Distracted State of Assam: It will be recalled that the Company Raj sent troops to Assam under Captain Welsh with the avowed object of suppressing the Bengal Burkandazes. With the fulfilment of the objective the continued deployment of the troops was looked upon with disfavour by Sir John Shore who stepped into the shoes of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. According to Sir John Shore, restoration of Gaurinath's authority was basically an internal matter to be dealt with by the Assamese king and his officers. Therefore, the detachment was recalled. Captain Welsh received the order of recall at Rangpur on 21 April 1794 and accordingly he left Rangpur on the morning of 25th May 1794 and reached the British territory on 3 July 1794.

Captain Welsh had occasion to predict in his Report to the Government that the withdrawal of the forces would prove disastrous for both the Assamese and the Assam trade of the Company. Welsh proved to be a stern realist. It so happened that removal of the Company forces was soon followed by the recurrence of the old disorders. While the Moamarias began their guerilla warfare in the eastern part of the country, the Burkandazes resumed their depredations in the Lower Assam districts, viz., Darrang and Kamrup.

Taking advantage of the withdrawal of the Company's troops Sivadatta Barphukan, also known as Chetia Barphukan, with the co-operation of Helimali Soalal Gohain and Hara Datta Choudhury installed the

1. HA, p. 213.
2. AXA, p. 5; ADC, p. 7.
son of one Bapi Gohain, a boy of thirteen as the king of Assam and thus challenged the propriety of Gaurinath's kingship. The conspirators sought and received the help of the Burkandazes commanded by Hazara Singh in order to instal a new king at Gauhati. This had the effect of affording Hazara Singh with an opportunity to have the upper hand in the affairs of Kamrup. He virtually dictated affairs at Gauhati. Sivadatta Barphukan began to use the king's seal, which was in his possession by virtue of his office, in unauthorised correspondences with the Company's officers. At that time Krishnanath Gohain was the Duria Barua, as Gaurinath's nominee, at Kandahar. Choky Siva-Da Sivadatta Barphukan confined Krishnanath and in his place appointed one Rudra Ram Baruah as the Duria Barua. He also executed several men of status. One of the executed was a Balai Barkalith who had in 1790 conducted the expedition against Hangsharanarayana II and Hara Datta Choudhury. The atrocities of Sivadatta Barphukan became intolerable to the loyal officers. They bribed Hazara Singh and caused the arrest of Sivadatta Barphukan. The Barphukan was sent to Jorhat and ultimately executed there. The same fate was also meted out to Helfimali Solal Gohain. Helfimali Solal Gohain was captured and killed near Kaliabar. Hara Datta Choudhury saved himself by retreating to Bhutan. Meanwhile Hazara Singh became so powerful that he practically usurped all powers in Lower Assam. He offered the Barphukanship to one Badan Chandra. Badan Chandra had to pay rupees sixty thousand to Hazara Singh for Barphukanship. Badan Chandra proved himself a most tyrannical and vindictive administrator. People were subjected to various repressive measures.

* Dr. S.K. Bhuyan in his earlier work Tungkhungia Buranji stated that it was Bapi Gohain whom they made the king. (See TB(R), p. 133).
3. AAB*, p. 390.
It was reported that Badan Chandra realised money even from some of the famous temples like Kamakshya, Madava temple of Hajo and such other places by dispoiling the temples' gold and silver utensils. He needed money badly, he had to pay the purchase price of Barphukanship to Hazara Singh. But just after the death of Gaurinath, Badan Chandra was replaced as Barphukan by Kaliabhomura. Kaliabhomura bore the responsibility of paying the last monthly salary to Bengal Burkandazes. This had immensely pleased Kamaleswar Singha who made him Barphukan. After the death of Kaliabhomura Badan Chandra again became the Barphukan at Guwahati.

In Upper Assam things were not going easy. There Purnananda Burahgohain ruled three roasts. As soon as the Company's troops withdrew, Gaurinath despite holding Rangpur, proceeded to Jorhat with all his nobles and chiefs and established the capital therein. Reacting quickly to the withdrawal of the British troops from Assam and Gaurinath's departure from Rangpur the Moamarias became active and occupied Rangpur without any resistance. The garrison stationed at Rangpur fled to Jorhat without attempting to save the place. Almost all who enjoyed hitherto Welsh's protection were subjected to vengeance and those who had been offered offices on Welsh's recommendations were disgracefully dismissed. Some of them were deprived of their belongings and of their lives. All the persons of Moamaria persuasion, who were loyal to the king and inhabitants of the tracts which owed allegiance to the king, were hunted, robbed and tortured to death. Brutalities, practiced by persecutors were so appalling that many of them preferred suicide instead of falling into the hands of the persecutors. Thus Captain Welsh's gloomy forecasts materialised.

With the withdrawal of Captain Welsh, misgovernment ensued again and the grip of the central administration on the outlying provinces was slackened to a great extent. Prime Minister Purnananda Burahgohain tried

4. TB(E), p.136; ADG, p.85;
5. Ibid., p.138, TTK, pp.529, 537.
6. HA, p.213; AAA, p.5; AAA, p.84.
to strengthen the grip of the central administration by raising a standing army on the lines of the Company's troops and with the aid of such a force, he was practically successful in encountering the Moamarias and other internal enemies. But this force was woefully inadequate to meet all the eventualities. This was revealed in the affairs of the Khamptis. As pointed out earlier, the Khamptis descended from the Barkhampti region in the valley of Irrawadi and settled in the bank of Tengapani region in eastern Assam with the permission of the Ahom Government half a century ago. Now in 1794 the Khamptis forcibly took Sadiya and carved out a small principality there. The Khamptis reduced the local Assamese to slavery. Their chief took the title of Sadiya Khowa Gohain, the title of the Ahom Governor of Sadiya.

Civil Feuds among the Nobles: In the midst of such confusion Gaurinath died on 19 December 1794. His death offered great opportunities to Prime Minister Purnananda Burahgohain to enhance his power and cripple his rivals. Purnananda Burahgohain concealed the fact that the King Gaurinath Singha was dead and pretending that the king wanted to say something in his death-bed to the Barbarumah, induced him to come to the palace. This being done, Purnananda further pretended to act in the name of the king, had the Barbarumah arrested and eventually put him to death. Thus Purnananda's most powerful rival was done away with. Having got rid of the Barbarumah, Purnananda announced the death of king Gaurinath Singha and placed on the throne one Kinaram, a descendant of Godadhar Singha. Kinaram as king assumed the Hindu name Kamaleswar Singha and Ahom name Suklingpha.

But the reign of Kamaleswar Singha (1795-1810) showed some degree of vigour and energy in the Central Government. It must be pointed out that revival of strength in the central power was mainly due to the maintenance of a standing army which was raised at the instance of the Prime

7. HA, p.214.
Minister Purnananda who was by far the most energetic and capable noble in the country. It was he who held complete sway over the administration during the reign of the puppet king Kamaleswar Singha. Due to the maintenance of a standing army of trained troops, the number of vassal chiefs was reduced; the Moamarias were practically suppressed; the Bengal Burkan-dazes were expelled; and rebellion in Kamrup by Hara Datta and Bira Datta was suppressed. Restoration of peace and order made way for the cultivation of the softer arts of peace. As a scholar put it "the country returned to its normal order, and the capital Rangpur was almost restored to its former prosperity. The king paid visits to the monasteries, and performed the usual round of festivities, and the jugglers were imported from Bengal and they entertained the king and the countries as well as the ladies of the royal harem."

In the North Kamrup two brothers Hara Datta and Bira Datta declared their independence. They got help from the kings of Coach Behar and Bijn and nearly the whole of North Kamrup and even a part of South Kamrup fell into their hands. The followers of these two brothers were nick-named Dumdumiyas. Mr. Raush of Goalpara was killed and his boats were plundered by a band of Dumdumiyas while Raush was on a trading expedition to Jarrang. Kaliabhomura Barphukan, the Viceroy of Lower Assam could not obtain any help from Upper Assam, as Prime Minister Purnananda Burahgohain was badly engaged in encountering the Moamarias. As such Kaliabhomura Barphukan raised a force by obtaining some local levies from Rajahs of Sel-tola and Dimorua. With this force Barphukan defeated the Dumdumiyas and killed their leaders Hara Datta and Bira Datta. In recognition of his success against the rebels, the Barphukan was awarded the title of

9 Pratan Ballabh.

8. AAR., p.427.
By this time a mixed body of the Daflas and the Moamarias also revolted in the north bank. They crossed the river Brahmaputra to Silghat where they were defeated and dispersed to the north bank again. They lost heavily in the encounter. As the Burahgohain was busy in restoring peace and order in the south bank and renovating the town Rangpur, he could not follow the Daflas and the Moamarias to the north immediately. When he became free, he crossed to the north bank near Tezpur and reduced the Daflas to submission. He proceeded to Garamur and defeated several bands of rebels and put to death their leader, Phophai Senapati, along with other leaders. Next he subdued the Moamarias at Kherikatia Suti and Singqluguri and put to death the Moamaria Mahanta Pitambar but another Moamaria leader Bharatha Singha, escaped unhurt. In 1799 the Moamarias rose at Bengmara caste under Bharatha Singha, who was shot dead in an encounter with the royalists consisting of regular troops sent against the Moamarias.

