Chapter - II

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
These clans were not on speaking terms and each of them tried to dominate the other. It was in the eighteen century that when all the clans were merged into one and a single state was brought into existence.

It has been recorded that in 34 A.D. Nongda Lairen Pakhangba ascended the throne as the first feudal lord of Manipur. He was the founder of a long line of kings. Pakhangba was truly the maker of Manipur. His descendants in the male line ruled Manipur till 1891. The Maharaja appointed by the British during their paramountcy was also a descendant of Pakhangba. From Pakhangba (33-154 A.D.) down to Loitongba (1122-1155 A.D.) the rule of succession was governed by the law of primogeniture. The whole infrastructure of the administration was first provided by the three clans i.e Ningthouja, Angom, Luwang, Moirang. The nobles and ministers who joined the king were clearly enumerated in Pakhangba Phambal. It has been conjectured by the 18th century historians of Manipur that Nongda Lairen Pakhangba had his council of ministers traditionally known as Ningthou Pongbatara and 64 Phamdous. All the kings succeeding him carried out the administration with the assistance of these 64 administrative chiefs. During his reign the following departments of the state were created.

2. *Kuchu shanglen*.
3. *Khanba shanglen*.
4. *Naharup shanglen*.
5. *Pacha Loishang*, court dealing with women affairs and presided over by queen Laisna, wife of Pakhangba.

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The annals of Manipur have been made colourful and lively by the occasional infighting among the seven early principalities and frequent lightening campaigns from other highlanders. Stability and order were restored with the emergence of the Meetei confederacy which later on evolved the institutionalised early state, the constitutional edict, division of panas, administration under legal norms, installation of Shingloop (a village level economic organization), Lallup (a military institution equivalent to conscription of one able man from every household), and administration of the country on the advice of 64 Phamdous, (equivalent to cabinet) including ministers like Awapurel (minister for foreign affairs especially to conduct relations with the Burmese and above all a standing army)⁴.

The old social order, which has taken root in the early centuries, continued up to the middle of the eleventh century. King Loiyumba (1074-1112 A.D.) was a great reformer of Manipur. Along with the military consolidation of the kingdom, Loiyumba introduced administrative reforms which provided the steel frame of the administration of the Kingdom for about 7 centuries. He systematised the administrative divisions of the country by creating seven lups (divisions) viz., Khongchalup, Nongmailup, Angoubalup, Leichol Lakpa Tolong Khombalup, Khurailup, Lipphambamlup and Khangjenglup ⁵. Loiyumba also put an end to the old social order and ushered in a new one. For efficient administration he divided the valley into six circles, locally known as panas. He introduced the division of labour and assigned a particular occupation to a particular yumnak or family, in order to regulate effectively different trades and crafts. He realized the necessity of a large and permanent labour force for undertaking various development schemes in the interest of the people, e.g. draining of marches, dredging of river beds, building embankments and road. He introduced Lallup system.

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4. Ibid., p.125
In the year 1709 Gharibnewaz (Pamheiaba) became the Raja of Manipur. According to Penberton, Gharib Newaz ascended the throne of Manipur in the year 1714 A.D. But Bijay Panchali gives the date of his accession as 1702. He effected a religious revolution in the Manipur valley. His activities paved the way to rapid cultural integration of Manipur with the rest of India. Before him authority was federal. The several pibas of the different clans asserted their autonomy in their respective areas.

Just before 1891 absolute monarchy was the prevalent system of administration. The king was assisted by a Durbar, more or less an advisory council, in the day-to-day administration of the state. His brothers and sons held important offices in the state machinery. His immediate younger brother was the Yuvraj or the heir apparent to the throne. The brother next to the Yuvraj would be the Senapati or the commander of the army. After the Senapati the officials of the state included the kotwal or the head of police, Sagol Hanjaba or the master of the cavalry and the Samu Hanjaba the master of the elephants. In the absence of the brother or in case of their turning disloyal, these posts would go to the sons of the king. All these officers had seats on the cheirap, the chief judicial body in the state, but it was not necessary that they should be members of the royal family.

Prior to 1891, Manipur was divided into 32 administrative divisions and in each division there was an administrative chief and his assistants appointed by the king. These administrative chiefs of 32 divisions of Manipur with their associates were appointed Phamdous and the Phamdous numbered 64. Of them, 10 were selected by the Raja. The Raja could not remove the ministers at his will. This was the position till 1891. When Churachand Singh became the Raja of Manipur, a minister could be replaced at his will.

8. Ibid.
It has been a standing custom from the time of Pakhangba (33 A.D.) that all new proposals should be placed before the nobility for its acceptance. The nobility might accept or reject any proposal. At the same time, the Raja might be requested to reject a particular case. The 64 Phamdous even had the power to make laws and customs of the State. Some of the Phamdous were in charge of educating people in different crafts and managing the different departments of the State. The 64 Phamdous even have the power of imprisoning the king in case he misbehaved 9. From 1891 to 1907 the State was administered by the British officers on behalf of the minor king Churachand. In subsequent years Churarachand ruled the state with the assistance of a Durbar, consisting of one Indian Civil Service (ICS) Officer and six Manipuri members.

The system of administration underwent changes from time to time. The rules of administration which were in force up to 1947, were framed in 1919 under which the Maharaja was responsible for the administration of the state as a whole. But the hill areas were put under the control of the president of the Durbar, a British ICS officer appointed by the Governor of Assam. Besides the President, three more Manipuri members appointed by the Maharaja were also included in the Durbar.

The king was a constitutional head so long the nobility acted according to the chatlam lutin (customs and conventions) of the land. Raja was first assisted by four mantris – Yaiskullakpa, Wangkheilakpa, Khurailakpa and Khwairakpa. Besides these ministers, there were two others-nakpak senba hanjaba and semnak phanba hidang, who received the orders of the king and transmitted them to the ministers who were the heads of the four subdivisions of the kingdom. The king was pivot of administration, and as such all the other departments carried out their functions with the consultation of the Raja. He himself took no direct part in the administration except on formal occasion when he presided over the durbars or meetings of the high officers. But all the officials

do things according to his wish and serve his interests. The council of ministers was regarded by the Raja as a very vital organ of administration. Each minister was not only the head of a department but also the administrator of a number of villages. As the head of the villager he was responsible for the collection of revenue.

Thus from time immemorial the administration of Manipur was mixed and mediatory one in which the elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy were blended.

