

*Special Edition*

3 Parts  
in  
one  
Volume

# A History of Modern Manipur 1826-2000

(A Study of Feudalism, Colonialism  
and Democracy)



Gangmumei Kamei

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This historical treatise entitled "A History of Modern Manipur 1826-2000 (A Study of Feudalism, Colonialism and Democracy)" deals with three themes of modern history of Manipur. This is a continuation of Professor Gangmumei Kamei's earlier classic, "A History of Manipur: Pre-Colonial Period". The Volume I of this work deals with the Feudal Era (1826-1891). The Feudal Era covers concurrently with the last century of Manipur's independence and beginning of the modern period. The Feudal Era covers the reigns of Maharaja Gambhir Singh, Maharaja Nara Singh, Maharaja Chandrakirti Singh and his successors till the outbreak of the Anglo-Manipur War and consequent British conquest of Manipur in 1891. This volume deals with the feudal polity of Manipur.

Vol. 2 deals with the Colonial Rule in Manipur 1891-1947. The period covers the introduction of direct British Rule from 1891-1907 and the reign of Maharaja Churachand Singh 1891-1941. This volume deals with the stages and phases of British Colonial Rule and people's response to the foreign rule. There were anti-British movements like the famous First and Second Women's War, the outbreak of Kuki Rebellion and the Naga Raj movement of Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu.

Vol. 3 deals with the Post-Colonial Period of emerging democracy in Manipur. This volume deals with the genesis of democracy and the experiment in constitutional monarchy. The working of the constitutional monarchy under Maharaja Bodhchandra, with Maharajkumar Priya Brata Singh as a Chief Minister has been elaborately dealt with. The author makes an appraisal of the democratic rule in Manipur under the chapter, Democracy in Practice 1972-2000. The Administration of the hill tribes of Manipur has been dealt with. There is a chapter on Social Change in Manipur which is a comprehensive write up on the subject. The three volumes provide a comprehensive history of modern Manipur.



**Gangmumei Kamei** is a historian and a writer. He was a Professor of History in Manipur University. He was awarded Platinum Jubilee Samman 2010 by the Manipuri Sahitya Parishad for his lifelong contribution to Manipur history and tribal culture. He was also awarded a National Fellowship by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla (2010-2012). He was also a Minister in the Government of Manipur. He has written extensively on history and culture of Manipur including Northeast India and indigenous communities of the region. A social and political activist, a public academician, he gracefully combines in himself the dual role of a scholar and an activist.

He has published a large number of research papers and books. Among his publications mention may be made of the following. *A History of Manipur: Pre-Colonial Period, On History and Historiography of Manipur, History of Zeliangrong Nagas: From Makhel to Rani Gaidinliu, Ethnicity and Social Change (An Anthology of Essays), Essays on Primordial Religion, Anal: A Trans Border Tribe of Manipur, The Socio-economic life of the Koireng, Jadonang: A Mystic Naga Rebel, Lectures on History of Manipur, The Rise of Middle Classes In Manipur, Ithai Barrage: Boon or Scourge for Manipur?, H.K Barpujari Endowment Lecture on Tribalism to Feudalism in Ancient Manipur (NEIHA, 2010, Shillong), Maharajkumar Priya Brata Singh in History (The Maharajkumar P.B. Singh Memorial Lecture, Imphal, 2013).*

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*PART I*

**THE FEUDAL ERA (1826-1891)**

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## CHAPTER ONE

# The Beginnings of Modern Period

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History deals with men and events in time and space. History is a process of continuing events; Manipur had passed through the prehistoric, ancient and medieval periods of her long history. The present work deals with the modern period of history of Manipur. When did the modern period start? What are the themes of modernity in history? A political event affecting the future of a country including its social, economic, technological and intellectual lives of the people usually marks the beginning of modern period. The political process, the economic, technological and cultural elements play the dominant role in the life of a modern society. The contact with an European power, either a military or political and trade relation was the usual criteria of the beginning of the modern period in the Asian countries: the First Anglo-Burmese War and the Treaty of Yandabo which concluded it in 1826 was for Burma, The Opium War (1839) was for China and the American Commodore Perry's Expedition (1854) was for Japan.

In India, the Treaty of Yandabo heralded the British conquest of Lower Burma and North East India. The Ahom kingdom of Assam, the Dimasa principality of Cachar and the Synteng principality of Jaintia which were under the political control of the imperial Konbaung dynasty of Burma were ceded to the British. The kingdom of Manipur under once illustrious but weary Ningthouja dynasty regained her independence. The Burma districts, Arakan, Tenasserim, Martaban, Yeh, Tavoy were annexed to the British India. In larger historical perspective, the Treaty of Yandabo marked the beginning of modern period for the North East India, including Manipur, like the Battle of Plassey (1757) which had started the modern period in Indian history.

The modern period in the history of Manipur was characterized by the three dominant themes, feudalism, colonialism including capitalism and democracy. The declining years of independent Manipur were the feudal period (1826-1891). The political and social function of the kingdom had the elements or tendencies of feudalism. It was followed by the era of colonial rule after the British conquest when she was regranted to a status of a native state under the British paramountcy. It lasted more than half a century (1891-1947). Four days before the British departure,

Manipur acceded to the Dominion of India. After the British departure in 1947, Manipur was constituted into a constitutional monarchy under a written constitution, promulgated by the king of Manipur. Ultimately, the state of Manipur was merged with the newly independent Dominion of India in 1949. After the controversial merger with India, Manipur became a part 'C' State, then a Union Territory (1957) and a full fledged state under the Indian Republic. The post colonial period could be characterized as democratic Manipur since 1947.

The First Anglo-Burmese War and the changes brought about by it led to the initial modernization of Manipur. It marked the beginning of the modern period. The kingdom of Manipur whose independence was recognized by the Treaty of Yandabo, in effect, became a buffer state between British India and the kingdom of Ava. Manipur benefited out of her de facto buffer state status throughout the nineteenth century. The British Political Agency, established in 1835, acted as the ambassadorial channel of communication to maintain a friendly relation between Manipur and the British India. The Political Agents looked after the British interest. They dealt with boundary affairs with Burma. They supported the ruling dynasty with an extended political and military support to Manipur which also rendered military help to them. The Anglo-Manipur relation was guided by a diplomatic treaty, known as the Anglo-Manipur Agreement of 1833. This de facto buffer state status continued till the conquest of upper Burma during the Third Burmese war in 1885. Burma was annexed into the British Indian Empire. She became a province of the empire. Manipur was surrounded by the British territories. And stability, peace and prosperity were maintained.

