



POSA SYSTEM: A CASE STUDY OF THE BRITISH-NYISHI RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The term *Posa* means an allowances paid to certain hill tribes (Present tribes of Arunachal Pradesh) to check their habit of raids and outrages against plains people for commodities. It was a kind of deals or settlement between the tribal chiefs and Ahom kings and later British Government. The literally means of *Posa* is a collection or subscription for a common purpose. This system was introduced by Ahom King Pratap Singh and after annexation to the Assam, the British also continued the system with substantial changes. The Nyishi was one of the major tribe who had received *Posa* right. It was important conciliatory policy towards the Nyishi tribes by Ahom's and later the British Government. The Ahom Kings used to assign the *paiks of the Duphla Bohotea Khel* or some session of the Assamese cultivators to take responsible for *Posa* payment to the Nyishi but British changes this methods of payments. They used to payment through their Officers and stopped to collect *Posa* directly from ryots. Any conflicts and complexities related to *Posa* payment would be referred to the British magistrates. The *Posa* recipients also promised that they would not giving shelters to the offenders or enemies of British in their territory and instead they help to detain such people. On 1852, the British commuted *Posa* payment into cash instead of kind. In 1878, the British government issued a *hathchitta* (hand written note) to every *Posa* recipient. In this new feature, name of *posa* recipients and amount fixed for each recipients were written in the note. The British used *Posa* as means and tools to pressurize the Nyishi raiders or offenders to surrender before authority. It was applied almost every raids and outrages carried out by hills Nyishi in the British territory and in many cases, the offenders used to surrender before authority due to blockaded and non-payment of *Posa* to their clan.

INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh is situated in the extreme north eastern part of India. It is bounded by Assam in the south, China in the north, Bhutan in the west and Myanmar in the east. Arunachal means land of rising Sun and Pradesh means State. The first Sun ray peeps in this State, therefore, it is popularly known as the land of rising sun.¹ It lies roughly between 26°28' to 29°30' N latitudes and 91°30' to 97°30' E longitudes. It is the largest State of north east India with a total area of 83,743 sq km.²

During the British rule, the region was known as the North East Frontier Tract and in 1954, it was renamed as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) and frontier

¹ Swapnali Borah, et.al., *Encyclopedic Studies of North-Eastern States of India, Arunachal Pradesh*, New Academic Publishers, New Delhi, 2010, p. 1

² Census of India, 1991, Series-3, Arunachal Pradesh, Part XII-A&B.

divisions were given the names on the basis of rivers like Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap divisions.³ With the North Eastern Area (Re-organisation) Act, 1972, the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was made as the Union Territory and it was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh on January 21, 1972. On 20th February 1987, finally Arunachal Pradesh attained a full-fledged statehood of Indian Union. It became the 24th state of Indian union.⁴ As per the census records of 2011, the state has a total population of 13.82 lakhs which is 25.92 per cent increase 2001 census. Out of the total population 52 per cent are male and 48 per cent are female. In 2011 the State accounted for 0.11% of the India's total population. Density of population in the State is 17 per sq.km which is much lower than National average 382 per sq km. The state has sex ratio of 920 per 1000 male, which is also lower than the National average of 940 as per census 2011. The literacy rate in the State has improved from 54.34% in 2001 to 66.95% as per 2011 census. However, the literacy rate in the State is still low compared to other States of India. The male literacy rate in the State is 73.69% while female literacy is at 59.57%.⁵ This indicates high gender gap in literacy but it is declining over the years.

