APPENDIX A*

TRANSLATION of an AGREEMENT executed in the year 1829, by
DEUAN SING, Rajah of Cherra Poonjee.

The Rajah having lost his eye-sight, Soobha Sing, Rajah, has put his mark hereto on the part of
Deuan Sing, Rajah.

(True copy from the original.)

(Signed) RA3KISSUR MOZIPIDAR.

To

Sir. DAVID SCOTT,

Agent to the Governor-General.

Presented at
Cherra Poonjee
on the 12th
September 1829,
corresponding
with the year
1236 B.S.

The Written Agreement of Deuan Sing, Rajah of Cherra Poonjee, executed in the present English year 1829, to the under-
mentioned effect:-

Some land having been required of me for erecting
Government edifices and for gentlemen to build houses on, I
voluntarily cede this land, and enter into the following
Agreement:

1st. - For the erection of these building, s, &c, I have
given up some land in a place to the east of Cherra
Poonjee, bounded on one side by the dell or belou the rest
of the valley, and on the other by the Sei Ootdfi River,
*C. U. Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and
where bamboos have been put upon the part of Government; and if more land is required, it will be furnished to the east of that spot; but in exchange for as much land as I may give up altogether in my territory, I am to receive an equal quantity of land in the vicinity of Punduah and Company-Gunje, within the boundary of Zillah Sylhet.

2nd. - I am to establish a Haut in Plouzah Burryaile, on a spot of ground that I have purchased, pertaining to the aforesaid Zillah, and I am always to manage the Haut, and to make investigations there according to the customs of my country; and in such matters I am to have nothing to do with the Honorable Company's Courts. This place is moreover to be transferred from the aforesaid Zillah, and made over, as a rent-free grant, to my Cossiah territory; and if any person who has committed wrongful act in the Government territories should come and stay on this land belonging to me, I will apprehend him and deliver him up on demand.

3rd. - Wherever limestone may be found on the Cherra Poonjee Hills, in my territory, I will allow the Government to take it gratis when required for their own use.

4th. - If any quarrels and disturbances should take place between Bengalees themselves, it will be necessary for you to investigate them, and I am to investigate disputes occurring between Cossiahs. Besides which, if any dispute should occur between a Bengalee and a Cossiah, it is to be
tried in concert by me and a gentleman on the part of the
Honorable Company, To which purport, I have executed this
Agreement,

Dated the 10th September, corresponding with the
26th of Bhadro 1236 B.S.

(Signed) U. CRACROFT,
A.A.G.G.
APPENDIX B*

GENERAL FORM OF AGREEMENT - 1875

I ______________________ having been appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy, and Governor-General of India, or by the Chief Commissioner of Assam (as the case may be) to be the Chief of the State of ________ in the district of Cossiah and Dynteah Hills, do hereby agree and promise that I will, in the administration of the said State, conduct myself agreeably to the following rules:-

1. I consider myself to be under the orders and control of the Deputy Commissioner of the district of the Cossiah and Dynteah Hills. In the event of any dispute arising between myself and the Chief of any other Cossiah States, such dispute shall be decided by the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Dynteah Hills, or by any other Officer duly authorised in that behalf by the Chief Commissioner of Assam or by the Government of India.

2. I will adjudicate and decide all Civil cases and all Criminal cases, but of a heinous kind, which may arise within the limits of the State, in which my subjects alone are concerned. I will report the occurrence of heinous offences within the limits of the State immediately to the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Dynteah Hills, and will arrest the persons concerned in them, whom I will deliver

up, to be dealt with by the Deputy Commissioner, or by any other Officer appointed by him for that purpose. I promise to refer all Civil and Criminal cases arising within the limits of the State in which the subjects of other Cossiah States, or Europeans, or Natives of the plains may be concerned, for adjudication by the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Dynteah Hills, or by any other Officer appointed by him for that purpose.

3. In case of my using any oppression, or of my acting in a manner opposed to established custom, or in the event of my people having just cause for dissatisfaction with me, the Chief Commissioner of Assam may remove me from my Chiefship and appoint another Chief in my stead.

4. I will surrender to the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Jynteah Hills, on demand, all evil or Political offenders coming to or residing within my jurisdiction.