The Burmese wars also led to facilitating the contact between the people of Manipur with that of north east India and mainland British India in trade, social and religious activities. Manipur's contact with British India and Burma for three quarters of a century broadened the mental outlook of the people. Foreign trade became a great activity of contact.

The war brought the European technology supplied by the East India Company. The Manipur Levy which was converted to a standing army was armed, financed and officered by the British was the organization through which the British arms were supplied. After the Levy was abolished, Manipur purchased arms and ammunition from the British. The presence of a strong military establishment enabled Manipur to defend her borders, maintain peace in the kingdom and subjugate the hill tribes, the Nagas and Kukis. It was the gun of the British which kept the hill tribes on hold throughout the nineteenth century.

The military technology was followed by the civil technology, for the construction of roads, bridges and buildings. European tools and equipment were brought by the British engineers and officers, wall clock to keep time, telescope, binocular,

thermometer, barometer and other survey equipments. They also brought iron wire rope to modernize suspension bridges over hill rivers earlier made of indigenous cane rope. They also introduced the postal system and later on, the telegraphy.

Manipur was essentially an agrarian country. Her industries were confined to cottage industries mostly textiles. So industries were home made. However, through foreign trade, the foreign goods, tools and equipment were introduced. The imports to the country included, according to official reports of 1873-74, among others, "the American cloth, satin, steel utensils, carpets, brass and copper products, paper, soap, iron-pan, iron nails, umbrella, looking glass, iron dao (bill hook), knife, padlock, saw, hammer and needle".

The kings and the members of the nobility encouraged the innovative industries. King Chandrakirti Singh experimented in metallurgy, glass blowing, gun making and leather manufacturing. Though, currency was issued by the government it was not standardized. Monetization was not in a large scale; of course it existed. There was more a barter economy. Along with foreign trade, imposition of taxes on exports and imports, and monetization gradually became important in the last years of the kingdom. We may agree with historian R.K. Jhalajit Singh when he observed, "the process of modernization began in the reign of Gambhir Singh"<sup>1</sup>, so also the modern period of Manipur's history.

### **Burmese Imperialism in North East India**

Burma was a rising power under king Bawdawpaya (1782-1819). He was the fourth son of the great Alaungpaya the founder of the Konbaung dynasty which was also called the Third Burmese Empire in history (1755-1885). A Burmese historian, Maung Htin Aung<sup>2</sup> described him "an eccentric and unpredictable figure, but he was no fool. He ultimately grew into a despot and a tyrant, but he had the full support and the affection of the people"; because they wanted peace and stability. His reign which was the zenith of the Konbaung dynasty coincided with great changes in the United States of America, the French revolution and Napoleonic rule in Europe and the colonial expansion in the south east Asia. The British imperialism was marching across the Indian sub-continent. His contemporaries were the great empire builders like Cornwallis, John Shore, Hastings and Wellesley. Against them stood, the Burmese imperialism, based on a spirited national chauvinism under Bawdawpaya. His contemporary in Manipur was the great king Bhagyachandra and his quarrelling sons whose fratricidal conflict attracted the attention of Bawdawpaya. The Ahom rulers of Assam who sought his intervention were Gaurinath, Purandar and Chandrakanta. Yet, he knew clearly that the clash with the British was imminent. The war between Burma and British East India Company occurred after his death during the reign of his grandson king Bagyidaw (1819-1837).



Bawdawpaya was a conqueror. He conquered Arakan bordering British Bengal. Arakan was an independent country which maintained trade and religious contact with Burma and Bengal. During the civil war among the sons of Shahjahan, the Mughal emperor who was imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb, Prince Shuja took shelter in Arakan. Therefore, Arakan had played a role in Burma-Bengal relation.<sup>3</sup> The conquest greatly encouraged the nationalist feelings of the Burmese. But the Burmese rule in Arakan became oppressive and soon the Arakanese turned against the conqueror. They treated the king of Arakan cruelly; they forcibly sent the Arakanese for the invasion of Siam. The Burmese army took away a statue of emerald Buddha to Amarpura.

Bawdawpaya invaded Siam repeatedly in 1785, 1787 and 1791 but he could not conquer Siam. He could check the Mon refugees and Siamese army. There was resentment among the Arakanese. He resumed the trade relation with China; exchanged missions with Ceylon. He sent religious missions to repair the Buddhist holy places in India. Diplomatic missions led by Michael Symes were sent to Burma in 1795, followed by that of Hiram Cox. Bawdawpaya had always entertained a mistrust of the British. He knew the clash of the interests of the Burmese and the British on the issue of north-eastern states: Assam, Manipur and Cachar. Gradually, Bawdawpaya became more and more interested in the affairs of the north-eastern India.

During the reign of King Chourjit Singh (1803-1813) in Manipur, there was a contest between the king and his half-brother, Marjit Singh for the throne. Chourjit Singh was capable and generous ruler. Marjit Singh, an ambitious prince rebelled several times but he was defeated. He fled to Cachar and approached the Cachari king, Raja Krishna Chandra for military help for the throne of Manipur. Being refused help, Marjit Singh proceeded to Ava and requested king Bawdawpaya for help. The Burmese declined to intervene in this quarrel between the two brothers. He advised Marjit Singh to reconcile. However, he granted asylum to Marjit Singh who spent nearly six years in the luxuries of the royal court of Ava. Marjit Singh got the friendship and political assistance from a grandson of Bawdawpaya, the future Bagyidaw. On the repeated requests from Marjit Singh, Bawdawpaya, summoned the two brothers, King Chourjit Singh and Prince Marjit Singh to be present at Ava court for reconciliation. A self-respecting king, as Chourjit Singh was, declined to come to Ava. Taking advantage of the situation Bawdawpaya was manipulated to order an expedition against Manipur and proclaim Marjit Singh as the king of Manipur.