There are many tribes and sub-tribes in the State. On the basis of their cultures and religions, the tribes of the State are broadly divided into three groups. First the Buddhist group like the Monpa, the Khamti, the Singpho, the Memba, the Mayor, the Sherdukpen, etc, this groups are followers of Buddhism. Second is the *Tani* groups such as the Adi, the Apatani, the Tagin, the Nyishi and the Galo. These groups trace their origin from one common ancestor known as *Abotani*. Third group is followers of the chieftaincy system of the society like the Nocte, the Wancho, the Tangsa, etc.⁶ Among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, the Nyishi is one of the major tribes of the State. Nyishis are settled in the central parts of the State, comprises of Kurung Kumey, Kra-Dadi, Papum Pare, Lower Subansiri, Kamley and East Kameng districts. They are also settled in few pockets of Sonitpur and Lakhimpur districts of Assam.⁷

During the Ahom's rule, the Nyishis were mistakenly or without justification termed as "Dafla" or "Dumpla". Later on, the British government continued to use the same nomenclature for Nyishi and it was continued even in the constitution of the independent India.⁸

The myths and legends establish beyond doubt that the Nyishi tribe descended from the same ancestor i.e Atu Nyia Tani. The people call themselves Nyeshang, Nishi or more appropriately as Nyishi since the time immemorial. As per their mythology, the term Nyishi or Nyeshang is derived from two words i.e Nyi or Nyia- means man or human race that descended from Atu Nyia (first real man on earth) and Eshang or Ishi- means high hills or highland. Therefore, a compound word Nyishi

³ S.K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, *Documents on North-East India: An Exclusive Survey, Arunachal Pradesh*, Vol.11, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 2006, pp.113-115

⁴ Swapnali Borah, et.al, *op.cit*, p.2.

⁵ Census of India, 2001, 2011, Directorate of Economic and Statistic, Govt. Of Arunachal Pradesh

⁶ Tade Sangdo, *Study on Festivals and Rituals of the Nyishi : A Case Study of East Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh*, M. Phil diss., Rajiv Gandhi university, Doimukh, 2009, p.1

⁷ N.N Hina, Customary Laws of Nyishi Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh, Authors press, New Delhi, 2012, P14

⁸ N.T. Rikam, *Changing Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh: A Case Study of the Nyishis since 1947*, Ph.D, diss., Rajiv Gandhi University, Doimukh, 2003, pp. 8-9

denotes the descendants of Atu Nyia who dwells in the highland. Therefore, they are called highlanders.⁹

POSA SYSTEM: ORIGIN AND MEANING

The Ahom kings came to contact with different hill tribes like the Nyishi, the Aka, the Monpa, the Sherdukpen, etc. and found that they were habitual of coming down in the neighbouring plains territories and took away whatever they founded before them. Sometimes, they used to commit raids and outrages against the plain people and carried away their commodities. After each raid, the Ahom Kings used to send their arm forces to punish the offenders but they failed to trace the offenders for punishment. Ultimately, the Ahom kings realized ineffectiveness of retaliatory military expeditions and having hostile relationships with the hill tribes. Therefore, the Ahom King Pratap Singha introduced a policy to reconcile with the certain hill tribes living along the frontier of their kingdom which is known as the *Posa*. In return, the hill tribes were expected to maintain good relation with the Ahom kings and also gave some articles produced in their respective hill areas.¹⁰ The *Posa* was paid in terms of paddy and other articles which were not available in the hills.

But many hill tribes like the Adi, the Mishmi, the Tangsa, the Nocte, Wangcho, etc. were not included in the recipient of *posa* because of various reasons. The Ahom had different policies to deal with the different hills tribes as per situations and locations like Adi had mutual agreements with the Ahom and claimed absolute sovereign over plain land of Missing and fishes collected from the areas. Similarly, the Nocte, the Wangcho and the Tangsa claimed the plain land of their adjacent areas which was popularly known as Nagakhat and fishes collected from *beels* (natural fish pond) of the area. The Mishmi tribe had good relations with plain people through trade activities. With respect to tribes like the Khampti, the Singpho, etc. it was easy for the Ahom to deal as they were settled in foothills of plain land and their areas were easily accessible to trace out the offenders. Therefore, *Posa* right was not required to grant them.

The *posa* right was granted only to those tribes whom the Ahom Kings had difficult to punish the offenders. Those tribes were inhabited in such locations which were inaccessible by Ahom force due to numerous rivers, streams and hills.¹¹ Such tribes were, Aka, Monpa, Sherdukpen and Nyishi. Among them, the Nyishi settled in the foothills of Lakhimpur and Darrang Districts of Assam was one the major tribes who had *Posa* right from Ahom as well as the British Government.