The Burahgohain tried hard to induce the fugitive cultivators to return to their houses even pardoning those who sided with the rebels. The Moamarias, who had taken refuge in Jaintia and Kachari territories, preferred to stay in those lands. Long correspondence ensued between the Ahom authority and that of Jayantia and the Kacharis because they refused to drive the fugitives away since they deemed them to be their new subjects. One Jayantia envoy from the Jaintia king Ram Singha was expelled because the letter he brought with him was found to be discourteous. A force was sent against the king of the Kacharis, viz., Krishna Chandra in 1803 to recover the fugitives, the majority of whom settled in the area of Dharampur. Though the Ahoms defeated a combined force of Kacharis and the Moamarias at Jamunamukh, the rebels continued their activities against the Ahoms till 1805 in which year a crushing defeat was inflicted on them.

the Moamarias and the Kacharia resulting in many casualties; some survivors returned to the old homes and others fled to Khaspur and Jaintia Parganas. In the same year, i.e., in the year 1805 where were fresh Moamaria risings in the east under the leadership of Sarbananda Singha who established his capital at Bengmara. Many encounters ensued with the force of the Burahghohain. Ultimately the Moamarias submitted and settled in the area of Ghilamara. This group of the Moamarias tried to secure help from the Burmese. They sent one Ramnath Barbaruah for the purpose of securing aid from the Burmese, It was in response to the appeal of the Moamarias that the Burmese forces came twice to the country. But on both occasions the Burmese were won over by the agents of the Burahghohain. All this made the Burahghohain pursue a less severe policy towards this band of the Moamarias. The title of Baranapati was conferred on the Moamaria leader Sarbananda and he proved loyal to the Ahom monarchy. It appears the Burahghohain's labours succeeded. Peace was restored in the country and during the remaining period of the reign of king Kamaleswar Singha nothing noteworthy occurred. King Kamaleswar Singha died of small pox in the month of January 1811. He was succeeded by his brother Chandra Kanta Singha, a young man of fourteen years only. But the period of peace and prosperity was short-lived. This period of peace was the fruit of untiring endeavour on the part of Purnananda Burahghohain who exercised absolute control over the administration. Not many were in favour of Purnananda exercising absolute power. This was clear as early as 1803. One Panimua, a member of the Ratikhowa sect, was arrested along with nine of his followers who, light-heartedly and in a drunken state, conspired to murder the Burahghohain. "Panimua committed more mischiefs from within the prison bars than w

11. HA., p. 221; AMA., p. 89; TB(E)*, p. 195.
12. HA., p. 222.
13. TB(E)*, p. 196.
what he had done from without. Whoever had incurred his displeasures or
wrath in the past was mentioned by him" (Panimua) "as his accomplice; and
Purnananda ordered Srinath Barbarua, the Chief Justice, to inflict the de-
th sentence on every such man." This insane policy was, however, stopped
at the intervention of Sibnath Dolaakasharia Barnah, the brother of Prime
Minister Purnananda Burahgohain. Purnananda's policy earned for him a
number of enemies. There was evident lack of integrity among the Ahom no-
bles and this had contributed a great deal to the downfall of Ahom Power
at the hands of the Moamarlas during the reign of King Gaurinath Singha.

With the accession of Chandra Kanta Singha there appeared a most
* cunning person. He was Satram, son of a Royal Poultry-Keeper, named Bhut.
from among the conspirators against the Prime Minister Purnananda Burah-
gohain. Satram was of king Chandra Kanta's age and was his dearest compa-
nion. To quote Dr. S.K.Bhuyan: "The king used to have Satram seated by
his side in the audience chamber, and the obeisance paid to the monarch
was shared in by his plebeian freind, a practice which greatly exaspera-
ted the ministers and the courtiers. Through the influence of Chandra Kanta
Satram was appointed Charing Phukan who administered the affairs of the
Charing Raja. The garments which the nobles presented to the monarch were
freely worn in public by Satram." Satram naturally disliked Purnananda as
he sought to interfere with the indulgent practices of the king whose nu-
due favour he prized. Satram was not happy that absolute control over the
royal treasury should be exercised by the Burahgohain. Satram realised
as long as Purnananda was there, his intimacy with the king would be lit-

* N.K. Basu in his work 'Assam in the Anek... Age' described Bhut Kukurachyu-
wa as soothsayer. But Basu is not right in this regard. Kukurachyuwa does
not mean man who forecasts, observing the cutt legs of hen (Kukura). Ku-
kurachyuwa actually means a man who looks after poultry, specially of
royal house-hold. (See AAA., p. 90)

15. AAB., p.449.
tle advantage to him. Thus he began to poison the ears of the young king by misrepresenting Purnananda's motive and actions. Purnananda had his reasons to economise on administrative expenditure. The continued disturbances in the country caused immense depletion in the royal treasury. This led him to advise against holding coronation ceremonies of both Kamaleswar Singha and Chandra Kanta Singha and thus saved four lakhs of rupees. Satram, however, misinterpreted this economic measure an infraction of the King's sovereignty. He constantly brought it home to Chandra Kanta that no ruler was considered a full-fledged sovereign if he were not crowned in a coronation ceremony. But the king dared not say anything against Purnananda as he owned his succession to Purnananda and it would be difficult on the part of Chandra Kanta to win over the nobility and the army against Purnananda, as the Standing Army was under the command of Captain Chandra Gogoi, a relative of the Burahgohain. Satram was not a person to sit idle. "His campaign of calumnia extended to other quarters as well".  

Satram widened his circle and gained the support of Jagadhar Charangia Baruah and Garudatta Chaliha. He already poisoned the mind of Badan Chandra, who once again became the Barphukan, i.e., Viceroy, at Gauhati at the death of Pratap Ballava Barphukan on 20 November 1810. Badan Chandra turned hostile against the Burahgohain through the machinations of Satram. Badan Chandra ceased to send to the Burahgohain his customary greetings and epistles. Satram ultimately gained tacit consent from Chandra Kanta to his proposal to undo Purnananda. Badan Chandra was given the impression that Purnananda was his arch-enemy and that he was on the look out for finding out an opportunity to destroy the Barphukan. Satram and his colleagues managed the despatch of a letter from Pijou Gabbaru, daughter of Badan Chandra and who was married to Creshanath, a son of Purnananda Bur.

17. DAB, p. 159
ahgohain. The letter was confirmatory of the idea given by Satram and his colleagues to Badan Chandra. There were two Rajput brothers of Bhogpur, namely Juhun Singh and Balavanta Singh in the palace as bodyguards to the King. Satram's conspiracy was reported to the Burahgohain by Juhun Singh who also furnished the names of conspirators numbering 97 persons including several officers of the court. In an "opportune moment when most of the conspirators were chossetted with the monarch or near about the precincts of the palace the Burahgohain effected their arrest with the help of eighteen companies of sepoys who were assisted by a number of Bairagies and Sannyasis. Satram took shelter in the Palace and Chandra Kanta tried to save him from being arrested. But ultimately he had to be handed over to the Burahgohain with a request, however, to spare Satram's life. Out of the 97 conspirators, 77 were put to death and the remaining 20 were punished with mutilation of limbs and dismissal from service. As for Satram, he was banished to the hills where he was murdered by some Nagas. The trial of Satram and the co-conspirators lasted for nearly a year. It created great sensation in country and came to be known as "Satram Bhuter Putekar Khabar" or the news of Satram, son of Bhut.