5. I will supply any information relating to the country under my control and its inhabitants whenever I may be required to do so by the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Jyhteah Hills, I will always use my best endeavours to maintain the well-being of the people subject to my rule, and I will give aid and protection with all my might to officers of the British Government and travellers passing through, also to people of other jurisdictions.
residing in, my jurisdiction. I will also endeavour to facilitate free intercourse and trade between the people of the State under me and the people of other districts and States.

6. I acknowledge the right of the British Government to establish Civil and Military sanitarium, cantonments, and posts in any part of the country under my control, and to occupy the lands necessary for that purpose rent-free. I will give to the British Government every assistance which may be required in opening roads within the State of ________________.

7. I will implicitly obey all orders issued to me by the Deputy Commissioner of the Cossiah and Dynteah Hills, or other Officer duly authorised in that behalf by the Chief Commissioner of Assam or by the Government of India. In case of my violating this rule I shall suffer fine or such other case penalty for my misconduct as such Officer may think fit to inflict.

8. I hereby add my Agreement to the cession of my predecessors of the natural products of the soil of the State viz. lime, coal and other minerals, and of the right to hunt and capture elephants within the State, on condition that I shall receive half of the profits arising from the sale, lease, or other disposal of such natural products of such right. On the same condition I agree to the
cession of all waste lands, being lands at the time
unoccupied by villages, cultivation, plantations, orchards,
etc., which the British Government may wish to sell or lease
as waste lands.

9. I will not alienate to any person any property of
the State, movable or immovable, which I possess,
or of which I may become possessed, as Chief of the State.

10. I will cause such areas as may be defined by the
British Government for that purpose to be set
aside for the growth of trees to supply building timbers and
firewood to the inhabitants of the state. I will take
efficient measures to secure these areas against destruction
by the fire and by jhooming.
APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS IN THE FORM OF AN APPOINTMENT FOR MAUZADARS

1. You, , son of , are appointed mouzadar of mouza No. , Garo Hills, of which the boundaries are as follows :-

2. You will reside at or near the village of ' 

3. You will be assisted in your duties by a mandal on a salary of Rs.7-8 per mensem, whom you will appoint subject to the confirmation of the Deputy Commissioner.

4. Your duties will be as follows:-

(a) To ascertain and report annually the names of all the villages in your mouza.

(b) To ascertain and report every year any movement of villages from one site to another.

(c) To ascertain and report every year the number of houses in each village, and the causes, as far as may be known, of all increases and decreases.

(d) To report on the 1st and 15th of each month on the state of the crops, the public health, and generally anything of interest regarding the well-being of the community.

(e) To immediately report all cases of crime that come to your knowledge in whatever way.

(f) To receive any revenue tendered by anVlashkar, to give receipts for the same, and to cause it to be forwarded.

to Tura; ordinarily this will be done through the out-post constables when there are any at the head-quarters of the mouza.

(g) To watch the timber mehals, and to report any destruction of sal or other valuable trees, and to report at once the presence of any unlicensed wood-cutters in your mouza.

(h) To transmit all orders, princannahs, &c., received from the Deputy Commissioner, to their respective addresses,

5. Besides these specific duties, you will, in general terms, obey all orders issued from time to time by the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants. You will, as far as you can, endeavour to promote the spread of vaccination, which is introduced solely for the good of the people; you will set them an example of sobriety and cleanliness, and do your best to eradicate all distinctly savage customs which still remain in force in the hills.

6. You distinctly understand that you are not invested with any judicial or police functions. These remain, as before, with the Deputy Commissioner and the Lashkars and other officers mentioned in the Garo Administration Rules.

7. You distinctly understand that you are responsible for keeping the Deputy Commissioner acquainted with everything that may happen in your mouza, or its immediate vicinity,
which is likely to affect the public health, morals, or safety; and also that you are liable to summary dismissal, in addition to any other punishment prescribed by law, in the event of your taking or receiving, or attempting to take, or offering or agreeing to receive, any gratification whatever besides your salary.
APPENDIX D*

NOTE ON THE KHASI AND SAINTRIA HILLS BY THE HONOURABLE THE REV. FR. J. NICHOLS-ROY, MINISTER FOR LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

I am very doubtful about the exclusion of the backward tracts from the Reforms. They have been for 3 terms of the Council included in the Reforms. Now it is proposed to exclude them. These backward tracts include the hill districts. I think if they are left with the Reforms in course of time a political consciousness will be aroused among those who are actually backward and they will take their place alongside their fellow citizens in the plains districts. The Government of India may be asked to help bear the expenditure thereon. There is a large number of people in the plains who are of the same type as those who populate the hill districts.