The Administration of the Valley Before the Advent of the British

For the purpose of administration, the whole territory of Manipur was divided into two-the valley and the hills. The valley was the centre where administrative authorities and offices were stationed and located. From the valley the administrative control and direction was fanned out over the whole of Manipur. The town was divided into four leikais—Khui, Yaiskul, Khurai, Wangkhei etc (1) Khwai—from Kohima road west to Cachar road. (2) Yaishkul—from Cachar road to southern section Achouba river. (3) Wangkhei—from the Achouba to eastern road. (4) Khurai—from eastern road to Kohima road. Each of them was under a lakpa. Importance was given to these four lakpas so much so that all of them were included in the ministry. However, no cash payment was made. No fixed allowances was attached to any post. Land in lieu of salary was granted and services of attendance were made available to big officers. Besides these substantial rewards, honorary distinctions were granted.

**Basis of administrative division.** The basis of administrative division were two-territorial and functional. Territorial division was a division consisting of a particular

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piece of territory. For example, Leikais, Khuls and division of seven Kingdoms for seven salais (clans) and the thirty-two divisions were all territorial divisions.

The primary unit of administration was the leikai. Several leikais were combined together and they formed the village—the next higher unit of administration. These villages had no common ancestors. The families in the villages belonged to different clans. Each clan had a common ancestor. The Ningel inscription records that the village was under the administrative control of Khullakpa (the administrator or controller of the village) assisted by the Luplakpa. The office of Khunbu (owner or head of the village) was also referred to in the inscription. Thus the office of Khunbu, Khullakpa and Luplakpa were officially introduced by Garib Newaz in 1736 among the villages 12. The next unit of administration was the khul (village), which varied both in size and population. The chiefs of the villages were variously designated as Khullakpa or Ningthou. Each village was governed by Khullakpa with the assistance of some elders viz., Pakhanglakpa (controller of youths) Ningollakpa (controller of maidens) Naharakpa (controller of young persons) Luplakpa (controller of the community).

Functional division was a division of the people according to their functions. As a matter of fact, there existed a form of division of labour in ancient Manipur. The Thangjam, for example, was a clan which was engaged in making daos; the Tensuhanba, another clan, had the specific duty of making arrows; the Lairikyengbams, a third clan, concerned itself with clerical functions; the Konsahanba was concerned with the making of brass vessels. Thus, the panas were of functional division. Thus the people of Manipur were divided into six panas including the two inferior panas—Hidak Phanba and Potshangba 13. The lallup was conducted on the basis of these panas. The functional division (division

of labour) helped and supplemented the proper administration of the territorial divisions like khuls and leikais etc. Pannas were designated in order of their seniority. The four pannas are Khabam, Laipham, Ahallup, and Nahallup. This service was a due to the state, none were renumerated for it. The head of each family or tribe furnish the proper persons for different services required for the peepa, or head of the clan. However, they were not called upon to perform any heavy duty. The peepa’s post is near Raja acting as Ninthouselba or personal attendants. The family next in seniority has a heavy duty to perform in the leikai. The panna system was introduced systematically by Loiyumba which continued till the end of the 19th century.

The backbone of all departments was the Lallup. Lallup is the service free of cost from the people for 10 days in forty in rotation, thus bringing every male in the country above sixteen years on duty. The Lallup duty was extended to every section in the community but the women were naturally exempted. Those men attending lallup were divided into as many sections as there were departments. The division of persons was according to the customary law of Manipur. In the administration of villages or localities, the organization like Keirup, Leirup and Shinglup were of great importance. The Keirup was a military organisation. The Leirup was in-charge of various developmental functions. It had to construct and maintain roads, bridges, river banks and canals. The Shinglup was also an organization which existed in each neighborhood in each district. In case of illness of a member, they tell off individuals to attend on the sick person. When he dies, the wood club to which he belongs brings the wood for his funeral pyre.

It is for the first time that Cheitharol Kumbaba refers to lallup system in Manipur.

14. Ibid, p.25
It records that gods and men attended *lallup* together and gods had disappeared, men emerged victorious\(^ {17}\). *Lallup* is also a kind of feudal service rendered by the subjects to the king or the state. *Lallup* covered all state—both military and development maintenance. *Lallup* literally means war organization (*lal* = war, *lup* = organization)\(^ {18}\). Therefore originally it was a military service which was extended to other non-military or economic activities of the state. The persons liable to duty under the *lallup* system were the *Meiteis*, Brahmans and the Musalmans\(^ {19}\). *Khundin* was also a branch of the *lallup*, and consists of officials who saw to it that the men liable to *lallup* are regular in attendance, and also were responsible to arrange to provide substitutes in cases of illness\(^ {20}\).

The development of *lallup* system was manifestation of emergence of feudalism in the social, administrative and political structure of the *Meitei* kingdom. The *lallup* was better administered through the administrative and social divisions. *Loiyumba*’s introduction of the six administrative units called *lup* was significant contribution to strengthening of the working of the feudal services system of *lallup*. Finding that his principality comprised major portion of the valley and surrounding hill tribes, *Loiyumba* tried to divide the population according to occupation and at least one occupation was assigned to each family. T.C. Hudson opined that the earliest mention of the *pannas* was made during the reign of *Koirengba* (1510 A.D.). But the four *pannas* were established during the reign of *Pakhangba*. The number of *pannas* were increased to six including the two new *pannas* - *potsanba* and *hidakphanba*. *Lup* was the former name of *panna*.

In fact, *Raja Khagemba* introduced the term *panna* in 1596.

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\(^{18}\) Kabui Gangumei, *History of Manipur, Pre-Colonial Period* (New Delhi: National Publisher, 1983), p.126

\(^{19}\) Hudson T.C., *The Meiteis* (Delhi: Neeraj Publishing House, 1984), p.60

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p.62
Each of the above mentioned pannas were brought under the charge of Lakpas. The Laipham panna was kept under the charge of Raja Dumbra Singh, the elder brother of Maharajah Churachand Singh. Secondly, the Khabam panna was under the administration of Khaidem Angoumacha popularly known as Khaidiba. Thirdly, the Naharup panna was under the administration of Asem Gulap popularly known as Aseiba. The last division of panna which was named as Ahallup panna was under the charge of Nongmaithem Kali Singh. Each of the lakpas should not be less than 30 years of age. The educational qualification was not necessary at that time for the post of lakpa, but they should possess sound moral character with good personality and should be capable of facing any problems that could happen in their jurisdiction. The lakpas were chosen from higher caste. Further every panna is territorially subdivided into eight pannas. The territorial delimitation of the pannas is as follows:

Laipham Panna:
1. Pukhranba, 2. Shanglen lakpa, 3. Imakloihunjaba,

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8. Thangsa Halba.

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Naharup panna: 1. Yaiskul Lakpa, 2. Aheiba Hanjaba, 3. Huiroi Hanjaba,
Duties and functions of the lakpas. The five lakpas whose positions might be compared with that of tahsildar or mauzdar (Assam), held charge of five divisions called the pannas in lieu of pay, commission at the rate of 10% of their collection of land revenue and lallup house tax. The new system of panna was at once successful. In times of peace the pannas were made to play a part in the economic life of the country. This was a change from the former intention. The change which came over the pannas was completed by the introduction of modern weapons which involved the employment of trained soldiers by Raja Gambhir Singh. But the original framerwork of panas was kept intact.