Flight of Badan Chandra: During the course of trial of Satram and his co-conspirators it was revealed that Badan Chandra Barphukan encouraged the conspirators. This was confirmed by Badan's act of stopping of customary greetings to the Prime Minister. After his assumption of the office as the Barphukan after Kaliabhomura, Badan Chandra alias Chinai, the son of Haranath of a Dugra family, requested the central authority

18. RG., p. 68.
19. AAR., p. 450.
20. WBC., p. 174-3. In Maniram Dewan's Burani-Virakoratna (DHAS MSS. No. 108) in page No. 174 Kaa the name of the Poultry-keeper's son was recorded as Jairam and not Satram.
at the capital to apportion entire Lower Assam known as Namanikhand revenue to him. At the instance of Purnananda Burahgohain this was not granted to him. Being refused Badan Chandra started oppressive exactions from the people. The news of such practices reached Purnananda Burahgohain at Jorhat and disturbed him. He apprehended that if Badan Chandra were allowed to continue his oppressive practices, people might rise in revolt against the Ahom Government and in such an eventuality, the endeavours of the Burahgohain for establishing peace in the country would prove ineffective. Moreover, Badan Chandra was accused of allowing his sons to torture the people. It was reported that the sons of Badan Chandra used to amuse themselves by letting loose upon the people Balakdas, an elephant intoxicated with Bhang. Badan Chandra did not prevent them from indulging in such a type of perverse merrymaking. The Barphukan was proving to be a menace to the restoration of peace and prosperity in the country. Therefore, Purnananda was waiting for an opportunity to remove Badan Chandra. Finally, when it was revealed that Badan Chandra had a hand in the affairs of Satram, Purnananda Burahgohain accused him of treason. Prime Minister Purnananda Burahgohain decided to punish Badan Chandra Barphukan and sent Maheswar Parvatia Phukan, a Brahmin Officer with an escort to Gauhati for the purpose of arresting the Badan Chandra Barphukan and bringing Badan Chandra Barphukan to Jorhat for trial. Maheswar arrived

22. It is recorded in Weissaliga that Badan Chandra Barphukan himself let the intoxicated elephant loose to cause depredation as his prayers for Lower Assam revenue were rejected repeatedly by Chandra Kanta Singha. See W(F), p.2.
23. Preface to BG., pp.3 and 4; HA., p. 224.
at Gauhati on 18 October 1815 in the evening. Badan Chandra received him
with courtesy without knowing the real objects of Maheswar's mission.
Maheswar did not disclose his motive and made preparations to arrest
Badan Chandra in the next morning. At night Badan Chandra received a
letter through an express courier, Baruah of Buruks, from his daughter
Pijou Gabharu. By this letter she informed her father of the real purpose
of Maheswar's mission. When he came to know it Badan Chandra at once
fled from Gauhati in a swift boat with his three sons Jammi, Piali and
Numali and carried with him such treasures as he could collect in a hur-
ry. They were accompanied by two Hindustanis, Uday Singh and Krishnaram
Hayildar. Maheswar Parvatia Phukan and Parasuram Duaria Baruah pursued
them to some distance but they could not catch them. Badan Chandra reac-
ched Rangpore and managed to have an interview with David Scott in the
first week of November 1815. Badan Chandra told Scott that he was deput-
ed by the Ahom king Chandra Kanta Singha to secure the help of the

1 But Tungkhungia Buranji (English Version) records the event different-
ly. Purnananda did not send emissaries to arrest Badan Chandra at the
first instance. Purnananda first tried to remove the misunderstanding
between him and the Barphukan. On pages 197-98 of the said Burimji it
is as follows: "Purnananda deputed three trusted Brahmin officials,
the Tamuli Phukan, the Khangia Phukan and the Jalbhari Phukan, on a
mission of peace to Badanchandra, to remove any misunderstanding which
might have arisen between the Premier and the Viceroy and re-establish
their mutual good-will and friendship. The Barphukan's agents at metro-
polis despatched a swift to Badanchandra attributing hostile motives
to the deputation, and they also contrived the simultaneous despatch
of the confirmatory epistle from Pijou Gabharu. The Barphukan readily
believed in his friend's warning, and escaped from the Viceroyal head-
quarters at midnight on September 26, 1815 before the messengers of the
Prime Minister could deliver their conciliatory overture."

2 It was beleived in certain quarters that the letter of warning to
Badan, purported to have been despatched by Pijou Gabharu, was in re-
ality the handwork of Majiu Aideo, sister of Chandra Kanta and co-
wife of Pijou Gabharu, Majiu Aideo intended thereby to place her riv-
al Pijou in her husband's disfavour, presumably for the offence of
diviling the Phukan's official secrets. The letter contained the
official seal of Creshhanathe Dhekial Phukan and Badan entertained no
suspicion regarding its authenticity. See TB(E), p. 216.

25. BG., pp. 51 and 52.
British Government with a view to freeing him from the virtual control of Purnananda Burahgohain. He alleged that Purnananda Burahgohain became the de-facto ruler of the country by usurping all the powers of the teen-aged king. On being asked to substantiate his allegation Badan Chandra produced two letters from king Chandra Kanta Singha. The first letter was in his name by which he was authorised to being help by any means to remove the Burahgohain and the other to the British Government. The contents of both the letters were the same as to how Purnananda became more powerfull. In the letters it was alleged that Purnananda had poisoned Gaurinath Singha, and the father and brother of Chandra Kanta and killed many who favoured Chandra Kanta Singha. It was alleged that he even kept Chandra Kanta virtually in confinement. The letters of Chandra Kanta Singha were forwarded to the Bengal Government by David Scott without any comment on 15 November 1815. The matter was discussed in the Board’s meeting of 8 December 1815 and in the meeting it was decided not to interfere in the internal affairs of Assam. Such a decision was taken on the ground that there was no agreement binding the British Government to support the Assam king and there was the least possibility of the internal feuds in Assam affecting the tranquility of the territories of the British. British refusal in his mission did not dishearten Badan Chandra. He left Rangpore in the beginning of December 1815 and appeared at Meerpoor where he had to face some troubles from some emissaries of Purnananda Burahgohain. A sannyashi leader Siddhi Gir Gossaln, influenced by Purnananda, made an attack at night on Badan Chandra and his party when they were staying at Meerpoor. In this attack Badan Chandra lost all his belongings and became captive in the hands of Siddhi Gir Gossaln. On the next morning he was rescued by a Jammadar sent by the

27. Ibid., p. 454.
Daroga of Bhumineah Thana for this purpose. From Meerpoor Badan Chandra proceeded to Calcutta and arrived there at the beginning of 1816. By this time the Magistrate of Murshidabad received two letters from Chandra Kant Singh and Purnananda Burahgohain in which Badan Chandra was accused of misappropriating of public funds and desertion of duties. There were some more letter from Assam officials to the Company's officers at Rangpore and Murshidabad. The main theme of these letters was to induce Badan Chandra to return to Assam. It was also hinted that he would be pardoned.

The Board in its meeting of 30 March 1816 decided that the charges preferred by the Ahom king against Badan Chandra were not sufficient to seize Badan Chandra. It appeared to the Board that all these were nothing but an affair of intrigue between two rival groups of Ahom nobles endeavouring to cripple each other. Thus in this matter the Company had nothing to do. Badan Chandra was informed accordingly. The decision of the Board made Badan chandra explore other avenues for obtaining help to suit his purpose.

Burmese Intervention: While he was in Calcutta, Badan Chandra became acquainted with the Burmese agents at Calcutta through one Uday Singh, a Bengali friend of his son Janmi. He made it possible for him to go to Burmese capital Ava through a route touching Dacca, Chittagong and Arakan. Badan Chandra now placed his appeal before the Burmese king.

28. Barua, G.C. recorded in his work Ahom Buranji (See page 378) that the Governor-General himself asked Badan Chandra to seek help from the Mantaras (Burmese) and about British policy, Governor-General informed him that the British have taken the policy of non-intervention and as such it was not possible on their part to help him.

29. AAR., p. 456.
30. AHR., p. 378.
31. It is recorded in Weissalisa that Badan Chandra on his arrival in Burma presented a girl Hom-chang-Shao (Manik) by name to the Burmese king introducing her as his daughter. See W(P)., p. 38.
Bodawpaya with the help of Rangili Aideo, an Assamese queen of the Burmese king. On her marriage with the Burmese king she became known as Rangili Mapaya. Rangili Aideo introduced Badan Chandra to the Burmese king as her brother as both belonged to the Duera family. Rangili was a young and beautiful lady and hence she could exercise great influence over the aged Burmese king. Badan Chandra could convince the Burmese king about the genuineness of his mission, that he was instructed by the Ahom king Chandra Kanta Singha to bring help for freeing/from the virtually captivity of his minister Purnananda. The Burmese king agreed to help him.

There is nothing to suggest that the Burmese king was influenced by any thing consideration for the Assamese. The real motives were imperialistic in nature. The Burmese monarch began their policy of

* She had originally been presented to the Singphoe Chief Bichanong by Purnananda in 1797 to appease the Singphoes so that they might not create any trouble in the frontier and remain friendly with the Assamese. The Moamarlas and the Singphoes together used to pillage Assamese villages. Some times they procured help from the Burmese also. It is recorded in the Tungkhunzia Buranji (English version, see page 202) that in order to placate the Singphoe leader Purnananda presented her to Bichanong. But in turn Bichanong presented her to the Burmese king Bodawpaya whom the Singphoe Chief regarded his protector and helper in times, as the Singphoes were occupying a tract beyond Assam's frontier and contiguous to the territories of the Burmese. Moreover, Bichanong used to get helps from the Burmese kings in times of need. He had also been helped by the Burmese force in humiliating the Ahom forces. Bichanong thought that it would be wiser to hand over the Assamese girl to Bodawpaya who was his helper. Thus Bichanong presented the girl to Bodawpaya introducing her as Ahom's king's daughter to strengthen his friendship with the Burmese king. In Weissalisa it is recorded that Bichanong, previously known as Jisan, presented to Bodawpaya a singlephoe beauty in seeking Burmese help in establishing his power. It is probable that this singlephoe beauty was none other than the Assamese girl whom he got from Purnananda Burahgohain. (See W(P), p.51). But in fact the Assamese girl, presented to the Burmese king by Bichanong introducing her as the Ahom king's daughter, was in reality not the daughter of any Ahom king. She was the paternal aunt of one Baram of Duera family. Baram was also known as Baruah but he was not a royal officer at all. See AAR, p.41; BG, pp.15,60 and 63; TB(E), p.202; DHR, op. 56-58; APB, p.239; AS2, p.92 ff; AAA, p.140.