THE DISTRICT OF KHASI AND SAINTRIA IS NOT BACKWARD.

In this note I am not however speaking about all the hill districts. Whatever may be the decision in regard to the other hill districts, the district of Khasi and Saintria Hills stands on a different footing from all the other hill districts. It is not right to class this district among the backward tracts.

The literacy in the Khasi and Saintria Hills according

to the last census is 7.64 per cent, of the population. This district stands second in the whole of Assam as will be seen from the following tables-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Percentage of literacy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamrup</td>
<td>7.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasi and Daintia Hills</td>
<td>7.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhet</td>
<td>7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachar</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai Hills</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibsagar</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goalpara</td>
<td>4.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbugong</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhimpur</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrang</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Female education is the highest in this district as will be seen from the following table calculated from the last census figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Percentage of female literacy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khasi and Daintia Hills</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrup</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibsagar</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbugong</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lushai Hills</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhimpur</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Districts. -Percentage of female literacy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goalpara</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrang</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garo Hills</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga Hills</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylhet</td>
<td>0.703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last election the most active ladies of Assam who took part in the election were the Khasi ladies of Shillong.

The Khasis, in both the Khasi and Daintia Hills, have been used to democratic institutions from time immemorial. There is nothing new to them in the system of adult franchise as their headmen and sirdars have all along been elected on the basis of adult franchise.

THE PRESENT PROPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT.

The present proposal is that the backward tracts be excluded from the Reforms and the expenditure for these tracts be borne by the Government of India. Supposing the Government of India do not agree to bear the expenditure for these tracts what will be the arrangement? 

(a) Will the Government of Assam leave them as they are to-day within the Reforms on the ground that the Council should have some say about the expenditure which is taken from the general provincial revenues? or

(b) Will they be left under the sole control of the
Governor who will have power to take from the provincial revenues any reasonable amount to be spent in these tracts for the running expenditure and for their advancement without any reference to the Legislative Council?

It seems reasonable that if the Government of India do not undertake to bear the whole expenditure for these tracts that the Council should have some voice in the expenditure on these tracts. It is owing to this consideration that these tracts have been brought within the Reforms.

I take it for granted that the Government of Assam will not exclude these tracts if the Government of India do not bear the expenditure thereon.

For the purpose of this note I shall take it for granted that the Government of India will agree to bear the expenditure for these backward tracts and that they will be excluded from the Reforms. What will this exclusion involve? Will these tracts be considered as foreign territory and therefore they will not get any longer those privileges which they now get in Assam, e.g., schools, colleges and a proportional share in the services of Assam and privileges in the courts, etc.?

It seems that they will be excluded from all these privileges.

This position may not affect those hill districts which have not yet advanced so far as to have any appreciable
share in the said privileges; but it will surely affect the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district.

For the sake of the people of this district any administration which will not retard their progress is, no doubt, the best for them.

I consider that a relegation of this district to the class of backward tracts which will have no voice in the administration in Assam and no opening for a progressive and advanced people like the Khasis is to stop their progress. The people themselves resent such an idea.

The arguments put forward against the inclusion of this district can be brought under these heads:

1. Argument from the basis of affinity.
2. Argument from the basis of finance.

The first argument resolves itself to this, namely, that as the Khasis have not much affinity with the peoples of the plains it will not be beneficial for them to be yoked together with the plains.

This argument does not have much weight. If they have no affinity with the plains people neither have they affinity with the other hill tribes. The Khasis have to deal every day with the people of the plains. All their trade is with them. The whole district is surrounded by the Assam Valley and the Surma Valley. On one side the district is joined to the Garo Hills, but there is no relation at all
with the Garos even in trade. They are foreign to the other hills tribes. They are altogether connected in their business with the peoples of the plains districts.

Another factor must also be taken into consideration, namely, that mental affinity of an advanced people is more with those who are advanced and civilised than with the people who are altogether uncivilised.