Reorganisation of the pannas. The Burmese invasion of 1819 had completely disturbed the internal order of the State. Therefore Maharaja Gambhir Singh re-organised the pannas after the treaty of Yandabo in 1826. The six pannas were further regrouped on the following lines.

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Laipham panna  >  Khunja
Khabam panna   >  Naija
Ahallup panna  >  Nome
Naharup panna  >  Pana Khumei
Potshangba panna
Hidakphamba panna
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The Hidakphanba (head of the panna) attended to the hookah of the Raja. The lakpa of Hidakphanba panna had to see whether a proper hookah was used by nobles. The Potshangba generally acted as attendants of the Raja. They had to provide Khudei Phisang (long towels), mats, mattresses, pillows, maiyokpha (a tree of which the bark is
medicinal) shellbung (a kind of gong), curtains, pads and cushions. Beside military functions the four pannas were responsible for providing the Raja with vegetables, lemon grass, wandengkhoibi (a kind of herb), heikhagok (holy fruit), wild cardamom, arum-indicum, cane, bananas, plantain leaves, loklei, kouna, ureirom, yonchak, heinang, nongmakha, shammulambel, trees and bamboos and flowers like, u-thambal. The four pannas were also responsible for supplying labour in constructing shangs like yumjao, kangla, hishang and shinmai shang.

**Internal organization of the pannas.** The internal organization of the pannas was as follows. Each of the four pannas was divided into two departments - shanglen and shankhuba. In each department there were about ten officers. The officers of the Shanglen were lakpa, dewan, hannjaba, pakhang lakpa, nahalakpa, shingshuba ahal, singsuba naha and keiringbas. The officers of the department of Shankhuba were lairen lakpa, hanjaba, hidang pakhang lakpa, naha lakpa, shing suba ahal and shingsubha naha.

Thus, before the advent of the British administration, the indigenous form of administration existed. The primary unit of administration was the village. Several families combined and formed what was known as leikai (collection of houses). Three or four leikais joined together and formed the village. The families belonged to different clans. Thus, each village was governed by khullakpas, village elders, pakhangliktakpa and ningol liktakpi.

**Administration of Hills Before the Advent of the British**

As mentioned earlier the whole territory of Manipur was divided into two The administrative unit in the hills was the khul (village). A hill village is a particularly

organized association. Every village has three hereditary officers, namely *khullakpa, lupakpa* and *lumpoo*, any officers beside these are elected. They were vested with a great deal of authority. Their chiefs held office either by heredity or by selection for a lifetime. A village head did not acquire his position by chance but usually deserve it. He was usually the unanimous choice of the heads of all families residing in the village. The chiefs were assisted by their respective village councils. The council was the highest administrative unit in the village and consisted of *khunbu, khullakpa* and some elder persons of the village. Every village was a small sovereign unit. The tribes had their indigenous tribal polity, which varied from tribe to tribe. The variation ranged from the despotic chieftaincy of the *Thados* to the democratic village council of the *Mao*, from semi-republican gerontocracy of the *Kabuis* to the limited chieftainship of the *Tankhuls*. In general the *Naga* political institutions were more liberal than those of *non-Nagas*. The *Kuki* chief exercised absolute authority in his realm. He was the owner of land in his jurisdiction. He received presence from the villagers, which was obligatory. The chief derived his power from the social customs and it was his duty to see that the social customs were strictly observed.

The whole hill area of Manipur was divided into two divisions- hills adjoining the valley with permanent subjection under the Raja and the hills that were to some extent not under the direct control of the Raja of Manipur. Hill under the first group paid regular tribute to the Raja of Manipur, which varied according to the amount of control exercised. These comprised a few *Kuki* villages, the *Tangkhul* and *Lahooopa* tribes, the *Mao* and *Maram Nagas*. The tribute varied from a little oilseed to a regular payment, which in the case of the *Maram Nagas* amounted to a sum of Rs. 100 per annum.

In 1901 the Nagas numbered altogether some 59,000 souls and are sub-divided into
different tribes. The Koirao or Mao Maram Nagas lived in the north-west of the State
and closely resemble the Angami Nagas of the north. The Marings are a small tribe who
live in the south of the Tankhul Nagas. The Aimols are another small Naga clan who live
in the south. The Kukis lived in the southern hills, and the Tankhul lived in the east. They
are divided into different clans called after the chief who was the original founder. The
best known clans amongst the new Kukis are – Thado, Vungson, Changson, Haokip,
Simmte, Mangvung, Khlangam, Chungloe, Kanhau. The old Kuki clans are the kom,
Anal, Namfau, Chein, Koireng, Chohte, Purum, Mantak and Kiroi. Other minor tribes
are the Kom and Koireng who occupy the hills that overhang the valley near Moirang,
and the Chirus who lived in the hills to the west and south of the valley. The hill tribes
spoke different languages but they have generally adopted Manipuri as lingua franca.

The hill villages lived in isolation but the gradual extension of political power of
the kings of Manipur over the hill areas, provided a golden opportunity for a mutual
understanding between the kings and the chiefs of the hills. As a result of contact, the
hill chiefs were able to play an active role in the political life of the State. They were
enlisted in the service of the State. Thus, the nature of relationship was one of friendship.
However in the 19th century, certain changes were brought in the treatment of the hill
tribes. L. Ibungohal observes, “As for the hill villages in the interior hills they remain
quite free after paying a house tax of Rs 2/- per house. They did not perform lallup and
did not do anything for the king unless and until they were called. The chiefs were to
attend the capital once a year in mera (October) with a nominal present of panao and

25. Manipur Administration Report, 1876-1877 (Imphal: Government of Manipur 1876,)
p.6-7  
27. Kabui Gangumel, “Political Development in the Hills Area of Manipur”, Paper Submitted
to the Third Summer School in the Sociology in the North-East Areas of India, Kohima
1976, p.72
singnao (small roots of ginger and *Arum indicum*) and performed a festival known as *Mera Haochongba*. The hill tribes had maintained a good relation with the king. It is quite conspicuous from the underlying meaning of the celebration of the festival *Mera Haochongba*. This festival in October last for only one day. It is a gathering of the hill tribes in the valley. The tribes and plain people indulge in merry-making which shows the bond of love between them.