32. TB(E), pp.199,201; AHB, p.134; RRBH, p.33; ADC, p.8; TTK, p.538; BG, p.64; DUR, p.62; AAR, p.466; AS2, p.108 and HA, p.225.
territorial expansion as early as 1752. Apparently, the political bankruptcy of the Ahom monarchy provided a fruitful ground for Burmese intervention in Assam.

The process of Burmese expansion actually began during the reign of the Burmese king A-Laung-Pa-Ya (1752-60); a portion of Manipur was annexed by the said Burmese monarch to his territories. A-Laung-Pa-Ya died in 1760 and was succeeded by his sons Naungdowgyi (1760-63), Hsinbyusin (1763-76), Singu (1776-82) and Bodawpaya (1782-1819). All his sons who succeeded him one after another inherited the spirit of conquest of their father. They continued the process of territorial expansion of Burma. Thus the Burmese force penetrated into Siam and Manipur. The neighbouring tracts were annexed and wars were waged even against China. It was during the reign of Bodawpaya, Burma rose to the zenith of its power. The reason for subjugating Assam lay in the fact that Assam had once frustrated Burmese designs in Manipur. Moreover, Purnananda helped a refractory Shan Chief of Hukong against the Burmese. As noted earlier even before Badan Chandra’s arrival at Bodawpaya’s court, at least on two occasions the Burmese army invaded Assam in aids to Singphoes and the Morans. One Ahom prince, describing himself as the brother of the ruling king, sought the assistance of the Burmese king in 1796 for gaining the native throne. This prince asserted a claim superior to that of the ruling king over the throne. This prince was most probably Bijay Barmura Gohain, father of Brajanath. Bijay Barmura was defeated by Purnananda in 1795. He was compelled to take shelter in Cachar and Manipur and most probably from Manipur he tried to have the assistance from the Burmese king.

33. ADG., p.8.
34. TB(E)z., p.198.
35. AAR., p.464; AHB., pp.575-76.
In 1796 the Burmese king Bodawpaya despatched an army of 20,000 as an advance force with the purpose of clearing the routes to Assam. He had planned to send a larger force to invade Assam but refrained from doing so since Captain Cox bluffed the Burmese Court that Assam was a tributary to the British and hence, under British protection. But the British authorities knew their endeavour to check the Burmese interference in Assam was only temporarily halted and that the Burmese would come to Assam whenever favourable opportunity arose. Such an opportunity did arise when Badan Chandra appealed to the Burmese king for help. Thus Badan Chandra's mission provided a golden opportunity to the Burmese king to invade Assam.

Suspicious by nature, Bodawpaya took sixteen months to announce his positive response to Badan's appeal. He was over-anxious to establish his influence over the states lying between his territory and the British Indian territories. In 1813 he had established Marjit Singha, son of Jai Singha, on the throne of Manipur deposing his elder brother Chourjit Singha. In return Marjit Singha acknowledged the sovereignty of the Burmese king. And also he ceded the Kabow (Kubo) Valley to the Burmese king. Now with Badan's mission in hand king Bodawpaya saw a good prospect of obtaining the allegiance of the Assam king by suppressing Purnananda Burahgohain. Accordingly Bodawpaya commanded the chiefs of the principalities of Mogaung, Bhamu and Moying to accompany Badan Chandra with 5000 soldiers each against the Burahgohain Purnananda.

37. PR., p.46.
38. Gait in his History of Assam recorded that the numbers of Burmese army were not 15000, but 8000 only. Dr. N.K.Basu and Sri Hem Barua in their respective works accepted the last number. It is only 6000 in Gunaviram Baruah's Assam Buranji. This number is in tally with what recorded in Weisssalisa. These sources have importance as these are Burmese sources. Gunaviram recorded another 2000 added to this number on their way. So it stood at 8000. But Sri Barunhar Sarma in his article 'Rangili Kuwari' published in Durbin, estimated that the number of Burmese army was barely 4000 only. For details see AAR., p.466; W(P), p.2; AB(C), pp.134-35; RRBH., p.33; AAA, p.91; HA, p.225; DUR., p.62.
Bhuyan is of opinion that the Burmese force which accompanied Badan Chandra was strengthened by reinforcements from the territories through which it passed. Whatever to be the actual number of the invading army, it may held that quite a large number of Burmese soldiers, under the command of one Bom Senapati, accompanied Badan Chandra. The Burmese force appeared on the frontier of Assam in March 1817, and encamped in Namrup within the Ahom territory. A contingent of Assamese soldiers had been sent by the Burahgohain Purnananda under the Patar Gogol Rajkhowa and Saru Abhaypuria Rajkhowa against the invading Burmese. They confronted the invading Burmese army at Ghiladharl where the Assamese force was repulsed. At this juncture Purnananda fell ill following an acute form of diabetes and died. In certain quarters it was suspected that Purnananda committed suicide by licking diamonds. Be that as it may, the loss of an experienced administrator like Purnananda proved difficult in the matter of offering any effective opposition to the Burmese. Though Assam could not offer effective opposition to the Burmese, yet the Burmese could not make an easy entry into Assam's capital. They were engaged in a fierce battle with the Assamese soldiers led by Daman Gogol, Kham Jang and How Borah.

On the death of Purnananda Burahgohain, his son Ruchinath was appointed the Burahgohain. On his appointment all the nobles and leading men assembled and discussed the question of preventing the Burmese and referred it to the king who ordered that a large army should be despatched against the Burmese. This was done accordingly. The invaders faced the soldiers of Weissali (Assam) at Jorhat. Both armies fought a life-

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40. *In Weissalisa it is recorded that Chief of Man-mo was the Commander-in-chief of the Burmese army. See W(P), pp.40-41.
41. AHB, p.379.
42. BG, p.69.
43. AHB, p.379.
and-death battle for overpowering the rival party. The Assam General Daman Gogol stood like a rock before the aggressive army. The invaders found Jamkhan, who hailed from Basa village, most indomitable. Jamkhan's force first attacked the Burmese with guns roaring like thunders. The Assamese forces were reinforced by the old warrior How Borah with his armies. They attacked the invaders like a storm. At one stage the invaders were forced to beat a retreat, but were saved from retreat by the General of Mung-yang by discharging some desperate shots from heavier cannons. The battle went on both day and night and for a week. The strength of the Assamese army was gradually ebbing away. The Chief of Man-mo (Bhamo) who was the Supreme Commander of the Burmese army conducted the battle with all the appropriate qualifications of a good General and caused the Assamese army to be stormed "in a renewed spell of attack with all the ferocity of a pack of blood-sucking beasts". The Assamese army could not stand the impact of the invaders' onslaught and had to beat a hasty retreat. A truce was brought about through the instrumentality of one Uday Singh, a Kataki engaged by the Burmese chief and accordingly the Assamese General surrendered. It was reported that Badan Chandra Barphukan invited the Assamese commanders to a parley for fixing the terms of truce and that on their arrival in Badan Chandra's camp they were arrested whereupon the invaders attacked the Assamese and compelled them to surrender. Next the Burmese forces started their final march to the Ahom capital.

At this stage Ruchinath, the new Prime Minister advised King Chandrad Kanta to go down to Gauhati from Jorhat to avoid his falling into the hands of the Burmese. But the king did not accept his counsel. The

44. W(P), pp.16, 19, 42, 43.
45. Ibid., p.17.
46. Ibid., p.18; AHB.,p.381.
47. AAR.,p.467.
48. W(P), pp.19, 44.
refusal by Chandra Kanta to go down to Gauhati made Ruchinath believe that Chandra Kanta was at root of Badan's endeavour which was why the king apprehended no troubles from the invaders. It was also evident from certain instructions the king gave to the Katakis sent to ascertain the identity of the invaders. Chandra Kanta asked them to avoid confrontation with Badan if he was accompanied by any foreigner of eminence. The king also gave a list of articles which should help in indentifying Badan Chandra. From this it may be surmised that king Chandra Kanta was thoroughly pasted with certain details and this may lead one to the reasonable conclusion that Chandra Kanta had a hand in Badan's flight to foreign land. Chandra Kanta appeared to indulge in a bit of diplomacy. The instructions were to undo Badan Chandra if were alone but to avoid confrontation if a foreigner of eminence accompanied him. This show that Badan might have had Chandra Kanta's instructions to bring foreign help. Be that as it may, when the king refused to heed the advice of Ruchinath to leave Jorhat, Ruchinath on his own collected his valuable and proceeded towards Gauhati in a boat with all the members of his family. Ruchinath gave impression that he intended to go to Calcutta to seek help from the British for the expulsion of the invaders.

