are known as the Nazarana hills or Mahals. The third group was that of the independents who dwelt next to the Nazarana Garos in the innermost spurs of the hills. They have never been brought under control nor do they pay revenue to the British authorities or to the Government. Their lands have never been subjected to administration and hence they were called independents or independent Garos.

The Regulation X of 1822 has now been passed and Scott proceeded to conclude engagements with the independent Garo chiefs and no fewer than 121 of those living west of the river Someswari or Simsang are said to have entered into terms with him. However, in 1838, the Cutchery at Goalpara which was Scott's headquarters at first was burnt down and...
the vernacular records perished. Therefore, there are no such records showing who and what villages entered into engagements.1

Scott was marching ahead with his new scheme when the Burmese war broke out and his work was stopped as he had to take a prominent position in the affairs of Assam proper. He was appointed Governor General's agent for the North East Frontier on 20th November 1828. His place was taken by the Principal assistant of Goalpara. It seemed that for some years the British Government maintained a policy of non-interference with the interior of the hills. The tributary Garos paid with great irregularity the tribute which they had agreed upon. Raids were frequent which were followed either by expeditions or blockade of the frontier hats. But these were of no avail.2

After some years, Scott had the opportunity to come back to the Garo areas adjacent to the hills and found that the land disputes between the Garos and the Bijni Raja had assumed enormous proportions. He persuaded the Bijni Raja to relinquish some portion of what he claimed to be a part of his permanently settled estate. Thereupon Bijni Raja made over 21 plots of land that bordered the foothills of the Garo Hills to the Garo Maharies through 21 Garo Laskers who in turn executed recognisance bonds or Muchulikapatra to undertake the defence of the passes against the invading Garos of the interior. The allotted lands were over 210½ hals which is equivalent to 2728 bighas.27 With the passing of the Act X of 1822, a map of the Garo Hills was made in the scale of 4 inches to 1 mile which was dedicated to Mr. David Scott. This map shows approximately the southern boundary of the then Goalpara district. The

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1 Bengal Government Files. No. 30 37, Sl. No. 1-126, 1872-73.
2 Alexander Mackenzie, op. cit, pp 253-254.
26 Santo Burman, Zamindary System in Assam During British Rule, p 83.
27 Assam Secretariat Proceedings, File No. 103R. 1887.
map is almost certainly inaccurate in places and is only of historical value. The map was with the Deputy Commissioner of Goalpara. The map, however, in a very dilapidated condition and the name of its compiler has disappeared from its surface. It may be noted that even the Revenue Survey of India under the Survey department proper commenced in 1825; the earliest work done in this district under the Survey of India was that of Bedford.28

First Revenue Survey Boundary of the Goalpara District.

In between the years 1849-53, the boundaries of the Goalpara district were defined for the first time by Mr. Kelso and his assistant Mr. Bedford and the southern boundary of the Pargana Habraghat was also clearly defined as the revenue survey boundary.29 Kelso went to Goalpara from the survey of Duars of Kamrup where he had been employed for two years and before that he had been in Dakhin Shabazpur. From the 1st December 1850 to the 21st December 1853, John Kelso held charge of the survey. He was relieved by J. H. O'Donel in December 1853 and proceeded on leave to Calcutta, pending retirement and eventually he retired on the 3rd July 1854, upon a pension of rupees 144/- per mensem.30

When the survey of the revenue boundaries between Goalpara and Garo Hills commenced, the survey workers or Karpardazes have fraudulently at the time of measurement, went deep inside the Nazarana Khus mahals of the Garos and included the land of their own in favour of the proprietor of Pargana Habraghat. The Garos made a strong complaint about this act.

29 Letter No. 12974 C. dated 26th November 1907, File No. 507 of 1907; SL. No. 2; Department of Revenue and Agriculture.
30 F.C. Hirst and A.B. Smart, op. cit. p 11.
illegal encroachments about their occupied boundaries to the Assisi; the collector of Goalpara, Mr. A Stuart. He acted readily to the complaint and ordered a *Mohurer* under the Garo *Sarbarakar* for proper investigation.

Yet, the *Karpadazes* in one way or other, continued their policy of silent and steady encroachment into the northern fringes of the Garo Hills areas. The southern boundary of *Pargana* did not pretend to be the true boundary of the *pargana*. Kelso’s orders were to survey as far into Garo Hills as he could so long as he avoided open hostilities with the Garos. He did not go to this dangerous places himself; he sent his assistant and they were provided with a suitable guard initially; it was withdrawn later on, with the result that the assistants on the spot left immediately. It does not appear that Kelso took much notice of the *thakbast* sketches anywhere along the Garo Hills boundary. Kelso said that all along that boundary he encountered difficulties with the Garos. These difficulties however culminated on reaching Meechpara. The survey of Meechpara *pargana* included all its 104 villages except two. These were omitted because the Garos refused to allow the surveyors amongst them. As Kelso said, "The Garos have a superstitious idea that if any European goes into their country they are sure to be visited by either with the plague or famine."