Posa is a key factor to understand the kind of relationships between Nyishi and Ahom kings and later with the British Government.

We do not know how the term *Posa* has been coined but as per statement of A. Ramachandran, 'term *Posa* meant to be "*pacha*' which is probably connected with the word *panch* meaning five. The *Boheteahs* of Assam used to pay to the Nyishi five rupees each in produce.¹² The Nyishi has commonly used the term *Posa* as *Pencha* or *Pomcha* which mean "tributes or allow ownership allowance" therefore, Nyishi *Gam*

⁹ Tana Showren, *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh, An Ethnohistorical Study*, Regency Publications, Delhi 2009, pp.58-59

¹⁰ Alexander Mackenzie, *The North-East Frontier of India*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1989, pp.7-8.

¹¹ Laxmi Devi, *Ahom Tribal Relations*, Lawyer's Book Stall, Guwahati, 1968, p.199.

¹² A. Ramachandran, *A Survey of Nyishi British Relations (1825-1947)*, NEIHA, Twelfth Session, Jagiroad, Shillong, 1991, p.259

or Village elder has the right to collect *posa*.¹³ Therefore, the literally meaning of *Posa* is a collection or subscription for a common purpose.¹⁴ It was collected by the villagers in order to meet their customary demands. It is also said that *posa* means an allowances paid to certain hill tribes to check their habit of raids against plains people for commodities. The *Posa* was also known as a kind of deal or settlement between the Ahoms and tribal chiefs.¹⁵

The Ahom Kings assigned some *paiks*¹⁶ for Nyishi to meet the *posa* requirements.¹⁷ Alexander Mackenzie stated that, '*The paiks of the Duphla Bohotea Khel or section of the Assamese cultivators were assigned to the Nyishi(Duphlas) as responsible for their dues, being subject to this heavy impost paid only Rs.3 instead of Rs 9 per ghot to Government, balances being remitted to enable them to meet their engagements*'.¹⁸

POSA SYSTEM UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

After annexation of Assam, the British continued the *Posa* system but with substantial changes. Among the frontier tribes, the Nyishi was one of the major tribes which was enlisted as *Posa* recipient. Captain Thomas Welsh mentioned in his expedition account that the *Nyishis* regularly collected *posa* from duars of the North of the Brahmaputra River. Similarly, in 1872, Dalton reported that Nyishi chiefs of each clan were collecting *Posa* from plain.¹⁹

Initially, David Scott, the Political Agent to the Governor-General of India had allowed the *Nyishis* to collect their *Posa* from the cultivators through duars.²⁰ On the 13th May, 1825, the listed out *Posa* items which was being received by *Nyishis* like every ten house received one double piece of cloth, one single piece of cloth, one handkerchief, one dao, ten head of horned cattle and four sheer of salt.²¹ There were 180 Nyishi chiefs of Char-duar, who belonged to twelve distinct clans, had received Rs. 1,020.00 annually and 158 Nyishis chiefs of Nao-duar had received Rs. 1523.00 and 9 Anna annually from the British ryots.²² The main objective of the British to continue this institution was to establish good relations with Nyishis and also try to have commercial control over the region with flows of the British manufactured goods. Their intention was to make them habituated to British goods.

The Nyishis used to collect *Posa* through *Duars* (passes). The *Duars* situated in Nyishi areas were broadly divided into three divisions namely: Char-duar (four passes), chai-duar (six passes) and Nao-duar (nine passes). The name of Nao-duars and its mahals are given in the Table No. 1.