The Raja administered the hill areas with the help of the *lambus*, who were appointed for that purpose. These *lambus* were concerned with the day-to-day affairs of the hill people. They were the government officials who kept the Raja well informed about the hill affairs. But it was only during the reign of *Raja Garib Newaz*, the entire tribal area was brought under a single administrative fold. At the same time, a body known as *Haoba Loishang* was established to look after the hill administration on behalf of the Raja. The *lambus* were also brought under the control of such department. It must be noted that social and economic freedom of the hill people were left with little interference. Before the advent of the British, the kings were unable to evolve a lasting and systematic set-up of hill administration. They failed to put the hill tribes under their administrative subservience permanently, particularly before 1824, the relation between the king and remote hill tribes were confined to collection of tributes. The extent of the king’s control over the hill tribes changed from time to time as it largely depended on the capacity of them. But the hill tribes inhabited near the valley were often subjected to the king’s control and interference. However this was not the case for the tribes inhabited in the far off areas of the valley. The reasons may be due to the extreme poor conditions of transport and communication system. Besides the almost fanatically strict Hindus of

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30. Ibid, p.36
the valley, considering themselves to be at a higher level of human life had a very limited
social relationship with the hill tribes.

Administration of the Hills During the British Period

The British had to faced a problem for dealing with the hill tribes. A separate
system of administration of the hill areas had to be evolved. Thus, in 1893-1894 the hill
were divided into five divisions called lams viz., the Mao lam in the northern hill, the
Tankhullam in the north east hills, the Tammu lam in the south of the Tankhul lam,
the Moirang lam in the south west corner of the State, and Kabui lam to the north of the
Moirang lam 31. Each lam was placed under the supervision of a Manipuri official called
a lam subadar who was given assistance by seven Meitei lambus or hill peons. The
unpaid lambus, that existed hitherto, were dispensed with. The lam subadar was paid
Rs.15 and the lambus Rs.7 per month. The amount was respectively increased to Rs.20
and Rs.8 per month in 1907. The lam subadar in the southern lam was however abolished
in 1906. This was due to the fact that there were large villages with responsible chiefs.
Therefore, the lam subadar, the intermediary body between the government and the
village was not needed. The British government did not totally abolished chiefship of
the tribal chieftains (Khullakpas).

The primary concern of the British administration in the hill areas was the collection
of revenue, a house tax of Rs.3/- per house was levied. This was the first burden of the
British administration on the hill people. A noteworthy introduction during the British
rule in the hills was the system of licensing guns. According to this any person who was
in possession of guns without license was liable to be fined and imprisoned. In the
subsequent years the hill tribes reacted violently against this policy. They felt the policy
to be as interference in their freedom. They realized the burden of foreign rule.

31  Allen B.C., Assam District Gazetteers of Naga Hills and Manipur (New Delhi: Mittal
     Publications, 1002), p.120
**Lallup in the hill areas.** The chronicles refer to imposition of the lallup system on the hill tribes who did not favour the system, but the hill tribes had close contact with the King personally. As already mentioned above, the festival of *mera* known as the *Mera Haochongba*, the festival of the tribes was held regularly. It is said that during the Burma invasion of 1723, 4000 hill tribes joined in the Manipuri forces under the command of the King. The administrative decrees like *loiyumba shilyen* prescribed the tribute to be rendered by the respective tribes who came under the suzerainty of the king. These tributes were given mostly in the form of forest products and agricultural produce. These tributes were symbolically collected to indicate the State control. The *lallup* was imposed on the villages under their direct control. Such exploitation was not favoured by the hill people.

**Hills three-tier authorities.** A villager in the hills found himself under three authorities. First, he would be under the direct control of the village government of which the head was a *Ningthou* in big villages, and a *Khullakpa* in small villages. In the case of a big village there was the Senapati (head of the army). The *Khullakpa, the Khunpu and the Luplakpa* followed him in precedence. Then came the *Khunjahanba* or elder of the village. The *Yupalba* or officer in a *Naga* village managed the officers of the strangers. The next officer was *Nahalakpa*, who looked after the children of the village.

Though the British started interfering in the valley from 1891 through the Political Agents yet they allowed the hill villagers to retain their traditional system of administration. As most of the hill areas were inaccessible to the Britishers due to communication problems they wanted to control the hill with least expenditure\(^\text{32}\). There was no

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32. H. Mangi Singh., "Hill Administration of Manipur (British Period)" Regional Integration, X, 1, 1985, p.36
administrative control of the Britishers over the hill areas. In the words of Roy Burman, the hill areas were outside the control of the valley administration and flourished more or less as independent region till 1920 A.D. 33

Thus, the British administrator allowed the village chiefs to continue the village administration as before. The chief was allowed to retain village official as before the coming of the British. As such the villagers were allowed to continue their indigenous system of village administration. The colonial rulers separated the tribal hill from the plain for direct administration and control of the tribals. Their policies for tribal administration kept the tribals in isolation from the main currents of Indian civilization 34. The British government adopted various repressive measures in the hill areas including imposition of house tax, land revenue and engagement of people as labourers without any payment. In addition to all these, forced recruitment of tribals to serve the Allied Corps in France during the First World War arose great discontentment among the tribals especially amongst the Kukis against the British. All such discontentment resulted in the outbreak of the Kuki Rebellion of 1917-1919 35. The British government spent Rs. 28 lakhs to quell the Kuki Rebellion. Moreover many lives were lost in the course of it. The British administrators took this event as one of the main causes of poor British administration. 36

The British administrators felt the need for introducing effective administrative units in the hill areas. Deeply aware of the loose control over the hill people the Political

34. Singh Bhubhan., “District Administration in India” (Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, XLVIII,3, July-September, 2002), p.391
36. Ibid.
Agent W.A. Cosgrave, was of the opinion that the whole administration of the hill areas be handed over to the exclusive management of the Political Agent. Thus, the Chief Commissioner gave a fresh proposal at an open Durbar held at the palace on October 16, 1919. According to that proposal the State was divided into four sub-divisions – one sub-division in the valley and three in the hill areas. Of the three sub-divisions in the hill areas one sub-division was for south-west area inhabited by the Chin Kuki group of people with headquarter at Churachandpur, another one for north-west area inhabited by Kukis, Kabui Nagas with headquarters at Tamenglong and the last one for northeastern area inhabited by Tangkul Nagas and Kuki with headquarters at Ukhrul 37. The British policy towards the administration of Manipur was to divide and rule as far as possible on the basis of communal religious and socio-economic grounds favourable to the British government in 1893-1894, a humble attempt was therefore, made to administer hill areas as a separate administrative unit with the help of petty native official called ‘Lambus and Lam Subedar’. Though in theory the British officers continued to control the hill areas till 1947 yet in reality the village chiefs were administering their respective villagers.