Again this fact should not be overlooked, namely, that the plains of Assam do not contain a homogeneous people. There is not very much affinity among many sections and castes in the plains.

The second argument is that it is a deficit district.

I am not sure about this statement and about the amount of deficit. I am afraid the district expenditure has been mixed up with the expenditure on the capital of the province. I know that the 3ouai subdivision is paying. The expenditure is about Rs.50,000 while the income is over one lakh.

The Shillong division of the district does not have much expenditure if we exclude the expenditure within the capital.

The expenditure on the Shillong-Cherrapoonjee road should not all be included in the district expenditure. It is the road which now joins the capital with the Surma Valley.

The Shillong-Gauhati road yields a large revenue.
The Deputy Commissioner's Court in Shillong is a district court, but it is for the benefit of the capital of Shillong and not only for the rural areas of the district. The Town of Shillong uses this court much more, probably, than do the rural areas. This is principally the court for the town. Perhaps the balance from the Souai sub-division with the revenue from the Khasi Hills is more than enough to pay for the need of the Khasi Hills rural areas excluding the expenditure in the provincial capital.

The dispensary at Shillong may not be considered as a district dispensary. Most of the people from rural areas get their medical aid from the Mission private dispensaries.

The district expenditure has been augmented by expenditure such as the upkeep of the Long-Round road, Fuller's ride and some other roads which are not at all necessary for the district. These roads are only for the beauty of the town, for the use of the townspeople. The expenditure thereon should not be against this district. They are the expenditure for the luxuries of the capital of Assam. They should all be headquarters expenditure.

The high school here in Shillong is not altogether for the benefit of this district. More than half of the boys are the sons of the officials who work in the capital of Assam and the boys of other hill districts.

As Assam gets a convenient capital in the midst of
the Khasi Hills, most of the expenditure on this town and its suburbs may be considered to be due to its existence. Therefore this consideration of its being a deficit district should not be the ground for excluding it from the Reforms.

Sylhet is a deficit district, but still Assam wants to keep it. As Shillong is the capital of Assam and is within this district Assam should not think about its deficit. It is however difficult to get the actual figures of expenditure and receipts of this district.

There is however another consideration that is very important for the people of these hills and that is this: If they be included in the Reforms will they be able to maintain their own self-governing village institutions? Will not all these be replaced by the laws of the province? Will not these people be swamped by the plains people? Pleaders of the High Court and money-lenders will come in and take away gradually all the living of the people.

This, no doubt, is a serious question. Every community in India now wants to preserve itself. But this preservation should not be at all the expense of progress. Under the present conditions in India with various creeds and castes and modes of culture, it is not desirable to overlook the needs of the minorities. Small communities should have a certain amount of protection. Therefore I think that the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may have a constituency like
the Shillong constituency. The capital now is non-regulated and it is not under the High Court. The same may be done with the Khasi and Daintia Hills (British portion). It will have its own representatives in the Council, but owing to the necessity of preserving the village organisations existing at present and of protecting the rights of the people, it may remain non-regulated. Any law passed by the Legislative Council may be extended only by the power of the Governor. The position may be as it is at present, but with only one modification, namely, that the people will elect their representative as does the Shillong general urban constituency. This, no doubt, is considered is a half-way house, but in the present stage of development in India there are stages which may be called half-way houses. The power of certification given to the Governor is a half-way house in the constitution. It really means that the Legislative Council is not able to impose its will upon the people. The special communal electorates are half-way houses in the constitution. These are not proper in a purely democratic state. The present dyarchical system is a half-way house.

But if it should be considered that unless the Khasi and Daintia Hills want to come fully under the Reforms they would have no part in Assam as they have now and would thus be relegated to the category of backward tracts which are to be excluded from the Reforms, the people of this district would have to choose between being fully within the
Reforms and be made a regulated district and being classed a backward tract and excluded from the Reforms and be ruled by a Political Officer.

All those who know what this means choose to be governed by law instead of being governed by the executive powers of a single individual. A Government by a political power is only for a people in their very primitive stage, but for the people of this district who have advanced far beyond that stage and who can to some extent at least compete with their friends in the plains districts, such a position is inconceivable; it will be unbearable. One thing that the populace have understood and that is that they want a government by law. For the present it may be supposed that such a government as has been good in the past will always be so in the future to protect the land and property of the poor hill people. But what guarantee have they that these hills and all the backward tracts may not be under a military rule? What guarantee have they that the hill territories may not be used for exploitation by some big companies? To be under the parental rule of a political officer may be quite inviting and safe for any people who have no ambition and who are in a very primitive condition because there can be no possible friction between him and the people, but parental rule has its end.