Table No.1: List of Mahal and its Duars in the Lakhimpur Sub-Division

¹³ Taw Yania, *Relevance of Duar system: An interface of Bahatias and the Nyishis of Arunachal Pradesh*, in Proceeding of North East India History Association, Thirty third Session, RGU-2012, Shillong, pp.227-228

¹⁴ Assam Secretariat, File No.177J,1882, Nos.1-6, Serial No.6,

¹⁵ I.S.Muntaza's, *Posa: Was it a Black-mail*, in Proceeding of North East India History Association, fourteenth Session, Jorhat, 1993, Shillong, p.147

¹⁶ Paiks means every adult male of 15 to 50 years of age had to serve the Ahom kingdom as per their expertise and profession were known as paiks.

¹⁷ S.K.Bhuyan, *Tungkhungia Buranji*, Department of historical and Antiquarian studies in Assam, Guwahati,1990, P.xxx

¹⁸ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.27

¹⁹ Tana Showren, *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh, An Ethnohistorical Study*, Regency Publications, Delhi 2009, p.177.

²⁰ Foreign Proceedings, Political Department-A, 20 February 1834, Nos. 22-24.

²¹ R.B. Pemberton, *Report on Eastern Frontier of British India*, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Guwahati, 1835.p.179

²² A. Ramachandran, op.cit., p.259

Sl.No.	Mahal Name	Duars Name
1	Choiduar Mahal	Nakrang Duar, Boranga Duar and Bor duar
2	Bunskata Mahal	Kandhurahatduar, Dolahat duar, Molahat duar and Ohat duar
3	Lakhimpur Mahal	Manmoti duar
4	Bordoloni Mahal	Phulpani duar

Source; Assam Secretariat, file No.177J, 1882, Nos.1-6, serial No.6, p.3

Each duar was connected with important markets. The markets connected with Char-duar were Majbat, Dhekiajuli, Bhalukpong, Balipara, Rangagara, Orung, Tezpur, etc. The markets connected to Nao-duar were Jamuguri, Chotia, Biswanath, doli etc. and the last duar was chai-duar or six passes which was named after six rivers like Buri, Brahamajan, Balijan, Dubia, Pichola and Dikrong. Besides that Dijoo and Dolungmukh duars were also opened on the river Subansiri.²³ *Posa* was not only paid in the duars, it was also paid to the hill *Nyishis* during the time of tours and visits of British Officers in their villages. For example, in 1915, Capt. G.A. Nevill, Superintendent of Police (S.P.) of Assam had official visit to several *Nyishi* villages. He also paid *Posa* to some *Nyishis* of the Runga Nudi and nearby villages. He found that the *posa* books were in a great muddle but he managed to straighten them out.²⁴ The *posa* was being received by both plain and hill *Nyishis*.

NEW SETTLEMENTS WITH SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES

In 1835, the payment of *Posa* was stopped for a moments to the *Nyishis* of Char-duar due to their involvement in the attacked to the Police outpost at Balipara and Urung with Thagi Raja of Akas. However, in Janaury, 1836, payment of *Posa* to the *Nyishis* of Char-duar was resumed with some conditions.²⁵ The Capt. Mathei, the Principal Assistant of Darrang opened negotiation with the *Nyishis* regarding the payment of *posa*. He had given proposal to the *Nyishis* to stop the frequent demand of *posa* to *bohotias* (assigned *Ryots*) and frequent raids on the *bohotias*. He also gave proposal for cash payment, instead of kinds. His proposals were partially accepted and made new settlement with *Nyishis* regarding the *Posa* payments.

Under these new conditions, Out of 13 (thirteen) clans, 8 (eight) of them visited the Char-duar plains in Assam.²⁶ Initially, *Nyishis* were reluctant and refused to accept the *posa* in terms of cash payment but they agreed some of the new conditions such as, they promised not to disturb or collect *posa* directly from *bohotias*. The British government successfully stopped the *Nyishi* to *Posa* collection directly from the *Dufla-Bohatias* and directed them to collect *Posa* from the *Malguzaris* (village revenue Officers) who would collect articles from *ryots* or *Bohatias*. If any further conflicts arose regarding the payment of *posa*, the matter would be directly referred to British Magistrate instead of carrying off British subjects or *ryots*. The British law under the supervision of the Magistrate would be supreme authority to deliver justice.