By the middle of March 1817 Badan Chandra, along with the Burmese army entered Jorhat, the temporary capital of the Ahom king. Badan Chandra was welcomed by a few Ahom officers, sent for the purpose by the queen-mother Numali Rajmao. Leaving the Burmese force outside the fortification of the temporary capital and accompanied by some very trusted companions, Badan entered the palace enclosure where he was warmly received by the king and his mother.

50. AAR, p.467.
52. AAR, p.467.
Absence of Ruchinath made it easy for the king to appoint Badan Chandra as the administrator of the affairs of the State in place of Ruchinath Burahgohain. Badan was offered a new designation Mantri Phukan. But the account of the two Burmese historians who accompanied the invading Burmese army was a bit different. In their account it is found that Badan Chandra was installed in the authority of the country by the Burmese. This would seem to suggest that Chandra Kanta was deposed and in his place Badan was made the king. Most probably the Burmese historians genuinely believed that since the king was only a puppet in the hands of the Prime Minister, any one stepping into his shoes could be said to have been invested with powers of a de-facto monarch. Anyway, the Burmese force conquered the country and handed over it to Badan Chandra Barphukan. Badan Chandra was not of royal descent and there were a number of supporters of the late Burahgohain. So, he remained content with the title of administrator (Mantri Phukan) which gave him virtually all the powers of monarch.

On becoming Mantri Phukan Badan Chandra elevated all those who were in favour of Chandra Kanta Singha and of himself. On the other hand, the opponents were severely punished. It will be recalled how one Maheswar Parvatia Phukan was earlier deputed by Purnananda Burahgohain to have Badan arrested at Gauhati before his flight. Now a victorious Badan Chandra wreaked vengeance. Both the eyes of Maheswar Parvatia Phukan had been extracted, although Badan had taken a sum of rupees 7000 from Maheswar for sparing one of his eyes. Other eight Brahmin Phukans and Baruas met with the same fate. One Dhani Rajkhowa was appointed Barbarungh in place of Srinath Baruruah as Srinath had supported the Burahgohain Purnananda by executing Satram and other conspirators. As for favouring the faithful, one Nirmayenarayana was appointed Bargohain.

53. W(P), p.20
54. Ibid., p.46.
55. AAR, p.468.
But Badan Chandra was always afraid of Purnananda's followers. So he tried to keep the Burmese force in Assam for a longer period and for this purpose he bribed the Chief of Man-mo (Bhamo) who was the Commander-in-Chief of the invading army with a beautiful girl meant for King Bodawpayya along with good many pieces of gold and silver. The girl, who was selected for presenting to the Burmese king, was Hemo or Bhamo Aideo. She was the daughter of one Baga Kowanr of Tungkhungia family and sister/Joqeswar Singha. For the purpose of presenting a girl to the Burmese king along with one lakh of rupees and 50 elephants Badan Chandra obtained the approval from the Barmael, a State meeting, attended by the king and his full quota of officers. But this was done without the knowledge of the other two Burmese Chiefs with result that an adverse reaction set in among them and they wanted to leave Assam immediately. They actually did so leaving the Man-mo Chief behind with his men. This compelled the Man-mo Chief to leave Assam hurriedly though he tried in vain to make the Burmese army agreeable to stay in Assam for a longer period on the pretext that Badan Chandra promised to give them enough gold and silver for their stay. It is probable that the presentation of a girl to the Chief of Man-mo was misunderstood by the other two Burmese Generals. The girl presented was intended for Bodawpayya, the Burmese monarch as Badan Chandra had promised a presentation of an Ahom princess to the Burmese king when he appealed for help. The invading army left the neighbourhood of Jorhat in April 1817.

Badan Chandra occupied the position he did as a result of the Burmese invasion. Small wonder, thus, that it was he who suffered allowed Chandra Kanta to rule. In the administration Badan Chandra had the
dominating voice. Badan began ruling the country with a strong hand. But very soon a large section of Assamese people realised that the friendship of the Burmese king, gained by presenting a princess and elephants, was nothing but amounting to a tributory position to the Burmese sovereignty. The Burmese also understood it in this sense, because according to Burmese customs the presentation of a princess amounted to the acceptance of allegiance. The departure of the Burmese gave rise to intrigues at the instance of Numali Rajmao and very soon popular reactions set in against Badan Chandra. Badan Chandra became unpopular for inviting foreign army resulting in placing the Ahom monarch in the position of a tributary king to the Burmese. Moreover Numali Rajmao had feeling of gratitude towards the late Buragohain who elevated her two sons Kamaleswar Singha and Chandra Kanta Singha to the throne. She found in Badan a poor substitute for the late Buragohain Purnananda. She also resented usurpation of Purnananda's property by Badan Chandra. Thus she sanctioned intrigues to undo Badan Chandra. She was supported by Dhani Barbaruah and Nirbhaynarayana Bargohain in this respect. They engaged one Rupsing (Bangal) Subedar, an up-country man and Rahman Khan Jamadar to kill Badan Chandra. Accordingly one morning Badan Chandra was killed by these two assassins when he was rubbing his hands with clay after performing his ablutions on the riverside. The first stroke was inflicted by Rupsing Subedar and Rahman Khan Jemadar followed up the stroke and Badan Chandra breathed his last.

After the murder of Badan Chandra Barphukan efforts were made to bring Ruchinath from Gauhati to take the charge of the administration.

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60. TTK, p. 538.
61. AAR, p. 468.
But Ruchinath still harboured the suspicion that the king Chandra Kant had a hand in the intrigues against his father Purnananda and as such he did not accept the invitation of the ye royalists to come back to the capital. But he wanted to avail himself of the opportunity to espouse the cause of Brajanath Gohain, great grandson of Rajeswar Singha. Ruchinath had invited Brajanath who was at that time at Calcutta, with the lure of the Ahom throne. Prince Brajanath was already in search of an opportunity to gain the throne and Ruchinath’s proposal came just in time. To strengthen his position Brajanath unsuccessfully approached the British authorities for assistance. Never deterred, Brajanath joined Ruchinath and advanced up to Jorhat with a force of Hindustani mercenaries and local levies. On their approach king Chandra Kanta fled to Rangpur leaving Luku Dekaphukan in charge of Jorhat. The Dekaphukan was killed and Ruchinath Burahgohain entered Jorhat on 17 February 1818.

On reaching Jorhat Brajanath promptly caused coins to be struck in his own name in anticipation of succeeding to the throne. But as he was mutilated, Ruchinath and his brother Jagannath Bhakial Phukan hesitated to enthrone Brajanath as king. They sent to fetch men to fetch Purandar Singha, then a ten-year old son of Brajanath. Meanwhile Chandra Kanta was brought from his refuge at Rangpur to Jorhat on assurance of continued allegiance. But then on 20 February 1818 Chandra Kanta was

63. TB(E), p.201.
64. HA, p.296; TB(E), p.201.
65. HA, p.226.

* The question of appointing a new Raja presented great difficulties. Between the years 1714 and 1795 the throne had been occupied by the sons and grandsons of Rudra Singha. The princes of Rudra Singha’s line had almost all been mutilated by Lakshmi Singha or his son Gaurinath, and were therefore disqualified for the throne. Bijay Barnara Gohain, great grandson of Rudra Singha, and grandson of Rajeswar Singha, was a capable and energetic prince; but Bijay Barnara Gohain and his son Brajanath had also their ears cut off by Lakshmi Singha about the year 1775. (See AA, p.430). Becoming the king Lakshmi Singha caused the banishment and mutilation of Saru Gohain (Ratneswar) and Naga Gohain. (See TB(E), p.61). Thus it becomes evident that Lakshmi Singha not only mangled Saru Gohain but his son Bijay Barnara and grandson...
forcibly disqualified from occupying throne by having his right ear sliced. Thereafter he was banished to Tagatali and Purandar Singha was installed as king. But Brajanath exercised the virtual powers of a sovereign in his capacity as Juvaraj.

Meanwhile the Ahom drama moved to Burma. A number of freinds of the late Badan Chandra fled to Burma and informed the Burmese king of the course of events in Assam. The Burmese king Bodawpaya was naturally both aggrieved and enraged. He was determined to take action against the gross impertinence and intransigence on the part of Purandar Singha and his supporters. Here again Rangili Aideo, the Assamese consort of Bodawpaya, played an important role. She urged Bodawpaya to send an army to Assam to avenge the murder of her kinsman. Her request gained additional strength when Hemo Aideo, the second Assamese consort of Bodawpaya, also urged action to undo the wrong done to Chandra Kanta, her brother. Sandwiched as he was by Assamese wives who urged action, the enraged Bodawpaya despatched an army of 20,000 to Assam under the command of one Kee-Woomingee also known as Kāmngi or Alumingi Bar-gohain. One Momai Baruah, alias Patalong Senapati, guided the Burmese army to Assam. Patalong Senapati was also known as Patal Chutia Barbaruah. A scholar identified him as a Kheramia Kachari.