**Administrative Relations of Manipur with the British**

After the Anglo-Manipur War of 1891, Manipur came under the rule of the British. In 1907, the gaddis was restored to the royal family but the hill areas came under the virtual control of the Manipur State Durbar. The British victory in the Anglo-Manipur War was proved to be a milestone in the history. The conquest of Manipur by the British was followed by the introduction of their direct administration over the State. After the British troops occupied Manipur, Maharaja Kullachandra (1890-91), Tikendrajit, Angousana, Thangal General and Paona Brajabasi were tried and convicted for offences in connection with the events of March 1891. Tikendrajit and Thangal General were

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37 Ibid., p.85
sentenced to death and Kullachandra, Angousana were exiled to Kalapani, Andamans. After the Anglo-Manipuri war, Churachand (1891-1941), a minor boy of five years, a grandson of Maharajah Nara Singh (1844-56) was designated as the Maharajah of Manipur for namesake. The investiture ceremony was held in April 1892. It was made clear that the right of the new Raja derived solely from his selection by the Government of India. Major Maxwell, the then Political Agent and Superintendent of Manipur, converted Manipur from a treaty state to a sanad state. The Governor General-in-Council granted Churachand the title of Raja.

After the attainment of his majority in (1907), the administration of the State was transferred to him. He was assisted by a Durbar. The Raja was to act as ex-officio President of the Durbar. The Durbar sat five days in a week. The Durbar had appellate as well as original jurisdiction over civil as well as criminal cases. In criminal cases the Durbar had nearly the same power as those of session judges. The term of the Durbar was five years.

The Government of India framed and implemented a set of rules for administration of both the valley and the hills. Under the Manipur Administration Rules, 1907 the Durbar was bestowed with greater amount of power than the Raja. The Vice-President of the Durbar was necessarily to be a British officer who really played the key role in the state administration. The Maharaja was only a nominal head. The Political Agent was delinked from direct administration of the State. In 1916, the Manipur Administration Rule of 1907 was amended. The Vice-President of the Durbar was made President and the Maharaja was to be kept aloof from the Durbar. The Raja was given the power to override the decisions of the Durbar only with the approval of the Political Agent. The more remarkable feature in the administrative control was that the British had brought in a dichotomy in the State administration. The Maharaja and the Durbar were not given any
power in the administration of the hill. They could only deal with the plain administration. The hill tribes were to be administered by the Political Agent and the Assistant Political Agent (Vice-President of the Durbar). This form of a dual government virtually separated the people from the hills from those of the plains. However, after the amendment of 1916 rule, the Maharaja was given a consolidation by inserting in the revised rules that the President of the Durbar would administer the hills on behalf of the Raja. But, the Durbar still remain devoid of power about hill affairs. The final authority in the state was still in the hands of the Political Agent. The Durbar did not have any jurisdiction in the hill affairs. They were simply to prepare, the hill budget for the satisfaction of the government. Not only the Durbar, no Manipuri official was associated with the hill administration, even after the opening of four hill sub-divisions in Manipur. Only British officers from the Assam Provincial Service Cadre were appointed as sub-divisional officers. It was only after the Naga unrest of 1931 that one Manipuri official was appointed as assistant to the President of the Durbar who was in-charge of the hill affairs. As regards the role played by the Maharaja in the hill matters, much gap remained between the letters in the rules and the practice on the field. The control continued till 1947. The 15th October, 1949 was an important day in the history because on that day its administration was taken over by the Government of India in the interests of both the princely State of Manipur and the rest of India. The Maharaja of Manipur, the late Bodhachandra Singh in his message to the people of state enter alia said, “This day, October 15, 1949, sound full notes for a new era. I am confident that it will be the sincere and constant endeavour of India Government to look to the best interests of the people of Manipur 38. The Manipur Merger Agreement containing nine Articles was however signed in Shillong on September 21, 1949 by the late Bodhachandra Singh, Maharaja of Manipur on the one hand and the late V.P Menon, Advisor to the Government of India, Ministry of States on behalf and with the authority of the Governor General of India and the late Sri Jai Prakash, Governor of Assam on the other.

Role of the Political Agent

For about 10 years, Manipur was administered by European officers as Political Agents and superintendent of the state under the direct control of chief commissioner. The establishment of the office of the British Political Agent in Manipur in the year 1835 was one of the most significant political developments in the history of the state.

The objective behind the establishment of Political Agentship was the preservation of a friendly intercourse and as a medium of communication with the Manipur Government and as occasion might require, with the Burmese authorities on that frontier and more especially to prevent border feuds, which might lead to hostilities between Manipur and Burmese. In later stages, this office became more and more powerful because of the internecine quarrel among the princes of Manipur which gave an opportunity to the Political Agent to interfere directly or indirectly in every domestic affairs of the State. Under these circumstances the position of the Political Agent was something like that of a de-facto administrator of the state. After the withdrawal of Manipur levy, the British authorities expressed their desire to appoint a British officer in order to maintain the relationship between Manipur and the British. Accordingly, the Governor General proposed Gordon, the former Adjutant of Manipur levy to take over the charge of the Political Agent. Thus, Gordon was appointed as Political Agent to advice and regulate the conduct of administration of the Raja. The relationship between the Raja and Political Agent did not go well all the time. Sometimes, it became so delicate, a time came when the Raja and the court were so much hostile to the Political Agent. The Raja was very particular that the Political Agent did not encroach over the autonomy of Manipur. For instance in 1852 Raja Chandrakriti brought serious charges against Dr. Dillon, the Political Agent, James Johnstone also had a great tussle with the Government of Manipur regarding the establishment of an English school at Imphal.
The posting of a Political Agent had a far reaching effect. Before 1835, civil war, murder, devastation and misery were the order of the day. After 1835, after the Political Agent's appointment, law and order were maintained. It appeared as if that without the Political Agent at Imphal, there would have been anarchy in Manipur. When there was a temporary vacancy in the office of the political agent after the retirement of McCulloch (1844-62 and 1863-67) Raja Chandrakiriti requested Government of India for the immediate appointment of his successor. In 1851, the Government of India declared their determination to uphold the cause of the then Raja and to resist and to punish any party attempting thereafter to dispossess him of his power. But this declaration resulted in the increase of the powers and functions of the Political Agent who was supposed to guide the Raja and to protect his subjects against his oppression. Otherwise the guarantee of the Government of India might be the cause of inflicting on the subjects a continuance of reckless tyranny. As the price of protection afforded him, the Raja had to submit to the increasing control of the British. The responsibility of the Political Agent was therefore two-fold: protection of the Raja against the internal rebellion and external aggression, and the subjects against the oppressive rule of the Raja. Besides these he had to insist upon the Raja for the fulfillment of treaties negotiated between Manipur and the British Government. The power and responsibilities of the Political Agency was also increased tremendously in later years. It was mainly because of the strong personalities of the incumbents like Gordon, McCulloch and Johnstone. Besides their political and legal duties, some of the Political Agents involved themselves in some social activities for instance, Captain Gordon introduced English vegetables and fruits, McCulloch prevented the slave trade of the Kukis. James Johnstone was responsible for spreading English education in Manipur. Of course, these functions were optional but they conferred permanent benefit on the people of the State.
The Reforms Made by the British in Administration

The British administrators were given the supreme power to introduce any reforms beneficial to Manipur customs and traditions. The system of lallup and slavery were abolished. In place of it, an annual tax of Rs. 2/- per homestead were levied. In 1904, the Indian Penal Code was executed and extended to Manipur. As K.B. Singh observes slavery was a social evil of pre British Manipur. When institution of slavery was abolished in British India in 1860... Manipur had her own slave trade. But the form of slavery system in Manipur was mild. In this regard, E.W. Dun observes, “The name of slavery, however, as it appears to European ideas is perhaps too harsh a name for the mild form which in most, if not in all instances obtain in Manipur.”