The *Nyishis* also promised that they would not give shelters to the offenders or enemies of the British in their territory and instead they help to detain such people. Thereafter, *posa* allowances was fixed like; One long cotton handkerchief, Two

²³ Taw Yania, op.cit., p.228

²⁴ Tour Diary of Captain G. A. Nevill, Political Officer, Western Section, 1915

²⁵ Joram, Rina, The *Nyishis* and the *Posa*, in Joram Begi's (ed) *Itanagar-A Profile*, Bharatiya Itihas Sankalam Samiti, Arunachal Pradesh, Itanagar, 2003, p. 64.

²⁶ Political Proceedings-A, May 1837, Nos. 10-11.

sheers of salt, One *dao*, One course arkhutsheet and One goat for every ten house.²⁷ Later on the other five remaining clans also came down and accepted the British agreements and terms. On this execution of act of tactfulness shown by Capt. Mathai, the British India Government was much obliged and commended him.²⁸

After the settlement of *posa* to the Nyishis of Char-duar, the British focused on the Nyishis of Noa-duar. The *Malguzars* (village revenue officer) were entrusted to grant *posa* payment to the Nyishis of Noa-duar. Therefore, the Nyishis were adamant to collect their two third *Posa* dues from their *paiks of Dufla-bohotias or assigned ryots*. Nyishis considered them as their *ryots* and themselves as their masters.²⁹ In 1837, Capt. Vetch, Political Agent to Governor-General of India gave new proposal to the Nyishis of Noa-duars regarding *Posa* payments. His proposal was also partially accepted by the Nyishis of Noa-duars. Therefore, as per new settlements, the Nyishi Chiefs of Noa-duars agreed to collect *Posa* directly from *Malguzars* (village revenue Officer) and also agreed to abandon the *posa* collection directly from individual *ryots*. But they were not ready to receive *posa* in cash and preferred to collect the *posa* in kind.³⁰

However, in the subsequent year of 1838-39, hill Nyishis started to give bothersome to the British subject which was the signals of their non-acceptance of the new agreement of *posa*. Suddenly, the British stopped the payment of *Posa* to entire Nyishis which caused lots of difficulties for plains Nyishis because they had already agreed and submitted to the terms and conditions with British government. Therefore, the plain Nyishis pressurized and persuaded the hill Nyishis and successfully brought them to conclude agreement with the British. Finally, the hill Nyishis also accepted to collect *posa from Malguzars* (Revenue Officers).³¹

In 1841, the Borjonath Bhorali Barua drew up list of names of *posa* recipients and also assigned *paiks*. The Government of India instructed the Capt. White, Political Agent of Upper Assam to negotiate the *posa* to the frontier tribes. He had written to Robertson, the Commissioner of Assam that the *posa* should not stop immediately and also recommended for cash payment of *posa*.³² Since the beginning of the British occupation of Assam, the Nyishis gave much trouble to the local officers. Despite many efforts made by the British government the some Nyishis did not give up their right of collecting *posa* directly from the *ryots*.³³ They continued to be a source of frequent anxiety till 1852 when *posa* was finally commuted for a money payment. It is said that the *posa* payment to the Nyishis was monetized in the year 1852 and thereafter a series of treaties and agreements were concluded with the Nyishis regarding payment of *posa*.³⁴

Therefore, in 1852 finally the *posa* was restored to them. In 1852, Col. Holroyal and Lt. Biver made new settlements with the Nyishis including one group Charak Nyishi from Kamle valley. They modified the *posa* list since some of them

²⁷ Foreign Political Proceedings-A, May 1836, Nos. 76-78.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ M.L. Bose, *History of Arunachal Pradesh*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1997, p.68

³⁰ Joram Rina, op.cit., p.65

³¹ Tana Showren, op.cit., p.182

³² R.B. Pemberton, op.cit., p.179

³³ Political Proceedings, 20th February 1834, Nos. 23-24

³⁴ S. Panda's, *Anglo-Dafila Unrest: A Cause and Factor Analysis* in Proceedings of North East India History Association, Ninth Session, Guwahati, 1988, p.168.