Marjit Singh verbally agreed to cede the valuable Kabaw Valley to Burma; he also promised to accept the Burmese suzerainty. Manipur king Chourjit Singh was defeated and he fled to Cachar for shelter. From 1813 to 1819, Marjit Singh ruled Manipur. Maung Htin Aung argued that he was a tributary king. And that in the

reign of previous rulers, Manipur was a protectorate under Burma since Alaungpaya's time.<sup>4</sup> This claim was not justified. True, Alaungpaya and his successors invaded and devastated Manipur. But King Bhagyachandra Singh of Manipur never surrendered to the invaders. He waged a war of liberation against Burma. He liberated Manipur; he had a rule of two decades. During his flight from the capital of Manipur, a rebel chief of Moirang accepted the suzerainty of the Burmese. Bhagyachandra's sons, prince Labanyachandra and prince Modhuchandra were kept as hostages. They were released later on. The Burmese did not administer Manipur; they could not levy taxes. After their withdrawal Manipur remained independent. One or two stockades were kept by the Burmese in Kabaw Valley. For all practical purposes, under Bhagyachandra, Manipur was a free country. After his death his three sons ruled one after another up to 1813.

Meanwhile in Assam, there were disputes and quarrels among the Ahom princes who were the pretenders to the Ahom throne. The Ahom monarchy and administration was greatly weakened by the religious conflict known as the Mayamaria rebellion. Rival princes sought the help of Bawdawpaya for their restoration to the throne of Assam. The two pretenders were Chandrakanta Singh and Purandar Singh. Chandrakanta Singh unfortunately played one against another between British East India Company government and Burma. Purandar Singh was also helpless and took shelter in the British territory. Chandrakanta Singh was given military help by the Burmese who marched in Assam in large number. Chandrakanta Singh was put on the throne. He developed cold feet and did not like close association with Burma. He conspired with the British and tried to raise a force for himself. The Burmese did not like this, and ultimately Assam was conquered by Burmese and kept under Tilwa. Maha Bandula, the great general came to Assam to help Tilwa. Assam came under the rule of Burma during Bawdawpaya's reign.

Cachar was an independent kingdom under its ruler Raja Krishna Chandra. He died in 1813 and was succeeded by his younger brother Raja Govind Chandra. He was a contemporary of Marjit Singh and his ousted brothers, Chourajit Singh, Gambhir Singh and uterine brother Bishwanath. The weak rule of Govind Chandra attracted covetous eyes from the jealous and conspiring princes of Manipur who dominated Cachar till the British declaration of the protectorate over Cachar kingdom in 1823. Jaintia kingdom was under Raja Ram Singh who was also in a very weakened state.

Manipur had a peaceful and stable government under Marjit Singh. There was trade between Manipur and Burma. Marjit Singh developed a desire to conquer Cachar kingdom. He failed in his endeavour. He started encouraging his people to cut teak timber from Kabaw Valley. He constructed a royal gilded house for himself. The Burmese rebuked him for these. In 1819, Bawdawpaya died and was succeeded by his grandson Bagyidaw who was a staunch supporter of Marjit Singh while he

was taking an asylum in Ava's court. He was unhappy at the intransigent behavior of Manipur king and asked him to attend his coronation at Ava. Marjit refused; and Bagyidaw was annoyed and regarded Marjit Singh's absence as the declaration of independence of Manipur. Bagyidaw ordered an expedition to Manipur, with one hundred thousand army under the command of the great general Maha Bandula. Marjit fled to Cachar and Manipur was conquered by Burma in 1819.

### **Political Instability in Manipur**

The Burmese imperialism coincided with the political instability and declining fortune of Manipur. The unfortunate abdication of the throne of Manipur by the illustrious king Bhagyachandra Singh (1759-1798) was followed by a period of darkness. The king was a great soldier and conqueror. He fought against the Burmese invaders, ranging from Alaungpaya to Bawdawpaya. He liberated Manipur from the repeated Burmese invasions and maintained her independence. Both Chronicles of Manipur and Burma record that Burma invaded Manipur four times, followed by devastations of the country and oppression of the people. The devastations and consequent sufferings were known, according to R.B. Pemberton who fought against the Burmese during the First Anglo Burmese war as the "Khuntak Hanba", the first devastation of the Burmese.<sup>5</sup> He was a statesman and a nation builder who established treaty relation with the British East India Company. He sought and received the assistance of the Ahom army under king Swargadeo of Assam to liberate Manipur. He was a great Vaisnavite Hindu king who devoted his life for the spread of Vaisnavism. Through a vision in a dream, he constructed the image of Lord Govinda, and dedicated a temple in His honour. He composed the world famous dance form known as the Manipuri Ras Leela whose theme was Hindu and the form was the Meitei. He was so devoted to Lord Govinda that he dedicated his kingdom to Shri Govindaji and he administered the kingdom on His behalf. At the climax of his rule, he abdicated the throne and went on a pilgrimage to Bengal and passed way at Bhagvan Gola on the banks of the Ganges in Nabadwip in Bengal.<sup>6</sup>

### **Labanyachandra (1798-1800)**

Bhagyachandra had eight sons, his eldest son, Nabananda predeceased him; of the remaining sons, five became kings.<sup>7</sup> Four princes ascended the throne of Manipur before the Burmese conquest in 1819. The second son Labanyachandra was entrusted with the administration of the king when his father abdicated and went on in a pilgrimage. He ascended the throne. He was popularly known as the Ningthemhan, prince elder by the people. After his father's death at the age of 44, Labanyachandra shifted the capital from Langthabal to the ancient royal palace known as Kangla. Bhagyachandra during his long reign constructed several capitals at different places, Langthabal, Bishenpur and Jainagar. For unknown and unexplained reasons, he never occupied Kangla. He had temporary sojourn at a place called Konthoujam

Yumpham, near the Kangla which was the site of future Political Residency. The king was a capable and well meaning ruler. His rule was very short. He fell victim to the conspiracy hatched by one Khumbongmayum Nandalal. A queen of king Bhagyachandra who was the mother of prince Bishwanath and Gambhir Singh belonged to this family. The Khumbongmayum was a well off and powerful. Perhaps, they aspired that one of the princes born of the Khumbongmayum queen should become a successor to the throne. One day Labanyachandra was invited to an exhibition polo game, under mysterious circumstance; he was attacked during the game and wounded mortally.

In the melee, crown prince Modhuchandra Singh seized the throne in Kangla. Prince Gambhir Singh who was not involved but aware of the conspiracy was baffled and remained quiet in the political scene. Gambhir Singh, at this unexpected turn of events had to remain quiet waiting an opportunity in his career.

R.B. Pemberton wrote that from this period, the history of Muneepore presents an unvarying scene of disgusting treachery, between the numerous sons of Jai Singh (Bhagyachandra), who in their contest for supremacy, arrayed the unhappiness of the country in hostile warfare against each other, and inflicted miseries upon them, little if at all to those they had suffered at the hand of their common enemy, the Burmahs.