During the reign of Chandrakriti Singh, the number of his slaves numbered about 1200 or 1500. The Raja could present the slaves as a presentation to anybody whom he liked. In case of forcible change of royalty, the victorious king could dispose of the slaves among his officers, which caused great hardship to the poor slaves. The chief duty of the Raja’s slaves was to cultivate the royal land retaining for themselves just sufficient of the produce to sustain life, to work for the Raja at all times.

When the British conquered Manipur in April, 1891 Major Maxwell the first Political Agent found 1313 persons as slaves of the king. However, individual house-hold slave population could not be ascertained. These household slaves could purchase their liberty if they had money. As Maxwell writes, “only death frees those poor people from serfdom”. Ultimately on April 29, 1892, on the day of the investiture of the new Raja Churachand Singh chosen by the British, Major Maxwell announced

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the abolition of slavery that all persons at present in slavery to private individual shall cease to be slaves in five years from the April 29, 1892, or any previous date or repayment of the purchase money. Though slavery was abolished, it continued to exist in the rural areas throughout the period of British paramouncty in the state (1891-1847).

Lallup was also another social function abolished by the British. Lallup as mentioned earlier was feudal service rendered by the adult subjects to the King for ten days out of every forty days. Lallup was originally an organization which gradually was called upon to play a role, in the economic life of the country. Thus in the 19th century, lallup had become a socio-political and economic organization. Sir Johnstone observed that lallup extended to every class in the community. However women were exempted from the lallup service. After the British conquest of Manipur, the Political Agent condemned this system and abolished it on April 29, 1892. And in lieu of lallup, a uniform tax of Rs.2/- per house was imposed. The civil and criminal cases were decided that in the village court. An appeal might be made to the Superintendent and Political Agent and ultimately to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Instead of establishing a rural police force, a chowkidar was appointed to look after the security problems of every one hundred houses. A sum of Rs 2/- per month, half pari of rent-free land and 12 pots of paddy collected from the villages were given to a chowkidar in the form of salary.

Administration after The British

On August 15, 1947, India became free from the parmouncy of the British crown over the native states also came to an end. After 50 years, the Maharaja of Manipur got an absolute power over the administration. Later on, in November 1947, the leftists groups of Manipur State Congress launched an agitation for the establishment, of a
responsible government in the State. They started non-cooperation movement and picketing in the government offices. Seeing the gravity of the political atmosphere, it was bound to form a constitution-making committee. Accordingly an interim government was established, composed of elected representatives of the people, M. K. Priyobatra, the younger brother of Maharaja Bodhachandra, was made the first Chief Minister. Thus one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of Manipur was created. Consequently, Manipur was merged into the Indian Union in October 1949. Thereafter the State was put under the administration of a Chief Commissioner, abolishing the post of Dominion Agent; as a result the state was converted to Part ‘C’ State.

In 1955 Manipur pushed forward her case for the grant of statehood to the States Reorganization Commission, which was turned down on the grounds of her small revenue and smaller population. The States Reorganization Act of 1956 accorded her the status of a centrally administered Union Territory, with a Chief Commissioner as the head of the administration to aid and advise the Chief Commissioner. The Manipur Territorial Councils was constituted in August 1957 under the provisions of the Territorial Councils Act, 1956, with thirty elected and two nominated members.

The Territorial Council had controlled a number of subjects transferred to it by the Central Government, which included public works, education, medical and health, agriculture, veterinary and local self-government (panchayats). It raised its funds by levying taxes on professions, trades and employment and on bridges constructed and maintained by the Council along with central subsidy and help. The Territorial Council was replaced by Legislative Assembly in 1962 under the provisions of the Union Territories Amendment Act, 1962. It had 30 elected and three nominated members. It was constituted in 1962 and again in 1967, after the general elections. The administration of the territory devolved on the Chief Minister and his Councils of Ministers, who were
responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The last Assembly of this Union Territory along with the Council of Ministers was dissolved in October 1969, on account of a political deadlock, and the President’s Rule was imposed. The Territorial Legislative Assembly had lesser powers in the field of legislation in comparison to its counterparts in other states. Still looking at the size of their population, area and the stage of politico-economic development, people did not take much interest in the upgradation of the political status of Manipur. In 1970 Manipur became the scene of mass demonstrations, strikes and civil disobedience movements, under the aegis of all party statehood demand committee to press the demand of the statehood. In September 1970 the Government of India accepted in principle to confer statehood to Manipur along with Tripura and Meghalaya. January 21, 1972 was an epoch-making event in the political history of Manipur. On this day Manipur emerged in the political map of India as a full-fledged State. Thus the political aspiration of the people of Manipur was finally fulfilled. Then, Manipur has become a full-fledged State, after it was formally announced by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

**Pattern of Administrative Division**

Manipur had been traditionally a single district state with fluctuating number of subdivisions. In 1919 the hill area of the state was divided into four sub-divisions, one with headquarters at Imphal and three in the hills viz, the southwest area inhabited by the Kukis with headquarters at Churachandpur, the western part peopled by the Kabui and Kacha Nagas with headquarters at Tamenglong and the northeast area inhabited by the Tangkhul Nagas with headquarters at Ukhrul. This arrangement continued till January 1930, when a rearrangement of the administration of the hill areas was attempted. The sub-divisions constituted in 1919, along with their headquarter were abolished and the entire area of the Manipur hills was placed immediately under the President of the Manipur State Durbar, with two sub-divisional officers to assist him, one being in charge of the south and the other of the north.
In 1949 when Manipur became a Chief Commissioner’s Province, the entire Province was treated as a single district and placed under the charge of a Deputy Commissioner, who would be responsible for the revenue and executive administration. On February 11, 1950 Treasury Office of Imphal Branch was re-opened again after it ceased functioning in June 1948. All the transactions of the government departments were dealt by the treasury.