did not turn up to claim the *posa*. Earlier list showed that there were 238 Gams(chiefs) who received Rs. 2543/ but in 1853-54, the total amount of *posa* reached Rs. 4129-15-0; besides 234 mounds of salt in lieu of ‘hat’ (weekly market) dues and rights of fishing and gold washing, a diet allowance of Rs. 5 and 26 bottles of rum were also paid.³⁵

Thereafter, the British-Nyishi relations was silent in terms of any disturbances until 1870. Alexander Mackenzie states that “*the tribe had remained quiet and gave no cause of anxiety up to 1870.*”³⁶

Another new method in the *Posa* payment was adopted in the year 1878, in which every recipient was issued a *hathchitta* (hand written note). In this new feature, name of *posa* recipients and amount fixed for each recipient were written in the note. If they lost the note, *posa* would be paid after strict scrutiny or inquiry.³⁷ The 82 different “*hathchittas*” for the Nyishis were being recorded.³⁸

Sometimes, the *posa* was also paid in kind but quantities demanded from each village or hamlet were fixed and well known to both parties. Therefore, in 1882, the Nyishis settled in the border of Darrang and North Lakhimpur districts received *posa* in kind as well as cash but received in kind was measured in terms of money. However, no individual inhabitant of a plain village was liable for any particular article, the whole amount was raised collectively by a village subscription or *posa*.
Table No. 2: List of articles which the Nyishis used to take and approximate price of each;

Items	Rupee	Anna	Paise
Eria cloth	5	8	0
Saloo	1	0	0
Eria gamcha	0	2	0
Mats (bamboo)	0	2	0
Ducks	0	2	0
Drakes	0	8	0
Fowls	0	4	0
Hoes	0	6	0
Salt	0	2	3
Gur (base)	0	2	0
Brass for pan	0	1	0
Knife	0	1	0
Kani	1	8	0
Riha	0	0	0
Chakoli (necklace)	0	2	0
Oil	0	8	0
Rice	0	12	0
Sandhal	0	6	0
Cotton gamcha	0	2	0

Source; Assam Secretariat, File No.177J, 1882, Nos.1-6, serial No.6.

MEANS AND TOOLS FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The British used *Posa* as means and tools to subdue the Nyishis offenders of both plain and hills. The British used to stop the *Posa* payment to the hills Nyishis

³⁵ Assam Secretariat Proceedings, 1882, File No.177J, Sl. No. 6.

³⁶ Alexander Mackenzie, op.cit., p.29

³⁷ Foreign Proceeding-A, November, 1898, Nos.9-11.

³⁸ Assam Secretariat Proceeding-A, December,1887, Nos.6-100.

when they carried raids and outrages in the British territory and reluctant to surrender before authority. The British blockaded the passes and stopped the *Posa* payment to the Nyishi of particular region or clan and pressurized them to surrender before the authority. It was applied in almost all the hills Nyishis raids, when offenders were reluctant to surrender and release the captives before the authority. For example, in the year 1888, one hill Nyishi named Pereng Gam who had detained four *Hatimorias* (serfs) was reluctant to release them. Therefore, the British decided to retain the *Posa* of Rs 26 due for Pereng's brother named Raka.³⁹ As a result, he released *Hatimorias* due to pressure of his brother. Similar example, on 2nd August, 1896, the few hill Nyishis captured few run away coolies of Dikrai tea garden of Darrang who had crossed Inner Line and refused to release the captives even after several request of *Kotokis* (Negotiators). Hence, the British Government directed for economic blockade of the hills Nyishis and stopped the payment of *Posa* to them until they surrendered the captives.⁴⁰ Likewise, the British used *Posa* as means and tools to pressurise almost every hill Nyishis raids and outrages to the plain people.