### **Modhuchandra Singh (1800-1803)**

Modhuchandra Singh ascended the throne at the age of 36. He ruled for three years only. Modhuchandra was aware of his weak position, both in royal court and in the country. His supporters were not numerous. The assassination of Labanyachandra created a feeling of distrust and treachery. They were aware of the role of the Khumbongmayum family who were the supporters of the youngest prince, Gambhir Singh and his elder brother Bishwanath (or Daoji). So the old minister of Manipur, Anantasai Khwairakpa tried to suppress the leaders of the Khumbongmayum. On the occasion of the filling of the pole holes of the new building of Kangla, the royal residence, Anantasai conspired to kill the two brothers of the family, Chandramani and Nandalal the maternal uncles of Gambhir Singh. After the elimination of the conspirators, Modhuchandra Singh appointed his brother, Chourjit Singh as the crown prince and Marjit Singh as the Senapati. Modhuchandra Singh was called Ningthem Yaima, prince middle or second prince. The appointments given to Chourjit and Marjit were not satisfactory to the two princes. Chourjit Singh was not happy in the way Modhuchandra became the king after the assassination of their oldest brother. Chourjit entertained an ambition for the throne.

Chourjit Singh on some pretext went to Nabadwip and returned to Manipur with a hundred supporters to capture the throne. Marjit Singh who was made both a crown prince (Yubaraj) and the Senapati (chief of army) proceeded to Sangaitel to

defend against the invaders. Meanwhile, Modhuchandra drove out the mother of Chourjit. She narrated the story to Marjit Singh and urged him to take side with his brother Chourjit Singh. So Marjit made an alliance with Chourjit Singh and marched against the king. Modhuchandra fled to Cachar. There he made an alliance with Krishna Chandra, the king of Cachar. He gave his daughter, Princess Indu Prabha Devi in marriage to Krishna Chandra. Modhuchandra stayed in Cachar in preparation for invasion of Manipur.

### **Chourjit Singh (1803-1813)**

The royal chronicle gives sufficient information for the reconstruction of the reign of Chourjit Singh who had a reign of ten years.<sup>8</sup> He was 27 years old when he captured the throne by driving out his elder brother, Modhuchandra Singh. He performed the coronation of his throne at the age of 28 years. His regnal name according to the royal chronicle was Phailok Wairang Pamheiba. As he was assisted by his half brother Marjit Singh, the Senapati Chourjit Singh appointed him as the crown prince and the chief of the army (Yubaraj and Senapati combined). According to a semi historical oral history,<sup>9</sup> there was an agreement made between the two brothers, each of them would rule for five years. Chourjit Singh would rule for five years and then he would be followed by that of Marjit. This information is not authentic.

Chourjit Singh was a very popular prince and well versed both in statecraft and cultural affairs of the kingdom of Manipur. He was not only handsome but a man of art and spiritualism. Like his father, he was devoted to religious affairs. He was devoted to art and dance forms and in the development of military tools. As a prince, he devised a double barrel musket, he produced sugar from the molasses, and composed a drum rhyme called Nabot.

He tried to stabilize the kingdom left behind by his father, Bhagyachandra Singh. He restored the writ of the state on the Shan villages in Kabaw Valley, the villages near Tammu, which had not paid tributes for more than forty years. He subjected the Moyon villages and bifurcated into five villages.

One notable achievement during his reign was the submission of eight Kabui Naga (Rongmei) villages to the king by offering tributes. The Naga villages were Toushang, Nungnang, Mongjorong (Khuncharong), Okoklong, Tamlok, Kambiron, Bolongdai and Khongsang.<sup>10</sup>

Chourjit Singh was a great builder of the royal offices and temples in the Kangla Fort. It is recorded that the brick dragons were constructed before the Uttara in the palace. Trees were planted in the palace and roadside of the market. He built an 84 pillar big Royal structure for his residence in the palace. This is called 'Chourasi Khamba' building (a building with 84 pillars). He organized a large number of cultural festivals and religious rituals to restore the capital to its former grandeur.

### **Invasion of Manipur by Modhuchandra**

Modhuchandra fled to Cachar after his defeat at the hands of the combined forces of Chourjit Singh and Marjit Singh. Modhuchandra reorganized his forces with the help of the Cachari ruler Krishna Chandra. He invaded Manipur. Chourjit Singh and Marjit Singh opposed the forces of Modhuchandra Singh at a place called Shamupan in south western part of the valley of Manipur. Modhuchandra Singh was defeated and killed in the battle. Modhuchandra's forces consisted of the Cachari soldiers under a military leader named Agya Khongnang and the Telugu soldiers under the command of Balaram of the Telanga army. The royal brothers killed 100 invaders and captured 600 as prisoners. The military equipments captured according to the chronicle were 2 cannons, made of bell metal and iron, 50 Ramjangis, 148 muskets, 100 swords and 100 shields. Chourjit Singh strengthened his position in the kingdom. Chourjit Singh established a number of new markets like Jai Nagar (Sangaithel), Koirengai, Kumbi and Mayang Khunou.

This success of Chourjit Singh aroused the jealousy of Marjit Singh who was too much in a hurry to succeed to the throne of Manipur. He started making a conspiracy against the king. Chourjit who was fully aware of this role of Marjit Singh had entertained a sympathetic attitude towards the rebel brother. Marjit fled to Burma with 273 followers. Chourjit Singh sent his representative to persuade him to return to Manipur. Marjit refused. He tried to mobilize his supporters to dislodge Chourjit. He failed and fled to Cachar to get help for the Cachari king Krishna Chandra. He developed quarrels with the king's brother, Govind Chandra over the possession of a handsome polo playing pony. Having failed to get assistance from the Cachari king, Marjit fled to Ava via the Arakanese frontier. The king of Burma was the great Bawdawpaya. Marjit Singh requested help from him to drive away Chourjit Singh. The Burmese king advised reconciliation with Chourjit Singh. Marjit Singh was given asylum at Ava court where he spent his years in the luxurious court of Ava. He developed a cordial friendship with the crown prince and the grandson of Bawdawpaya, the future king Bagyidaw. This prince sympathized with Marjit. He pleaded for Marjit to his grandfather Bawdawpaya.

Chourjit Singh's reign was fairly prosperous except for the challenges made by his brother. There was a caravan trade between Manipur and China perhaps through Yunan province. The chronicle records the arrival of the Chinese in Manipur perhaps for long distance trade.