The Deputy Commissioner was also the district magistrate of the Manipur district. He should have all the powers of district magistrate also. The single district Manipur was further sub-divided into areas to be called sub-divisions as listed below:

c
a) Imphal sub-division
b) Bishenpur sub-division
c) Thoubal sub-division
d) Sadar sub-division
e) Ukhrul sub-division
f) Churachandpur sub-division
g) Tamenglong sub-division
h) Mao sub-division
i) Tengnoupal sub-division
j) Jiribam sub-division.

In the case of hills, there were three hill circles namely, Mao hill circle, Tengnoupal hill circle and Sadar hill circle. Further Manipur was divided into five districts each of which was again sub-divided into a number of subdivisions. They are Manipur Central District, Manipur North District, Manipur West District, Manipur South District and Manipur East District. The purpose of dividing into smaller administrative units was to make the thin wedges of administration reach every nook and corner of the state.
During 1958-59 the administrative units were reorganized for administrative convenience and greater decentralization of the governmental machinery. These units included six hill sub-divisions and four valley subdivisions. The hill sub-divisions were Tamenglong, Churchandpur, Ukhrul, Jiribam, Mao and Sadar Hills and Tegnoupal. The valley sub-divisions were the former tehsils, viz., Thoubal, Bishenpur, Imphal-East and Imphal-West. Each sub-division was placed under a sub-divisional officer, while the district administration at Imphal was put under a deputy commissioner, assisted by an additional district magistrate. The district administration was headed by the deputy commissioners while the administrative units had been placed under the charge of the sub-divisional officers. Earlier there were many areas in the hills districts which were untouched by the laws of the state government.

With a view to introducing a more efficient system of administration and for administrative convenience the Chief Commissioner ordered the creation of five revenue districts – Manipur-North, Manipur-West, Manipur-Central, Manipur-South and Manipur-East. Manipur-North district has been further divided into two Autonomous Districts namely Manipur-North Autonomous District and Sadar Hills Autonomous District. Manipur-Central district has been further divided to carve out the Tegnoupal district. The district covering hill areas have autonomous status. Thus in all, there are seven districts, six of which are autonomous districts. Each district is under a charge of a deputy commissioner. In each of the autonomous hills district, there is a district council consisting of 18 elected representatives of the people to care for the development work. The districts are further divided into sub-divisions. At present, there are 38 sub-divisions. For economic development the state is divided into development blocks. In the plain

land the blocks are called community development blocks whereas in the hills they are known as hill development blocks. The central district was trifurcated into three districts in 1983. They are Imphal, Thoubal and Bishenpur. Imphal district is again bifurcated into Imphal-East and Imphal-West in 1988-89. Thus at present there are nine districts in Manipur. The reorganized administrative set-up of the state with more popular participation in the process of administration has improved the standards of living of the people, accelerated their march towards economic prosperity and has brought the administration to their doorsteps.

Governmental control varies widely from place to place. Many areas in the hill districts have been untouched by the laws and regulations of the earlier state government. The distribution of population, the diverse relief, climate and vegetation and the lack of transportation facilities present major obstacles for integration and effective administrative control over the hill tribes living in the remote forest. The hill tribes living in the autonomous hill districts have been given a free hand to develop their land without any interference from outside. The land and property in the hills can be owned only by the Scheduled Tribes. The political behaviour of the Naga tribes living in the northern hill districts of Manipur East, Manipur North and Manipur West has been greatly influenced by the pattern of politics found in the neighbouring State mainly Nagaland. The Kukis, Mizos, Hmars and other tribes of the same ethnic stock bear the same political imprints of Mizoram politics.

As a whole, Manipur presents a well-knit, integrated and compact unit of modern India largely because of the democratic institutions, which made universal participation in the administration possible.
The following table shows the positions of district administrative units in 2002-03.

**Manipur Administrative Divisions**

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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Name of Sub-Division</th>
<th>Head Quarter</th>
<th>Areas in sq.km.</th>
<th>Population</th>
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**Imphal districts.** It was formed by bifurcating the original and central district of Manipur in 1983 to create three more districts of the valley. This district has three sub-divisions-Imphal East, Imphal West and Jiribam. The first two sub-divisions are situated in the central area of the valley and is bounded in the south by Thoubal district, in the south-west by Bishnupur district, in the north by Senapati district and in the West by Tamenlong district and north-east and east by Ukhrul district. The remaining sub-division of Imphal district in Jiribam, situated in the western part of Manipur.
It is bounded in the south and south-east by Churachandpur district, north and north-east by Tamenglong district and in the north-west and west with the state of Assam. The area of Imphal West district is 519 sq.km and its total population is 4,39,532. Out of this 2,18,947 are males and 2,20,585 are females. The density of population is 847 persons per sq.km. There are nine police stations in 2001-02 and three outposts. Total literacy is 2,35,949. Out of this number of male literates are 1,38,300 and number of female literates are 97,649. The total literacy percentage is 73.01 percent.

The total area of Imphal East is 709 sq.km and its total population is 3,93,780. Out of this 1,97,710 are males and 1,96,070 are females. The density of population is 555 per sq.km. There are four police stations and one outpost by 2001-02. The number of total literate persons is 1,85,776. Out of this 1,12,068 are male literate and 73,708 are females. Total literacy percentage is 68.05 percent.

The available minerals of this district are cromite, base-metal, nickel, etc. This district has sugar mill, rice mill, oil mill, saw mill, bee keeping farm, etc. It has several motorable roads viz., Imphal-Dimapur (134 miles distance), Imphal-Mao (68 miles distance), Imphal-Kangpokpi (28 miles distance), Imphal-Motbung (17 miles distance), Imphal-Ukhrul (44 miles distance), Imphal-Pukhao (13 miles distance), etc. There are several rivers in this district, Imphal river is a long one which flows through Imphal East and Imphal West sub-divisions and then run towards Thoubal district. Leimakhong river of this district joins the Imphal river. Iril river passes through Imphal East sub-division before joining the Imphal river.

Thoubal district. This district is bounded on the north by Imphal East sub-division and on the north west by Imphal West sub-division, western side by Bishnupur district, south-west by Churachandpur district, south-east by Chandel district and north east by
Ukhrul district. The district headquarter is in Thoubal town. It is situated in the northern part of this district. The area of this district is 514 sq. km and total population is 3,66,341 persons with a density of 713 persons per sq.km. Out of this population 1,83,338 are males and 1,83,003 are females.

There are two sub-divisions of this district. They are Thoubal and Kakching. Important places are Thoubal, Karam, Maibam, Sikkong, Mantak, Kakching, Tangjena etc. The Thadou, Kabui, Hmar and Meiteis are the inhabitants of this district. Thoubal district has six police stations and two outposts by 2001-02.