In many cases, the British used to recover their lost amount from *Posa* due of the particular Nyishi. For example, on 10th March 1903, Miripathar Nyishis attacked to the Mr. Chishom's elephant stockade on the Bihmari River within British territory and they carried away 4 men, 7 guns and other properties. The British successfully released the captives and guns but other belongings mostly consisting of clothes and other perishable items were not recovered.⁴¹ Therefore, *Posa* due to Miripathar Nyishis was compensated to the Mr. Chisholm for his loss during their raid.

The British tried to use *Posa* as tool to punish the Nyishi criminals. In year of 1888, the British tried to stop the *Posa* right of Nyishi criminals which created lots of controversy. They wanted to withdraw *Posa* paid to individual hill men who were convicted of offence. But many British officers were against this opinion and they presented different views. According to Mackenzie, it was considered to be an offence of a political nature, and therefore, *posa* shouldn't be stopped to the political crimes. He again said that occasional offence by individual Nyishi was dealt with merely as matter of police and not intended to be visited with political consequences such as the stoppage of *posa*.

H.J.S. Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam also said that "*Posa would be hardly withheld when individual Nyishi have been convicted of offence under the penal code*".⁴²

12th November, 1898, the Colonel Gray, Deputy Commissioner (D.C.) of Darrang also presented his view that the *Posa* is being paid to an individual as representing a tribe or village and therefore, any individual Nyishi convicted of an offence under the Indian Penal Code is no sufficient reason for withholding the payment of *Posa* to the village he represents. In fact we often pay to a son, or brother of the individual whose name is recorded as the proper recipient. Also when the individual dies the *Posa* is continued to his successor.⁴³ *Posa* was paid to chiefs of clans or to their

³⁹ Assam Secretariat, Foreign Proceeding, B, File No.337J, 1888, Nos. 1-6.

⁴⁰ Foreign Proceedings - A, February, 1898, Nos-14-18

⁴¹ Foreign Proceedings -A, February, 1905, Nos.21-31

⁴² Foreign Proceeding-A, November, 1898, Nos.9-11.

⁴³ Ibid.

representatives or heirs on the production of the hatchitha granted to recipients at the commutation.

Table No .3: Total amount of posa paid to the Nyishi

Reference No.	Particulars	Rupee	Anna	paise
Page 8 of file No. 167J. 1881	The right of the daflas on the Darrang frontier was commuted for	2494	0	1
Ditto	Owing to transfer in 1868 of a portion of the Charduar mahal from lakhimpur to Darrang, Payment was transferred from the former to the latter of Posa to Daflas amounting to	983	6	11
Page 7 of file No. 39 J of 1895	Other transfers about 1885 from Lakhimpur to Darrang	35	7	0
Page 6 of For B June, 1893 Nos 20-201	Other transfer sanctioned in 1893 from Lakhimpur to Darrang	51	0	6
	Total for Darrang daflas	3563	14	6
	Total for lakhimpur Daflas (i.e. Rs. 808-13-4) Minus sum of Rs. 22-6-0//Rs. 13-1-0// and Rs. 51-0-6//	722	5	10
	Grand total for Daflas	4286	4	4

Source: Foreign Proceeding-A, November, 1898, Nos.9-11.

In 1900, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang made proposal to discontinue the payment of *posa* to the plains Nyishis on the death of the present recipients or any individual recipient who would be found guilty of serious misconduct. In 1900, the *posa* was paid Rs. 1,101-11-6 to the Nyishis of the Darrang Frontier and according to him it was unnecessary charges of the Government. Such matter appeared in case of Mangala, plain Nyishi of Darang frontier. Since he was rigorously imprisoned for 28 months, he was allowed to continue *posa*. Mangala Gam lived along with another Nyishi, formerly his *Hatimoriya* or slave. Mangala drew Rs. 180 and his neighbour Rs. 5. However grant of *posa* was on his good conduct. Regarding the discontinued *posa* to the plain Nyishis of Darrang frontier on the ground of offence or demise of present recipients of *posa* was too drastic measure. So, the authority was in favour of continuing to grant *posa*. Since the authority viewed that the plain Nyishis were not much advanced to earn their livelihood, denying *posa* might lead them to migrate back to hills and force them to cause troublesome to the British administration. Also the eldest son of the deceased might face much misery to manage livelihood for the family. Therefore, further suggestion was made by the Secretary to the Deputy Commissioner Darang to grant *posa* to the eldest son the recipient on his demise.⁴⁴