There is reason to believe that the work was indifferently done and no record exists as to the principle which it followed. It may be assumed however that they drew the best line they could along the foot of the hills, but owing to the nature of the country left out a number of inlets and valleys which were in possession of the Garos who have since accused—

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32 *F.C. Hirst and A.B. Smart, op. cit, p 15.*

33 *Ibid, p 16.*
the Habraghat rayats of encroaching on the land at that time. In any case, Kelso’s boundary remains the definite and undisputed southern boundary of Pargana Habraghat. Everything north of it belongs to the zamindars and everything south of it belongs to the Government and is a part of the Nazarana Mahal or of the annexed Garo Hills. There appears to be no formal record of the Southern boundary of the original Nazarana Mahal. Every village which can be proved to have paid Nokpante tax to the Government is a “Nazarana” village and its boundaries will be those of the Mahal.34

In the correspondence of 1849-51 between the Commissioner of Assam and the Board of Revenue, the expediency of surveying the interior boundary of these Garo Mahals was pointed out and no survey of the southern boundary of the Nazarana Mahal took place. It was considered that the waste of time and energy and money and the risk of complications with the independent Garos were too great to be incurred in pursuance of so useless a project. As regards Habraghat and the permanently settled zamindaries in Goalpara the Board decided that it was sufficient to lay down the exterior boundaries of estates. The Bijni Raja objected to a Mouzwari survey as he contended that as his was a tributary estate he could not be required to give the boundaries of the divisions of his property.35

During and even after the drawing of Kelso’s line, the Garos continued to give trouble. Between July and October 1852, seven Garo raids took place in the Goalpara frontier in which 44 persons were killed.36

34 Letter No. 12974 C, from Mr. Le Mesurier, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in Assam to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture. Dated 25th November 1907, p. 3.
35 Ibid.
36 Alexander Mackenzie, North East Frontier of Bengal, p 257.
1857 and October 1859, 20 heads were taken in the course of nine forays into Goalpara. Seeing such outrages, the local authorities proposed an expedition to demand the surrender of the principal offenders to levy a fine on their village or burn it in default of payment, to exact hostages and written engagements from the chiefs, and to survey the hills. This expedition was accordingly despatched which burnt a village. But the result was not fruitful or effective. The Commissioner proposed to Government the closing of the frontier markets. Lord Dalhousie at this time recorded the following minutes on the subject. He noted:

"I have already said that I deprecate these extreme measures while anything else remained untried. But as these savages will neither treat, submit, nor rest, it is due to our own subjects, whose lives and property are in jeopardy, that we should have recourse to punishment, which though severe, is the only thing that they comprehend or feel. I consider that further Military operations would be a waste of life uselessly. It is possible that the exclusion of the Garos from the plains will be effectual. It has been so when tried on the hill people on the opposite frontier to the north west. I request therefore, that they may be rigidly excluded from the plains, and that the chiefs may be informed that the exclusion will be continued till satisfaction is made by the delivery of the murderers. They are at the same time to be informed that if they are found in the plains while thus in resistance to the Government they will be seized and disposed of as the Government may think fit. I am aware that these measures will probably inflict injury on the..."

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innocent while punishing the guilty. I regret it, but individual interests must yield to the public interests, when there is as in this case, no alternative."\textsuperscript{38}

In 1859 the Commissioner of Assam reported that the Garo raids were on the increase and the policy of closing the hats had proved ineffectual.\textsuperscript{39} In 1861 expeditions were despatched into the Hills from Goalpara and Mymensingh, which succeeded in reaching and punishing most of the offending villages.\textsuperscript{40} But the raids of the Garos could not be stopped completely.

Every possible efforts not being effective to maintain peace in the Garo frontier, the Lt. Governor in April 1866 proposed to the Government of India the appointment of a special officer to the charge of the Garo Hills. Sanction being accorded to this, Lt. Williamson who had shown special aptitude for dealing with these tribes, established his station on the Tura Hill. Hearty aid was at once given by many Garo chiefs to Lt. Williamson. Relieved by the pressure of a strong body of armed police from the dread of retaliatory feuds, the headmen became more ready to discharge their duty. Raids ceased and numerous villages hitherto independent voluntarily became tributary. It was at the outset that he followed a liberal policy and all voluntary submission was frankly accepted.\textsuperscript{41}

From the foregoing narration it is known that there had been a constant friction between the Garos and the Bijni zamindars regarding the proprietorship of certain lands situated on the southern side of the river Brahmaputra, bordering the Garo Hills. In the hope of stopping future

\textsuperscript{38} Alexander Mackenzie, op. cit, p 257; William Carey, Garo Jungle Book, p 45.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, p 259.
\textsuperscript{40} File No. 507 of 1907, SL. No. 2 of 1908, Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Land Revenue)
\textsuperscript{41} Alexander Mackenzie, op. cit, p 261.
disputes between them, David Scott devised a policy of reconciliation in which 21 plots of revenue free land was granted to the 18 Garo Maharies. Yet, the grant seemed to be defective as no proper records of rights were found to be maintained by way of specifically demarcating and defining each of the assigned plots of land of each Mahari by a map. The policy behind the granting of the lakhiraj estate to the 18 Garo Maharies, was somehow good, yet it could not fulfill its desired objectives of pacifying and ending the strong claims of the Garos for their indigenously owned land. Besides, the arbitrary and inordinate attitudes of the Bijni people in furthering their expansionist policies also added fuel to the burning problem. Thus when the first revenue boundaries between the Garo Hills and the Goalpara districts were demarcated, Bijni took advantage of the fictitious nature of the inter district boundary and to a considerable extent, penetrated well inside the Garo areas and marked off their own boundary pillars. The result was that the Garos continued their raids upon the plains people to take revenge upon them for their exploitative policies.

We can thus, say that David Scott’s policy to put an end to the aged long disputes between the Garos and the Bijni zamindars over lands could not achieve its desired objectives. It rather served as a basis and a bond of contention between the two rival groups in the future days. With the birth of Sonaram R.Sangma the entire drama of the dispute between the two warring parties took a new turn who, changed these bundle of grievances into the causes of the popular Garo movement in the beginning of the twentieth century.