Patalong Baruah was originally an Assamese having his residence at Namrup. He was first deputed by late Premier Purnananda Barahgohain to the Singphoe territories to recover the Assamese captives from * The act of mutilation was performed by Biswanath, the husband of Chandra Kanta Sinha's sister. Biswanath was eventually appointed as Marangikhowa Gohain by Purandar Singha. See TB(E), p.201, AAR, p.471.
66. TB(E), p.201.
67. HA, p.227.
68. AAR, p.472; TB(E), p.203; W(P), p.46; HA, p.233. In W(P) the number of soldiers is only 10,000.
69. AHR, p.383.
70. TRA, p.539.
that country. But he gained no success. Having failed in his mission, Patalong went to Burma with a view to coercing the Singphoes with the help of the Burmese force. However, discerning qualities of leadership in him, he was despatched against the Arakanese by the Burmese king. In Arakan Patalong achieved some success for which Bodawpaya rewarded him with Governorship of a place in Arakan. He was brought from Arakan to guide the Burmese army under Alumingi to Assam. Thus Patalaong had long been a resident in Burma.

The Burmese force under Kiamingi, guided by Patalong Senapati, arrived in Assam in the month of January 1819. Jagannath Dhekial Phukan was sent at the head of the Ahom force to encounter the Burmese. An engagement took place at Phulpanichiga in February 1819 near the Janji river. In the encounter the Burmese lost 300 to 400 men and retreated to a place at a short distance. The Burmese side was reinforced with another army under Mahamanki. But curiously enough the Ahom commander lost his nerve. Jagannath Dhekial Phukan's force were overtaken with fear and retreated to Jorhat urging their companions to further move westwards. Ruchinath Burahgohain and king Purandar Singha along with their families and their supporters went down to Gauhati taking with them as much wealth as they could collect from the royal treasury. Persuaded by the men of Alumingi they had to go to Chilmarl from Gauhati. In Weisssalis it was recorded that the Burahgohain once again left for Calcutta in search of help from the Fangruks (White Foreigners).

72. **Ibid.**, p.472; **W(P)**, p.47.
73. **W(P)**, p.47.
75. **AAR.**, p.472.
77. **W(P)**, p.48.
A defenceless and deserted people could do very little to thwart the advance of the invading forces.

The invaders installed Chandra Kanta on the throne on 7 March 1819. Leaving Mingimaha Tilwa with two other lieutenants in charge of the affairs at Jorhat Alumingi returned to Ava in the middle of April, Mingimaha despatched Patalong and Seik Phukan, another Commander, to arrest Purandar Singha. Patalong Senapati and Seik Phukan, overcoming some resistance offered by the men of Ruchinath Burahgohain near Gauhati, chased Purandar Singha and his party to their last retreat, the Assam Choky, opposite Goalpara where they arrived on 17 June. Purandar Singha and Ruchinath left this place as well and went down to Chilmari, a place under the Bengal Government.

In upper Assam the invaders began to commit atrocities upon all people who were suspected of sympathising with Purandar and Ruchinath Burahgohain. Mingimaha's lieutenants, Sajati Phukan and Baju Phukan, caused the death of a large number of leading nobles and officials of the deposed Raj. They also put to death Dhan Barbaruah and Nirbhayanarayana Bargohain. On his return from the Lower Assam Patalong Senapati interceded on behalf of the helpless Assamese people and as a result there was some abatement in the orgy of atrocities.

Restored king Chandra Kanta was a puppet only in the hands of the Burmese. Patalong was appointed Barbarua. Janmi, the son of Badan Chandra, was appointed Barphukan. Janmi was successively succeeded in the office of Barphukanship by Bhadra Chandra and Lambodar. This time also Chandra Kanta decided to send a princess to the Burmese monarch as fresh token of his allegiance to the Burmese sovereign. One Unana Aideo

78. AAR, p.473.
79. Ibid; BG, pp.80-81.
80. TTK, p.539.
was selected for the purpose of presentation to the Burmese monarch.

Nothing is known about the parentage of Upama Aideo. Mingimaha T'iw-e and Sajati Phukan left Rangpur on 27 January 1820 and returned to Ava. They took with them the princess Upama Aideo who was accompanied by Changrung Phukan and Parvatia Phukan to Amarapura.

In the month of June 1820, Patalrong married Majiu Aideo, sister of Chandra Kanta Singha. She was formerly married to Biswanath Marangikhowa. Since Biswanath was responsible for slicing the ear of Chandra Kanta, his sister Majiu Aideo was wrested from Biswanath: the divorced sister married to Patalong. Such remarriages were quite common among the Ahom gentry. Now Patalong became the real ruler of the country and in the process Chandra Kanta was reduced to a cipher.

In Weissalia it is found that one Ang-Nai, whom one of the authors believed to be a Burmese, was placed in charge of the country before the Burmese left Weissali (Assam). Ang-Nai had his headquarters at Nagaghat near Jaypore. Ang-Nai was said no other than Patalong Senapati. It is probable that due to Patalong's long residence in Burma, the author of Weissalia Mun-Dum-Chun-Kham took him to be a Burmese: it is also probable that Ang-Nai's Assamese origin was unknown to the said author. He did not seem to take notice of the de-Jure ruler as such.

81. AAR.,p.474.

* Majiu Aideo had been first married in November 1805 to Lari Goain, a son of Purnananda Burahgohain. She quarrelled with her husband, parted with him and became the wife of Oreshanath Dhekal Phukan, another son of Purnananda Burahgohain. During her married life with Oreshanath she, it was believed that, did all the things to make authentic the letter of warning that sent to Badan Chandra just to miracle her co-wife Pijou Gabharu the daughter of Badan Chandra Barphukan. It is evident that two sons of Purnananda Burahgohain became her successive husbands but their names are conflicting in the different sources. Besides Lari Goain and Oreshanath, Biswanath Maringikhowa Goain and Jagannath Naosalia Phukan are also mentioned in this connection. See TB(E).,p.179; AB(G).,p.179; APB.,pp.168 and 294; AAR.,pp.473-74: SG., p.17; WHM.,p.57.

82. AAR.,p.474.

83. WP.,p.48.

84. Ibid.,pp.20, 46.
King Bodawpaya died in the meantime and was succeeded by his grandson Bugyidaw (1819-1837). By the end of 1820 the Burmese relaxed their domineering control over Assam. Obtaining princesses and tributes from the conquered country were considered by the Burmese as evidence enough of complete conquest. Mingimaha Tilwa and Sajati Phukan left Assam leaving Patalong Senepati to look after Burmese interests. At the time of their departure, the Burmese army numbered nearly 1000 men. By the beginning of 1821 a hundred Burmese soldiers only remained in Assam. Although the bulk of the invaders had left, occasionally they continued to come to Assam in a body for the purposes of plundering and carrying off women and cattle. As the Burmese relaxed their control, Chandra Kanta made bid to shake off foreign control and in these efforts Patalong Senapati, Chandra Kanta's brother-in-law, took his side. Now Patalong was despatched to check the Burmese. He arrived Dhigualighat (Nagaghat to Burmese) on the river of Buridihing lying on the Burman route to Assam. Patalong constructed a fort in the vicinity of Dhigualighat to check the Burmese entrance and thenceforth Dhigualighat came to be known as Jaipur or the city of victory. But the author of Weissalisa Mun-Dun-Chun-Kham gave a different version of the construction of the said fort. The Burmese author gave the story that the rampart was constructed as defence against any possible attack from the Burahgohain. It is true that Ruchinath Burahgohain and Purandar Singha were trying to get help from the British, although unsuccessfully, to oust Chandra Kanta and his supporter Patalong. But according to the said author it was Singphoes who misrepresented the purpose of the construction to the Burmese.

85. AAR., p. 481.
86. Ibid.
When Chandra Kanta turned hostile, the Burmese king Bogiyidaw despatched an army to Assam under the old and experienced Commanders like Mingimaha Tilwas, Baju and Sajati Phukan. This was the third Burmese invasion. In Weissalisa the name of the Burmese General was recorded as Mong-Kaphew. On approaching Jaipur Mingimaha saw the preparations made by Patalong Senapati which enraged the Burmese. Patalong was insenstently done to death. On Patalong's death his garrison deserted the fort leaving Patalong's wife in the lurch. Patalong's wife Majiu Aideo was captured and outraged inhumanly. Mingimaha sent Majiu Aideo to her brother Chandra Kanta assuring him of Burmese protection. But Majiu Aideo advised her brother Chandra Kanta not to give any credence to what the Burmese said. Her personal experience had been too tragic. She knew how her husband Patalaong was suddenly seized by Sajati Phukan during the pretense of a friendly conversation, and beheaded.