In 1813, Marjit Singh invaded Manipur with a large force of army sent by Bawdawpaya. There was fighting between the Manipur force and Burma force at Heirok and Kakching. The battle of Heirok was successful and the battle of Kakching fought between Chourjit Singh and Marjit Singh for eleven days ended in the defeat of King Chourjit Singh. He fled to Cachar for political refuge under Krishna Chandra.

He took refuge in Jaintia under Raja Ram Singh II of the kingdom. He, of course suffered the fate of his elder brother, Modhuchandra Singh. History repeated itself in Manipur.

### **Marjit Singh (1813-1819)**

Marjit Singh was sponsored by the Burmese king to be the king of Manipur. He became a king at the age of 34. As noted elsewhere the Burmese king Bawdawpaya agreed to install Marjit on the throne of Manipur on two conditions: cession of Kabaw Valley to Burma and acceptance of the suzerainty of Burma. Marjit Singh ruled for six years with peace and prosperity. There was a prosperous trade between Manipur, Burma and Cachar. There was no fear of the Burmese invasion as Marjit Singh accepted the humiliating suzerainty of Burma against which his father fought so seriously and maintained the independence of his kingdom.

Bawdawpaya had now achieved the Burmese suzerainty over Assam and Cachar. He had been looking towards Cachar and Jaintia the conquest of which was necessary for an ultimate invasion of British India and Bengal. Marjit Singh also became ambitious again. He wanted to punish Cachar, particularly, the Cachari prince Govind Chandra who had become the king of Cachar. During his flight to Cachar, Govind Chandra insulted prince Marjit by a forcibly confiscating Marjit's beautiful polo pony. So on flimsy ground, Marjit Singh, without examining the consequences, invaded Cachar. Govind Chandra was a weak ruler but he was cruel and crafty. He invited the former king Chourjit Singh and his brother princes Gambhir Singh, Nara Singh and Bishwanath to help him fight Marjit Singh. Chourjit Singh was too glad to fight against Marjit. On hearing that Chourajit Singh and Gambhir Singh were on the side of Govind Chandra. Marjit Singh developed cold feet and his soldiers were not willing to fight. So Marjit Singh fled back to Manipur without fighting any battle. Marjit Singh conferred on himself a title of Mayang Ngamba (the conqueror of Cachar).

After the victory over Marjit Singh, Chourajit Singh was given some land for habitation by Raja Govind Chandra. He also encouraged Gambhir Singh (aligned to Nara Singh) to occupy the eastern Cachar. The Manipuri princes who had taken possession of the different parts of Cachar refused to vacate Cachar kingdom. And poor Govind Chandra fled to Sylhet for the British help. The East India Company refused to help. The Manipuri refugee princes had established a solid hold on Cachar.

Marjit Singh returned to Manipur. Meanwhile, he showed his true colour. He wanted to be the real ruler of Manipur. He constructed a gilded royal building. The royal chronicle, the Lost Kingdom records, "the Maharaja built another big house in the palace which was 18 feet high; there were seven compartments in it and the roof of which was made of wooden planks. All other houses within the palace compound,

that is the Kangla, bathrooms, durbar houses were roofed with wooden planks and these were gilded with gold and silver. Two tanks were dug within the palace compound where the brick steps were made and were gilded with gold. The brick wall surrounding the palace was completed this year". He encouraged his people to cut teak timber in Kabaw Valley. King Bawdawpaya rebuked him for this. But he was a sick king; so he could not take any action against Marjit Singh. He died in 1819 leaving his grandson Bagyidaw as his successor.

Bagyidaw was aware of the treachery of Marjit Singh and unhappiness of his grand father. At his coronation at Ava, Marjit Singh was summoned to be present with a symbolic tribute of rice. It was a crucial moment for Marjit Singh. To go or not to go; he knew the whole implications. He decided not to go on the pretext of the threat posed by his brothers to his throne. From the Burmese point of view, non attendance at the coronation ceremony of the Burmese king meant defiance and the declaration of independence by a tributary ruler. Bagyidaw was determined to punish Marjit Singh. He sent a force of one hundred thousand soldiers under the command of the great general, Maha Bandula. Marjit Singh resisted but was defeated, and he fled to Cachar. Marjit Singh with all royal symbols, insignia and the statue of Shri Govindaji, surrendered to his brother Chourjit Singh who forgave him. Manipur was thus conquered by Burma; the era of Burmese reign of terror was started in 1819.

## **The Seven Years Devastation (1819-1826)**

### ***The Burmese Reign of Terror***

The rise of the Burmese imperialism was a great historical phenomenon in the early nineteenth century. The conquest of Assam and Manipur was accompanied by a great wave of terror and devastation. Cachar after the invasion of Marjit Singh was usurped by the fugitive princes of Manipur, Chourajit Singh, Gambhir Singh and Marjit Singh making the rightful king, Govind Chandra a king without a kingdom. He sought the British help but was refused. Raja Ram Singh II of Jaintia, now in eastern Meghalaya was being greatly threatened by the Burmese conquest of the Brahmaputra valley in Assam. He also sought the British help and ultimately was given the British protection.

We describe below the reign of terror let loose on the people of Assam, Manipur and Cachar which caused an untold sorrow and suffering in terms of death, destruction and being taken prisoners. The royal chronicle did not give the details of the Burmese reign of terror except the stray references to the great expeditionary force of Burma under general Maha Bandula reaching an incredible number of one hundred thousand soldiers, the flight of large number of population to Cachar to escape from the Burmese rule and carrying away of 30,000 Manipuri prisoners. The royal chronicle also gives the spirited resistance movement organized by the gallant



and patriotic princes. But there are accounts of semi-historical oral traditions with great authenticity.

G.E. Harvey, a prominent historian of Burma in his classic, "A History of Burma, from the earliest times to the Declaration of the Anglo-Burmese War", gives the Burmese terror in Assam and Cachar, based on the accounts of Major John Butler and historian Sir E.A. Gait.<sup>11</sup>

### **In Cachar**

Harvey reproduced a report on the statement of a Muslim prisoner of war from the report of Ambassador Crawford. "I am a native of the village of Udarband in the country of Cachar. I have been a prisoner of war in Ava. I was seized at my native village about twenty months ago, by a party of Burmese belonging to the army...". The report continues, "About six thousand men, women and children were seized about the same time. We were all taken away from Cachar. We were treated with rigour. We were chained two and two, got very little food, were made to carry heavy loads on the march, women with infants at the breast, and who on that account could not carry loads, had the infants snatched from them, their heads chopped off before them, and these bodies thrown into the rivers. I have witnessed murders of this description twelve or thirteen times myself. Old and sick persons who could not carry bundles, were often killed by the Burmese soldiers and their loads which consisted of plunder were divided among other prisoners".