As regards taxation, the British portions of the
district do pay house-tax. Saindia Hills pay some land revenue too of rice lands. Land tax is for persons who hold land and who are able to pay, but house-tax is levied on every house without any exception. Who can guarantee that the people of the backward tracts will never be asked to pay land revenue and that the land will be protected for them in the future?

Afj regards money lenders even now all the transactions of the Khasis are with the plains people. They borrow money and they mortgage their properties. There are also some Khasis who hold lands in Sylhet district.

The Khasis are not poorer than the Assamese cultivators in the plains.

No doubt there will be some risk and disadvantages, but the advantages in moving on the side of progress are more than the advantages to be gotten from being classed among the backward tracts and be excluded from the Reforms.

It must not be forgotten that competition is the thing that brings out the mettle in man. The Khasis are not afraid of the plains people. The deal with them all the time.

I will however advocate a certain amount of protection of the minorities and that protection will include the private rights which the people have now on land. Government should be willing to give them a perpetual right and in some cases a freehold settlement. If this is done, the Khasi and Daintia Hills district will run no risk being under the Reforms.

15th May 1928.

APPENDIX E*

AGREEMENT EXECUTED BY THE FEDERATION OF KHASI STATES

1. The Federation of Khasi States, hereinafter referred to as "the Federation", agrees that all existing administrative arrangements between the Dominion of India and the Province of Assam on the one hand and the Khasi States on the other hand shall, with the exceptions noted below, continue in force until new or modified arrangements have been arrived at between the respective authorities concerned.

2. The exceptions referred to above will be as follows:

(a) The Federation will set up a competent Court of the Federation to exercise the judicial functions formerly vested in the Political Officer.

(b) In matters of customary law there will be no appeal from the Court of the Federation. In other cases, as at present, an appeal will lie to the Governor until a High Court of Assam is established when such appeal will lie to the Assam High Court.

(c) The judicial authority now exercised by State Courts in respect of Khasis will be maintained.

(d) In regard to all non-Khasis the judicial arrangements now existing will continue for the present except that the judicial powers of the Political Officer

will be vested in the Court of the Federation when its competence is recognised. Where non-Khasis have voluntarily agreed to submit to the jurisdiction of a State Court that Court will continue to be the original trying court,

(e) Where State Courts comply with certain conditions to be laid down they may be vested with First, Second or Third Class Powers as defined in the Criminal Procedure Code and their jurisdiction would then include both Khasis and non-Khasis. The appointment of magistrates to the States' Courts and to the Court of Federation will be subject to the approval of the Governor in regard to their judicial competence. The Chief Justice of the Assam High Court, when established, will assume this power now vested in the Governor.

Administrative

With the exception of the following three subjects all the remaining administrative functions would be common with the Central or Provincial Government under the terms of the standstill arrangement outlined in paragraph 1 above.

Exceptions-

1. Excise - Subject to agreement with the Provincial Government regarding the fixing of duty, etc.

2. Forests - The Chief Conservator would act in an advisory capacity to the Federation in regard to
the management and control of the Forests.

3. Land and water rights and the revenue derived therefrom.

3. Revenue-

The member States of the Federation have agreed that the balance of the Khasi States Deposit Account should be handed over to the Federation and that future payments to this Deposit Account should also be made over to the Federation until fresh arrangements have been reached in regard to the contributions to be paid to the Federation by individual States,

4. Khasi Territory in the Province-

The Federation request that all possible help should be given to facilitate the unification of all Khasi territory.

All Khasi villages which desired to rejoin States of which they had formerly formed a part should be allowed to do so.

Other Khasi territory in the Province should, if they desired, be allowed to join the Federation as units.

5. Legislation-

In matters of legislation concerning subjects of common interest passed by the Assam Legislature there should be some machinery either by representation' in that Legislature or otherwise set up whereby the legislation, where necessary, can be adopted or modified to suit the conditions and circumstances existing in the Khasi Mill.