On the advise of his sister, Chandra Kanta fled to Gauhati. He had seen to it that an army was despatched under Kaliber Matak Buragohain to encounter the Burmese. But the Ahom soldiers were easily defeated by the Burmese. When it became clear to Mingimaha that Chandra Kanta would not come to the capital under Burmese protection, he declared Chandra Kanta deposed and enthroned Punyadhar, the brother of Hemo Aideo, on the throne of the Ahom Raj. Punyadhar assumed the name of Jogeswar Singha. Jogeswar Singha's elevation to the throne was due to the insistence of his sister Hemo Aideo who had become a favourite of the Burmese king Bogiyidaw. Chandra Kanta somehow maintained his position at Gauhati till the beginning of September 1821. The Burmese

89. Ibid., p.49.
90. TB(E), pp.205-17; AAR, p.483.
91. AAR, p.483.
92. Ibid., p.484; AHE, p.383
then sent a powerful army against him. At the approach of the Burmese soldiers, Chandra Kanta went down to Assam Choky and then crossed to Goalpara, which was under the Bengal Government. The Assamese troops, stationed at the Assam Choky, succeeded in repulsing the Burmese who had to return to Gauhati. This facilitated Chandra Kanta's return to Assam Choky by the end of October 1821 when preparations were begun to challenge the Burmese. At the same time Chandra Kanta was able to defeat the troops of Purandar Singha who had collected and organised them in Bhutan and marched against Chandra Kanta, his rival claimant to the throne of Assam. Chandra Kanta also managed to engage Robert Bruce in his service and through him Chandra Kanta was able to secure permission from David Scott to send arms and gunpowder to Assam. Chandra Kanta now equipped his followers, marched against the Burmese, defeated them in a number of encounters and succeeded in pitching his camp in the neighbourhood of Gauhati. Then his troops attacked the Burmese, stationed at Saraichoky (Saraighat), but the Burmese repulsed them. The Burmese followed them and attacked Chandra Kanta's position at Palashbari, 14 miles west of Gauhati. But they were repulsed and driven to Khanamukh, 7 miles from Gauhati. After a long conflict Chandra Kanta was able to oust the Burmese, stationed at Gauhati under the Deka-Raja, son of the Burmese General Tilwa, from Gauhati and occupied it. After his defeat, the Deka-Raja returned to Jorhat. At that time Jogeswar was in Burmese Court to receive his confirmation as king. Such confirmation was secured on presentation to Bogyidaw of a female relation who came to be known as Atau Meengh Terirenei Barkovanri. Meanwhile Chandra Kanta stayed on at Gauhati to consolidate his position.

93. IB(E), p.205; AAR, p. 484; AB(G), p.142; AHB, p.383; TTK, p.539.
94. AAR, p.484.
95. Ibid., p.488.
96. Ibid., p.505.
When news of the reverses in Assam reached the Burmese king Ogyi-daw, Mingimaha Bandula, the greatest of all Burmese Generals, was despatched to see to it that Jogeswar Singha was placed on the throne after the expulsion of Chandra Kanta. Bandula arrived with a force of nearly 20,000 at Rangpur on 8 April 1822 and then proceeded to Jorhat and attacked the troops of Chandra Kanta on 17 April on Kaliani Pathar, a field at Mahgorh. The Assamese troops fought gallantly under Chandra Kanta himself, but they were badly defeated due to the shortage of ammunition. Chandra Kanta left for Gauhati where he halted for more than a month. For better security Chandra Kanta further withdrew to Assam Choky with his family after he came to know that the Burmese were on the move against him. Gauhati was soon occupied by Bandula. From Gauhati Bandula despatched a force under Mingimaha Tilwa to the Assam Choky. It fell to the Burmese on 21 June 1822 after a gallant fight. This meant the end of Chandra Kanta's efforts to preserve Ahom sovereignty. Chandra Kanta then proceeded to Jugighopa in the Company's territory whence he went to Chilmari. The Burmese victory over Chandra Kanta on 21 June 1822 marked the extinction of the Ahom authority in Assam. Now the Burmese became the undisputed masters of Assam, especially of the Brahmaputra Valley. By the end of June of that year, Mingimaha Tilwa was declared the Raja of Assam. The process of subjugation of Assam by the Burmese started more or less with the first Burmese invasion and it came to an end with the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826. Tilwa's reign became increasingly oppressive, so much so that the days of Burmese rule, i.e., 'Manar Din,' came to be associated in the popular mind with a veritable reign of terror.

98. AAR, pp.490-92.
Burmese Reign of Terror: While ordering troops to march to Assam for the first time at the request of Bidan Chandra Barphukan, the Burmese king Bodawpaya gave some advice to his men. This constituted the basis of their dealings with the Assamese people. The king advised his troops as follows—"Strike a terror among the enemies inasmuch as to make even the tortoises burrowing under the sanheaps, fishes swimming in the water and animals roaming in the forests also fleeing away at your approach." The Burmese king further advised them—"March on to Weissali and come back with beautiful maidens like Princess Nancheng, whom the Barphukan has given to us. The ambers, to be worn in ears, are required to be dug out from the bowels of the earth. In the same way, you are required to bring the maidens of matchless beauty from Weissali with some labour." The king's message was echoed in his generals' words addressed to the king at the time of their departure for Assam after the completion of their preparations for the purpose. They said: "As the army of Ramchandra crossed the sea, conquered Lanka and then rescued Sita, so shall we conquer Weissali and collect the princesses of Nancheng's beauty for your majesty. We shall eat to our hearts content all the sweet fruits that Weissali abounds in, and shall bring with us all the beautiful damsels meant for the royal coach." The whole period beginning with the first invasion of the Burmese through the Treaty of Yandaboo bears ample evidence of the implementation of the mission to collect wealth and women.

After the first successful invasion, the troops of the Chiefs of Mung-Yang and Mung-Khong committed severe atrocities on the people of Assam following the orders of their respective Chiefs. They ordered

99. W(P), p.3.
100. Ibid., p.39.
101. Ibid., p.40.
their soldiers as follows- "Whomsoever you come across, do not allow him to escape. Catch him at once and hang him up on the nearest tree. Or, bind him tightly with a rope and throw him into a ditch. Take the women and children with you. Burn all the granaries." After committing such atrocities and plundering on a wide scale, the Burmese soldiers returned to their land. Whenever Burmese soldiers sighted a woman with a breast-fed baby, they did not hesitate to throw away the baby merely to have the pleasure of snatching the mother. Some Burmese soldiers took fancy in forcibly taking away children of ten to twelve years of age to engage them in paddy cultivation when they returned home. Young men were carried away to work as beasts of burden. The plunderers took delight in killing husbands to take away their wives. Babies were also taken away, Many parents died fighting single-handed against the Burmese soldiers to rescue their babies. Sometimes parents followed the trail of the Ava soldiers for several days, only to die of exhaustion as well as starvation. The author of Weissali Hukong Cha-Ang, a Burmese, acknowledged that commission of all manners of atrocities happened to be daily occurrences. An invading Burmese soldier himself, the author's account of Burmese atrocities speaks for itself. It is possible to think that the atrocities were more terrible. The narration of Burmese atrocities in the Weissali Mun-Dun-Chun-Khum was indeed very brief. But this and the accounts given by Cha-Ang, the author of Weissali Hukong, are telling instances of Burmese atrocities. As stated in the Weissali Mun-Dun-Chun-Khum the land of Weissali had been depopulated and innumerable houses got emptied of their inmates who had been either killed or taking shelters elsewhere..... The soldiers of Ava tortured the women and children as

103. Ibid., p.28.
much as they could. They made fun of children's lives whenever they came across the latter. They set fire to all the dwelling houses. And they made hundreds of children die of starvation."

After the final expulsion of Chandra Chandra Kanta, the Burmese devastated the country and created a reign of terror by their widespread acts of plunder, torture and killing of the inhabitants. The country relapsed into anarchy. Their repeated invasions and their orgy of blood reduced the country into a skeleton. On Chandra Kanta's expulsion finally to Bengal, the last attempt to drive the Burmese out of Assam at the instance of one Hao Sagar Bora of North Lakhimpur with his Basmatia soldiers proved to be in vain. He was easily suppressed by the Burmese. After this the Burmese began to make the best use of their stay in Assam by all kinds of gratification. Virgins were deflowered before their parents and wives were molested before their husbands; infants served as throwsticks to drop down mangoes from trees. All this makes lucid reading. There are even accounts as to how children were thrown from above on pointed swords below. All properties and belongings had to be surrendered unconditionally and spontaneously on pain of mutilation or death; rights and records of property were thrown into wells and rivers to efface any titles thereto. Their atrocities had no limit. The Burmese burnt down the villages for days and nights. They even forgot that they were human beings when they sighted a woman and behaved like beasts. "The Burmese in a body of three to four, began to commit outrages on a single woman all at a time. Even a woman was outraged by ten men at a time. The old women, grown up women, and girls were not spared. Their

105. TTK, p.539.
106. AS, p.171.
107. TB(E), p.207.
outrages were so severe that a woman or a girl was not left till her 
female organ profusely bled.*" Their oppressions became increasingly 
severe as day passed by. No one could be sure of his wealth or reputa-
tion or even of life. Not only the Burmese robbed everything worth-taking, 
they wantonly burnt down the villages and even temples, violated the 
chastity of women of all ages and put a large number of innocent persons 
to death. Another form of atrocities was to bind several persons togeth-
ner, sometimes even two hundreds at a time, and then lock them up in a 
hut which was afterwards set on fire to kill the captives. The Burmese 
used a particularly barbarous method of tying up people; the palms of 
prisoners were pierced and cane strings were inserted for binding a num-
ber of people and preventing them from attempts at escape. This binding 
process became known to the Assamese as 'Manbandha', i.e., Burmese Knot. 
'Manbandha' and 'Manar Din' were equally horrible. While the young 
women were retained as wives, the aged or the unattractive ones cast 
aside after violating their chastity.