The oppressions of the Burmese known to the Assamese as Manar Upadrap were known to the Manipuris as Chahi Taret Khuntakpa (The Seven Years Devastation).

G.E. Harvey made further observations on the Burmese policy of atrocities on the conquered countries. "These oppressions were committed out of set policy, and the Burmese provided themselves on it saying that though at home they were a mild people, when invading foreign countries, they deliberately gave way to all these passions plundering and murdering with no control so that foreigners should learn not to provoke them. Naturally atrocities diminished after the Burmese had been sometime in a country and conditions became more settled but there was no knowing when they might not recur".

Harvey was aware of the Burmese mentality. He writes "Thus for years, the Burmese would march into Manipur whenever, the mood seized them, round up several thousand hapless people, and recreate the same terrible scenes as before". Other historians of Burma, A.R. Phayre, Maung Aung Htin and others avoided referring to the terror.

A historian of Manipur, R.K. Jhalajit Singh commented, "After the Burmese overran Manipur... the devastation of Manipur was going on in full swing. After a conflict of a little more than a century, Burma got a splendid opportunity to devastate

Manipur. The Manipuris were not a very numerous race. But they gave the Burmese much trouble in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half, the Burmese got temporary successes over the Manipuris by means of superior arms and numerical strength. But impossible was the task to subdue the Manipuris. Now the favourable time seemed to arrive. There was no Manipuri monarch to defend the people against the Burmese... in Manipur the activities of the Burmese were not merely oppression. It was an attempt to extirpate the Manipuri race, which they found it impossible to subdue".

R.K. Jhalajit Singh made a charge of ethnocide against the Burmese. R.B. Pemberton had clearly written on the ethnocide. He writes, "Manipur was doomed... the devastating visitation of the Burmese armies had nine or ten times swept the country from one extremity to the other with the apparent determination of extirpating a race whom they found it impossible permanently to subdue".<sup>12</sup>

Further, the folk memories of the people, the oral traditions and ballads have made the people ever to remember this terrible phase in their history. A folk historian, a scholar of great repute, N. Tombi Singh, writes with passion and sorrow thus, "Some thousands of the inhabitants were once again deported to Burma. Young men were carried away as war prisoners and thousands of innocent civilians were killed in the most inhuman manner by the Burmese. It is said that the big crowds of civilians consisting of women and children were forcibly pushed into the houses which did not have any ventilations. When the houses were full to the capacity, red chillies were burnt till the crowds died of suffocation."<sup>13</sup> W. Yumjao Singh, an archeologist historian records, "A small type of cane creepers was pierced through the palms of the war prisoners and were driven like cattle". The Burmese Reign of Terror could not destroy the Meitei nation. The hill tribes who inhabited on the trade routes from Ava to Manipur valley and to Cachar did not cooperate with Burmese. Nor the Burmese could oppress the tribes in their mountain homes.

The whole countryside was devastated; the villages were deserted. The paddy fields were left fallow; the valley was outgrown with long grasses. The population who were beyond the hold of the Burmese fled to the hills particularly the western hills and to Cachar. The population was decreased to 10,000 souls or 2000 families. Such a terrible visitation of destruction and death came rarely in the destiny of a nation. It was remarkable survival of the people to sustain their fight against the Burmese. The reign of terror was resisted by the patriotic courage and bravery of the young princes of Manipur.

### ***Resistance to the Burmese Rule***

After the flight of Marjit Singh from Manipur, Maha Bandula, the great commander of the Burmese army informed king Bagyidaw that the Burmese forces could control the whole north east India and defeat the British India. He left behind two Burmese

commanders in Manipur. One was Pakhan Woon, and the other was Kale Woon. Pakhan Woon was a higher ranking military officer, the other was perhaps the chief of Kale principality (Kale Woon=Chief of Kale in Kabaw Valley). In the later stage of the War, Pakhan Woon was promoted to be the Chief of the army to fight against Sir Archibald Cambell's invading army of Britain. Two thousand soldiers were left behind to administer Manipur on behalf of Ava. The Burmese appointed one Huidrom Shubol to be the tributary king of Manipur. This tributary chief was neither accepted nor supported by the people. The two Burmese commanders found it extremely difficult to procure supplies from the local population.

### *Herachandra*

At the time of the national crisis, a gallant and patriotic prince, named Herachandra appeared in the devastated field of Manipur. Herachandra was the son of former king Labanyachandra (1798-1800). The royal chronicle gives a very spirited account of the exploits of Herachandra. He was described as the Daku Ningthou (The Dacoit Chief), the leader of a small guerilla force. R.B. Pemberton, gives almost a contemporary account, "Herachandra, the son of Labanyachandra and a nephew of Marjit continued to annoy the Burmese garrison left in Munnipore who in vain attempted to capture him; he was secretly supported by his country men who admired his gallantry, and by keeping him acquainted with movement of the enemy, enabled him to cut off many of their small detachments".<sup>14</sup>

At the outbreak of the reign of terror, Herachandra was taking shelter in the hills at a Kuki village. He came down in Manipur valley. He was always known as Khongjai Ngamba, conqueror of the Kuki. Herachandra gathered from the population a band of guerilla soldiers. And he was prepared to start a war of resistance against the Burmese. He adopted guerilla warfare.

The Burmese soldiers were encamped at the stockade at the pologround of the capital town. Herachandra attacked the Burmese wherever they were. The Burmese soldiers were removed to Moirang in southern side of Manipur valley for safety and for the availability of supplies. 500 Burmese troops marched to the capital. Herachandra and his colleagues ambushed them and killed 200 of them. The name of Herachandra became a terror to the Burmese commander.

The Manipuri princes who established their rule in Cachar by dislodging the Cachari ruler, Govind Chandra were Chourjit Singh, Marjit Singh and Gambhir Singh (assisted by Nar Singh). They were keenly watching the resistance struggle of prince Herachandra. Chourjit Singh was greatly encouraged by the exploits of the gallant young prince. He deputed his nephew, prince Pitamber also known as Yumjaotaba a son of king Modhuchandra to assist the guerilla war against the Burmese. Looking into the motive of Yumjaotaba one is not clear whether he wanted

to help Herachandra or he wanted to drive away the Burmese to make himself the king of Manipur.