Bishnupur district. This district was a part of the original central district of Manipur. In 1983 along with two other districts (i.e. Imphal and Thoubal districts) was formed. It is bounded in the north and north-east by Imphal West sub-division, north west by Tamanlong district, south and south-west by Churachandpur district, South East by Thoubal district. It is the home of the Meiteis Loi, Yaithibi caste people. It is also inhabited by Kabui, Kacha Naga, Kom, Paitie, Tangkhul and Thadou Tribes. Bishnupur town is the headquarter of this district which is situated in the north western part. The area of this district is 496 sq.km and total population is 2,05,907 person with a density of 415 persons per sq.km by 2001 census. Out of this 1,02,772 are males and 1,03,135 are females. The literate population is 82,063 of the total population. Out of the total literate persons 51,525 are males and 30,538 are females. The total literacy percentage is 54.94 percent. This district has two sub-divisions: Bishnupur and Moirang. There are five police stations and 4 out posts in 2001-02. We may call this as an “Agricultural District”. The main agricultural products of this district are rice, maize, wheat. The soil of this

district is comparatively fertile. Cultivation of paddy is practised with plough in this
district. Important places are – Bishenpur, Phubala, Sendra, Moirang, Keibul Lamjao,
Loktak etc. Bishenpur town 27 km from Imphal West sub-division. It is situated at the
foothills, gently rolling down to valley. Bishenpur town is 27 kms. from Imphal West
sub-division.

**Senapati district.** It was earlier known as Manipur north district. In 1983, it was
renamed as Senapati. It is bounded in the north by Nagaland State, west by Tamenglong
district, south by Imphal West and Imphal East sub-divisions and in the east by Ukhrul
district. The area of this district is 3,271 sq.km. The total population is 3,79,214 person.
Out of which 1,96,646 are males and 1,82,568 are females. The density of population is
116 persons per sq.km. This district has six sub-divisions: Mao-Maram, Sadar Hills
West, Sadar Hills East, Purul, Saitu Gamphazol and Paomata. The literate in this district
numbers 81,047 persons, out of which 50,404 are males and 30,643 are females. The
percentage of literacy is 46.04 percent (64.26 male, 36.13 female). There are six police
stations and two outposts in 2001-02. The blocks of this district are: Mao-Maram,
Kangpokpi (Sadar hills west), Saikul (Sadar hills east) and Paomata. Mt.Easo (9824 feet)
is situated in the north of this district. Important town is Mao which is situated midway
between Dimapur (Nagaland) and Imphal.

**Tamenglong district.** It was known as Manipur west district. It is bounded in the
north by Nagaland State, east and north-east by Senapati district, south by Churachandpur
district, south-west by Jiribam sub-division of Imphal district and west by Cachar district
of Assam. The area of this district is 4,391 sq.km and its population is 1,11493 out of
which 57,994 are males and 53,499 are females. The density of population is 25 person
per sq.km. Literate population of this district consists of 36,039 person out of which
22,289 are males and 13,750 are females. Percentage of literacy is 50.16%.\footnote{Ibid., p.10} There are four sub-divisions: \textit{Nungba}, \textit{Tamenglong West}, \textit{Tamenglong} and \textit{Tamenglong north}. There are four blocks: \textit{Tamenglong}, \textit{Nungba}, \textit{Taosem (Tamenglong West)} and \textit{Tamei (Tamenglong North)}. The \textit{Kabui, Kacha-Naga and Thadou} are the main tribes residing in this district. The important places are \textit{ongmei, Tamenglong, Harup, Khebuching, Nungba, Longpi and Longlong}. There are six police stations in this district and no outpost.

\textbf{Chandel district.} It was earlier known as \textit{Tengnoupal} district. In 1983, it was renamed as \textit{Chandel} district, bounded in the north by \textit{Ukhrul} district, north-west by \textit{Thoubal} district, west by \textit{Churachandpur} district, south and east by Myanmar. The area of this district is 3,313 and total population is 1,22,714 out of which 61,778 are males and 60,936 females. The density of population is 37 per sq.km. The number of literate persons is 27,711 (male = 17,920 and female = 9,719). Percentage of literacy is 46.68%. There are five police stations and one out-post. This district has 3 sub-divisions: \textit{Chandel, Tengnoupal} and \textit{Chakpikarong}. There are 3 blocks viz., \textit{Chandel, Tengoupal} and \textit{Chakpikarong}. Indo-Burma Road runs from Imphal to Moreh on the border of India with Myanmar. The \textit{Lamang, Maring and Thadou} mainly resides in this district. Important places are \textit{Moreh, Palel, Khangang, Darchim, Larong} etc.

\textbf{Churachandpur district.} It was known in the past as South District. In 1983, it was renamed as Churachandpur district. It is bordered in the north with Tamenglong district, north-west with Jiribam sub-division of Imphal District and Assam State, south-west with Mizoram State and south with Mizoram and Myanmar, is with Chandel district and Thoubal district and north east with Bishnupur district. The area of this district is 4,570 sq.km and its population is 2,28,707. Out of 1,14,740 are males and 1,13,967 are females. The density of population is 50 persons per sq.km. The literate population
consists of 85,355 persons. Out of which 50,597 are males and 34,758 females. The percentage of literacy is 58.17%. This district has 5 sub-divisions: Tipaimukh, Churachandpur, Churachandpur North, Singhat, Thanlon. The Hmar, Paite, Thadou are the main tribes residing in this district. Important places are Churachandpur, Thonlon, Hengstam, Mata, Kangwai etc. There are five police stations in Churachandpur district by 2001-02 but there is no police outpost.

**Ukhrul district.** It was earlier known as Manipur East district. In 1983, it was renamed as Ukhrul district. It is bounded in the north by Nagaland State, west by Senapati district, south by Chandel district, east by Burma, south west by Imphal East sub-division and Thoubal district. Ukhrul district is a hilly district located in the eastern part of the state. The area of Ukhrul district is 4,544 sq.km. Total population of this district is 1,40,946 persons of which 73,413 are males and 67,533 are females. The density of population is 31 per sq.km. The literate persons total is 56,391. Out of this 34,724 are males and 21,667 females. The percentage of literacy is 62.54%. Total police stations in this district are nine and no outpost. This district has five sub-divisions: Ukhrul Central, Ukhrul North, Ukhrul South, Kamjong Chassad, and Phungyar. It has five blocks: Ukhrul, Chingai (Ukhrul North), Kasom Kullen (Ukhrul South), Kamjom Chassad and Phungyar Phaisat. This district is inhabited by Thadou, Kuki, Thangkul and Paite tribes. Mt.Senai (8427 feet) is situated almost in the middle of the district. Koch(9843 feet) is situated in the eastern part of this district. Important places are: Ukhrul, Tolloi, Somdal, Litan etc. Ukhrul is 83 km far from Imphal East sub-division. It is situated at 1900 m above the sea level.

Thus, Manipur on the whole, presents a compact administrative organisation. However, we are hesitant to freely comment on the issue of administrative efficacy. Manipur has a long way to go as far as development administration is concerned.