A number of local collaborators purchased peace by offering you-
ng and fair-complexioned girls to the invaders and thus became promine-
nt and wealthy. Such people came to be known as Duaniva. Many of such 
Duanivas excelled their foreign protectors in inflicting atrocities on 
their own people by way of satisfying their ancient grudge. Usually one 
Burmese accompanied by 4/5 Duanivas carried on their monstrous acts 
in the residences of peaceful citizens. The hill tribes followed suit, 
and the sufferings of the helpless inhabitants were unspeakable. There 
were instances when many children lost their lives due to their own 
mothers' endeavour to keep them silent while hiding in jungles: hungry 

109. HA., p.231; AAA., p.95; AS., pp.170-73; APB., pp.172-80.
100. AB(G)., p.147.
111. HA., pp.231-32.
Children cried for food and lest their noise should attract soldiers, children's mouths were forcibly shut by their mothers with the result that many such helpless children died of suffocation. The cruelty of the Burmese knew no bounds. A vivid picture is to be found in the writings of Major J. Butler. He collected his facts from many surviving witnesses to Burmese atrocities. "All who were suspected of being inimical to the reign of terror, were seized and bound by Burmese executioners, who cut off the lobes of the poor victims' ears and choice portions of the body, such as the points of the shoulders, and actually ate the raw flesh before the living sufferers. They then inhumanly inflicted, with a sword, deep but not mortal gashes on the body, that the mutilated might die slowly, and finally closed the tragedy by disembowelling the wretched victims".

The Burmese were similarly cruel in revenue administration. Cruelty in the matter of punishment tended to root out thefts and pilferage in the country but people were robbed of their property by the Burmese agents and their unscrupulous employees for collecting revenue. Such revenue collectors were employed to collect revenue the rates of which were also increased. The collectors used to pocket a portion of revenue and this obliged them to collect much more than the official dues.

Mingimaha Bandula remained in Assam for some months to consolidate the conquest. The general administration was placed in the hands of Mingimaha Tilwa while Jogeswar Singha, the Raja, was a figurehead. Tilwa did not disturb the existing machinery of the Government. He appointed official from amongst the Assamese. But the Burmese taxation practices were arbitrary. Taxes were imposed on all classes of people and arbitrary was the manner of realisation of taxes. Personal service in lieu of

112. AS., pp. 169-73.
113. TAPA., pp. 248-49.
114. EWR., pp. 187-188.
of revenue payment was a recognised custom in Assam during the Ahom days. Now, this custom was abolished. The usual rate of commutation of personal service by money payment which was Rs.3 per paik was now doubled.

The paik attached to temples had also to pay capitation tax at the rate of Rs.6. Pandits and Maulavis, who had been exempted from any kind of taxation during the Ahom administration, were now compelled to pay Rs.2 each. Even the Ahom priests, Deodhais and Bailungs, and the Hindu Gossains and members of the royal family were compelled to pay some amounts fixed arbitrarily by the Burmese. In addition to that, the Burmese collected whatever gold they could lay their hands on. The total number of paiks, as estimated by the Burmese, liable to pay poll tax of Rs.6 stood at 89,850 of which 12,749 were runaway, and 12,546 were engaged in the services of the revenue collectors. The total amounts thus realised as Paik revenue came up to 4,47,940 rupees. Out of this huge sum, Bandula received only little more than a lakh of rupees. The rest of the money was fraudulently apportioned by the accountants among themselves. It was suspected that the Assamese accountants bribed the Burmese supervisors who were content to accept 25% of the collection or whatever amount was given by the Assamese accountants. The people of Assam were not accustomed to pay revenue in cash, and coins were not much in circulation. As such, people usually turned out to be defaulters. The result was that parties of Burmese used to accompany the revenue collectors and they tortured the ryots till they parted with their valuables. Sometimes the ryots saved themselves from the torture of the Burmese by offering their girls for the pleasures of the Burmese.

The collectors themselves were not spared. It was in the matter of revenue collection that the cruelties of the Burmese spread to the remotest villages of Assam.

115. AAR, pp.505-07.
The Burmese outrages were first seen on their return in April 1817. They plundered the border villages and carried off women and slaves to their country. In 1819-1821 the Burmese robbed, mutilated and killed all persons who were found sympathetic to Purandar Singha and Ruchinath Burahgohain. They repeated their outrages with greater severity after Chandra Kanta's flight from Upper Assam. But the most terrible atrocities were committed in their final retreat in 1825 from Assam after having been defeated by the British. The Burmese drove off before them all the young people they could get hold of. It was estimated by David Scott that nearly 30,000 Assamese captives were carried off into Ava by the Burmese. The real nature of Burmese atrocities finds a clear expression in the account of Maniram Dewan: "Thefts were comparatively rare under the rule of the Burmese as they punished every thief by decapitation. In attacking the house of a rich man they would tie him with ropes and then set fire to his body. It was dangerous for a beautiful woman to meet a Burmese even in the public roads. Brahmins were made to carry loads of beef, pork and wine. The Gossains were robbed of all their possessions. Fathers of damsels whom the Burmese took to wives rose speedily to affluence and power". A similar account is found in

Asamer Padya Buranji: The Burmese dishonoured all women they came across in the roads and thoroughfares. The ugly and unattractive ones were left to the mercy of fate while their more beautiful sister enjoyed the continued patronage of the Shan invaders. Daughters were molested in presence of their parents and wives before their husbands.

Gunaviram Barua, a well-known Assamese historian, expressed the opinion that biography of any and every fail family of that time,

116. AAR., p. 509.
117. BYE. TP. 188 kha.
118. APB., pp. 172-80.
if written, would be a good account to prove that no family was spared the scars of Burmese wrath. Their depredations were so widespread that they made the country depopulated. Many people left the country just to save themselves; many went down, many entered either Manipur, Jayantia or moved towards Tripura. Many refugees entered the British territories where they felt secure. The successors of such fugitives are now a days seen in many parts of Bengal, especially in Chittagong areas, now under Bangla Desh. At that time many fugitives from Nowgong district specially from Dabaka Kathiatali, Barapujia areas entered Cachar and Sylhet districts. The migration of refugees from Dabaka and the Kapili valley resulted mainly from Burmese depredations. In Cachar there are as many as seventeen Assamese villages. The inhabitants are mainly Chutia by caste. They are descendants of those fugitives who were compelled to take shelter in Cachar and Sylhet. Tarapur, Taldhar, Sararbhitar, Bargul, Lakagul, Isam, Kaiajani, Khalarpar, Konapara, Narayanpur, Jhapirband, Adorkona, Laburband, Larsingpar are some of the Assamese villages of Cachar district. In Sylhet district, now Bangla Desh, there were several Assamese villages such as Assampara in the Japlong Mouza, Sheillakhel, Kalairag, Lakarpar, Bagai, Na-goan, Barpooni, Ishamati, Gumura, Sathal, Rangamati, Barham, Turung, Thalpara, Pantanajar, Umtak, Ratanpur Jibangur, Kataibag, Bijay Faruah, Rangpani, Barthal, Kadamtala. But after the 'Partition of India' the Assamese inhabitants of Sylhet district left for Assam. They have been provided settlement mainly in Bamungoaon area of Lanka Circle of Nowgong district. It is learnt from the aged inhabitants of Tarapur that the parties going ahead thought the parties behind them to be the

119. AB(G)\textsuperscript{e}, p.148.
Burmese pursuers following them and to escape from being captured the party marched further and further and in such a way they had to trek to such distant area. But the fact remained that the parties following them whom they took to be Burmese were also groups of Assamese fugitives. The descendants of such fugitives have become known as 'Manabaganiya' i.e., Fugitives from the Burmese.

In conclusion it may be said that the Burmese oppressions and barbarities were committed following a deliberate policy of striking terror into the minds of the people so that they might not dare rise against the invaders. It was Bodawpaya's policy to launch a reign of terror and his successor Bogyidaw continued the same policy if only with added emphasis. It is evident that the Burmese invaders deliberately followed the policy of depredations. This greatly effected the life of Assamese people - socially and economically. It gave rise a new class of people viz., Duaniva. It destroyed the society by depopulating the country. It also destroyed the economic resources of the country whatever were there after the Moamaria Uprisings. The Burmese policy of depredation was also responsible for driving Assamese people to seek help from the English. Such help was secured which consequently brought British yoke over the people of Assam greatly effecting the life of the Assamese people.

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120. TB(E), p.205; AAR, p.508.