Yumjaotaba reached Maklang in 1820. Herachandra received him cordially. The two princes had consultation among them and decided to drive away the foreigners. At that time, Herachandra had 800 soldiers with 50 horses (cavalry), 5 swords and 12 muskets. His force was equipped with traditional weapons, the sword, spear and shield. For the cavalry it was the Arambai, the dreaded weapon against the Burmese. Therefore, Yumjaotaba gifted to Herachandra two horses, three muskets and five swords. Yumjaotaba proposed to meet the Burmese commander, Kane Woon, pretending to seek his help. Herachandra warned him that the Burmese were coming and he would not get any favour from the Burmese. In case the Burmese defeated his plan, surely they would kill him.

Yumjaotaba met Commander Kane Woon and sought his help. On enquiry by the commander, Yumjaotaba said that he had no enough time; he had four soldiers. The weapons were confiscated by the hill tribes. Yumjaotaba stayed five days in the Burmese stockade. Kane Woon disclosed that the Burmese had been starving due to the lack of food grains. He also complained that Herachandra attacked the Burmese soldiers who were sent out to collect paddy. He sought the help of Yumjaotaba for the food grains. Yumjaotaba agreed to collect paddy. He and 100 Burmese soldiers collected paddy from a village called Sekmai. Kane Woon was rejoiced at the gesture of the prince. He offered him the throne of Manipur if Yumjaotaba agreed to support the Burmese. He strongly said clearly, "My enemy is Herachandra, If you win, I will make you king". Yumjaotaba agreed to this alliance. Kane Woon gave 50 horses, 20 muskets, two parasols and two silver coated swords. Yumjaotaba, at the head of the Burmese troops met Herachandra. According to the chronicle, instead of fighting each other, the two princes attacked the Burmese and killed 200 of them.

Then, they marched to the capital of Manipur. One stockade was built at Khomidok, a few miles to the north of the capital. Herachandra built another stockade at Moirangkhom, two miles from the Burmese stockade at the pologround of the capital and another at Kakching in the south east of Manipur valley. Fighting occurred at Kakching, Herachandra defeated the Burmese. He also attacked them at Chaopok hills when they were fleeing towards Burma. Herachandra built another stockade at Singjamei in southern part of the capital. In August, 1820, the Burmese reinforcements came. Herachandra defeated them; ten were captured, one double barrel musket and 30 muskets were seized from the invaders. Yumjaotaba also captured 5 Burmese and a canon.

In November, 1820, another force of Burmese soldiers, in thousands invaded Manipur again. Pakha Woon attacked Kakching with ten thousand soldiers.

Herachandra retreated to Thoubal Moijing but was defeated by the huge army. The two brothers fought against the Burmese for eight months. And according to the chronicle, the two princes fled to Cachar. After defeating the forces of Herachandra and Yumjaotaba at Kakching, the two Burmese commanders Pakha Woon and Kane Woon took a large number of people as prisoners. According to chronicle, (The Lost Kingdom, a translated version), "Kane Woon and Pakha Woon in the month of February (1821) taking with them 30,000 Manipuri captives". The original Cheitharol Kumbaba says that number of prisoners were three lakhs. The earlier figure was perhaps more authentic.

In the absence of Herachandra and Yumjaotaba, the two commanders put Huidrom Shubol who was holding the post of Laipham Lakpa, on the throne of Manipur. Herachandra returned to defeat Shubol who surrendered to him. Yumjaotaba also returned from Cachar. He was welcomed by Herachandra and Huidrom Shubol. He found himself in an advantageous position and occupied the throne of Manipur.

Did Herachandra occupy the throne of Manipur? He was described as Taku Ningthou (dacoit chief). And the editors of the royal chronicle gave his regnal year in 1819. He did not ascend the throne. Herachandra was spoken very highly by British writers and Manipuri scholars. However, the end of his life was a mystery. Did he die a natural death? Or was he killed by one of the princes aspiring for the throne of Manipur? Really Herachandra was a brilliant and patriotic prince in the history of Manipur during the crucial fight against the Burmese.

### *Yumjaotaba (1821)*

Instead of restoring his uncle, Chourjit Singh to the throne, Yumjaotaba, with the help of Herachandra, became the king of Manipur. He occupied the Kangla. He had a very short reign of one year. Hearing this arbitrary occupation of the throne, the princes of Manipur were disturbed. And, the last of the sons of late king Bhagyandra, Prince Gambhir Singh came out from Cachar and entered into the fray for the occupation of the throne of Manipur. Yumjaotaba was negotiating with the Burmese commanders who did not oppose him. The puppet ruler Huidrom Shubol supported Yumjaotaba. When Gambhir Singh came, Yumjaotaba left Manipur and went to Burma for shelter. His other name was Pitamber and spent his days in Ava; Captain Pemberton met him when he was at Ava during the negotiation over the Kabaw Valley in 1831.

### *Gambhir Singh (1821)*

The royal chronicle records, "In the month of April, (1822) Gambhir Singh came from Cachar and took possession of the throne, Yumjaotaba fled to Burma". Gambhir Singh had a very short reign of six months. Unlike other rulers, he was not a puppet ruler, but a king of Manipur. It was a very bad time of the Burmese devastation. He

had his temporary capital at Thangmeiband. There was a natural disaster, like earthquake, famine due to the scarcity of food and death due to starvation. The price of paddy was extremely high. The dead were so numerous that they could not be cremated. During this period, the gallant king went in an expedition to tribal villages. He could not organize resources and men. In September, 1822, the Burmese returned to Manipur. And Gambhir Singh retreated to Cachar. This is the first reign of Gambhir Singh in the history of Manipur.

### ***Joy Singh (1822-1823)***

The Burmese were perhaps fully aware of the kings and princes who were related to king Garibaniwaz. The next Burmese sponsored prince was Joy Singh who was born of Kokilananda a son of Nandasai, son of Garibaniwaz. Joy Singh was distantly related to the great king of Manipur. The Burmese put him on the throne of Manipur in September 1822. Joy Singh built his palace at Thoubal Moijing and lived there. Joy Singh ordered a Brahmin priest named Pokkhamba Joy Pandit to perform religious ceremonies at the holy temples and holy places of Manipur which were polluted by the Burmese troops. Joy Singh moved to the capital from Moijing to the old palace at Kangla in the capital. He introduced all the old custom and tradition, and rules made by his ancestors. He is recorded to have sat at the royal gate and distribute the paddy to the poor. He cleared all the jungles and restored the ruins of the palace. However, the chronicle says "in the month of July, a messenger arrived from Burma to receive Maharaja Joy Singh to Burma. Accordingly King Joy Singh left Manipur with the Burma messenger. He reigned for two years". It seems, king Bagyidaw of Burma recalled him to Burma and had chosen another ruler.

### ***Jadu Singh (1823)***

The Burmese appointed Jadu Singh as the next ruler. Jadu Singh was a son of Prince Bhadra Singh, a grandson of king Garibaniwaz. Jadu Singh was 33 years old and was coronated. He adopted the regnal title of Nongpok Chinglen Khomba. He was presented by the Burmese king on his coronation, 2 elephants, 5 horses, 50 muskets, 50 swords and two golden swords, a sword with emeralds, 2 golden chairs and two golden parasols. Jadu Singh was accompanied by 1000 Burmese soldiers and occupied the throne. He also brought back a number of Brahmin astrologers. He also invited his father prince Bhadra Singh who was taking refuge in Cachar. In the absence of the image of Govindaji and royal deity, the king installed the statues of God Pakhangba and God Sanamahi as the royal deities. Jadu Singh died at the age of 35.

### ***Raghav Singh (1823-1824)***

After the death of Jadu Singh, his son Raghav Singh ascended to the throne of Manipur. The royalty was restored to its former form. The dead king was cremated

at Manglen the cremation ground of the royalty. Raghav Singh was 16 years old and was in Cachar. He returned from Cachar during the life time of Jadu Singh, with 156 men. He was also supported by the Burmese.

The Burmese commander Pakhan Woon arrived from Burma with a large number of troops. He requested Raghav Singh to join him in the invasion of Cachar, where there was a war between the British and Burmese. Raghav Singh complied and went to Cachar. Both Raghav Singh and Pakhan Woon returned. Pakhan Woon left for Burma. 3000 Burmese were killed at the battles in Cachar.

Raghav Singh performed his coronation ceremony. His grand father, Bhadra Singh also returned to Manipur. There was another Burmese force sent to Cachar, led by one Sharang Woon who died at Thoubal. Atang Woon another Burmese military official was defeated in Cachar. About 4000 Burmese troops were killed there. At the disastrous defeat of the Burmese troops, Burma recalled Raghav Singh. He left behind 500 Burmese soldiers to look after the country. The chief of Samjok made over the charge to the chief of Kale. And Bhadra Singh the grand father of Raghav Singh placed himself on the throne of Manipur.

### **Bhadra Singh (Nongchup Lamgai Ngamba)**

Bhadra Singh ascended the throne at the age of 71 years. He had an uneventful reign. He got the fortune of his son, Jadu Singh his grandson Raghav Singh and himself enthroned during the seven years war. When Gambhir Singh arrived in Manipur in June, 1825, Bhadra Singh left for Ava. His illustrious son Nar Singh was collaborating with the valiant Gambhir Singh. The Burmese reign of terror came to an end with the liberation of Manipur by Gambhir Singh in February, 1826. The dark days of the Burmese reign of terror came to end.

### **Rulers during the Burmese Reign of Terror (1819-1825):<sup>15</sup>**

Herachandra (1813-20) He was not a ruler.

Huidrom Shubol (1820) Burma sponsored.

Yumjaotaba (1820-21) Burma sponsored.

Gambhir Singh (1821) He was a self-appointed ruler.

Joy Singh (1821-22) Burma sponsored.

Jadu Singh (1822-23) Burma sponsored.

Raghav Singh (1823-24) Burma sponsored.

Bhadra Singh (1824-25) Self-appointed but with Burma's support.

### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

(1) R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *A Short History of Manipur*, Imphal, 1965, p. 272.

(2) Maung Htin Aung, *A History of Burma*, Columbia, New York, 1967, pp.194-195.

- (3) Arthur R. Phayre, *History of Burma*, Second Edn, 1967.
- (4) Maung Htin Aung, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- (5) This abdication of the king was an event of a great historical significance. In 1791, a Brahmin named Kokpei killed a woman. As a punishment, King Bhagyachandra Singh sentenced the Brahmin murderer with an exile to Cachar. The accused on the way to the exile, committed suicide, under the Hindu law of the kingdom, neither a woman nor a Brahmin could be punished by death for murder. The punishment sentenced by the king was reasonable. But the king was full of remorse for the suicide of the Brahmin and repented that he was responsible for his death. As a penance, he decided to abdicate and went on pilgrimage to the holy Ganges in Nabadwip in Bengal. R.B. Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, 1835, Calcutta, p.38 observes, "The first great invasion of the country by a Burmese army, commanded by a relation of Alompra (Alaungpaya) took place in 1755, and this is known in Munnipore at the present day as the 'Khultak Hanba' or primary devastation".
- (6) *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal chronicle of Manipur mentions "Shripat Kshetra" as the place of the king's death.
- (7) Bhagyachandra had eight sons; Sanahal (Nabananda), Labanyachandra, Modhuchandra, Tulasijit, Chourjit, Marjit, Daoji (Bishwanath) and Gambhir Singh.
- (8) L. Iboongohal Singh and N. Khelchandra Singh (Ed), *The Cheitharol Kumbaba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edn, Imphal, 1989, devote forty pages to Chourjit Singh, pp.183-211.
- (9) L. Mangi Singh and Mani Singh, *Manipur Itihas, Bijoy Panchali: Gambhir Singh, Nar Singh Charit*, Imphal, 1971, p.15.
- (10) *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, *op. cit.*, p. 189. These villages were in western hills now in Tamenglong district.
- (11) G.E. Harvey, *A History of Burma*, London, 1926.
- (12) R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- (13) N. Tombi Singh, *Manipur A Study*, Imphal, 1972, p.8.
- (14) R.B. Pemberton, *op. cit.*, p.46.
- (15) *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

See also the Proceedings of the Seminar on Lamdamsigee Puwarida Herachandragee Mapham (Place of Herachandra in the History) organised by Manipur State Archaeology, Research Forum, Manipur and Herachandra Enterprises, Imphal. Papers of M. Lokendra, N. Indramani, M. Kaoba, N. Birachandra are of great interest. Seminar was held on 1st June, 2008 at Kangla Hall, Imphal.