Even some villages claimed additional amount of *posa*. For example, people of Bakol village near the Gelahating garden claimed additional amount of *posa*. They had only four houses, containing a population of seventy persons including men, woman and children. They received only Rs 700 annually in *posa* which was paid to sixteen persons as the heirs of 28 allowances, therefore, they claim Rs. 158 in addition. But the British authorities declined to distribute the *posa* on behaved of one Phepend

⁴⁴ Assam Secretariat, Foreign Proceeding-A, March, 1900, Nos.22-23.

Gam, who had died earlier. He had drawn Rs. 91-12-8 in *posa* on account of ten *hatchittas*. The British denied to pay *posa* since the person didn't seem to be the real claimant of Phepend Gam.⁴⁵

Therefore, L.J. Kershaw, Offgs Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam suggested the following action in regard to Deputy Commissioner's to proposal:

(1) Continuance of Mangala's – He has already been severely punished for his criminal offence by 28 month's rigorous imprisonment. The grant of *Posa* is subject to good conduct, and mark the Chief Commissioner's displeasure it may be reduced by one-half from dates of his released the full amount being paid to his wife up to date of release.

(2) Discontinuance of *Posa* to plain Daflas on decease of present recipients. – The same too drastic of measure. It might possibly result in great headship to the legal heirs of the recipient, or the clans which be in members. This people are probably not sufficiently advance to earn a livelihood and if the *posa* were discontinued they would either betake themselves to the hills or be a source of annoyance and trouble. Following generally the principles regulating the devolution of political pensions, the Chief Commissioner may decide to rule that in no case will be recipient be allowed to transfer on his death any rights recognized by Government , and subject in each case to the sanction of the Chief Commissioner the *posa* of an individual may be deducted by not less than one half, and it should be continued to the eldest son of the recipient, and filling a son, to the head of the clan village, as recognized by the Deputy Commissioner. The grant of *posa* should be discontinued entirely after the second generation. I would suggest also that it should be made a condition that the *posa* should not be frittered away by distribution to several members of a clan, but should be a grant a one man, who is recognized as the head of the clan village.⁴⁶

Sometimes, large quantity of *posa* was paid once for two or three year. For example, in 1902-03, the people of Darang Frontier had collected large quantity of *Posa* allowance and disappeared for two to three years in the plain. Similarly, in 1904-05, there were only very few hill Nyishis who used to come down for receiving *posa* because they had obtained *posa* payment of two to three years in previous year.⁴⁷

TABLE No. 4: LIST OF THE NYISHIS WHO RECEIVED POSA FROM THE BRITISH

No.	Name of Duars.	Name of khel.	Name of person entitled to subsidy	Amount of <i>posa</i>			No. and date of certificate on <i>posa</i> .	Remar ks.	Serials	ASSAM SECRETARIAT
				Rs.	a.	p.				
1	Doolabat bashkata	Bodolia Takhar Soburi	Takhar gam	79	15	9	No.1 of the 29 th March 1852	2 bottles rum	“ <i>Posa</i> ”	
3	Ditto	Takhar Soburi	Ramdale	1	0	0	No.3 “ “ “ “			
84-4	Ditto	Ditto	Tapile	2	14	0	No.84-4 “ “ “ “			

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Annual Report on the Native States and Frontier Tribes of Assam, 1904-05, Printed at the Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1905.

6	Ditto	Badolia	Table	4	4	1 1	No.6 “ “ “ “		
7	Owahat bashkata	Shelgam	Shal gam	0	4	0	No.7 “ “ “ “		
8	Doolahat bashkata	Piji Soburi	Tasing	0	4	0	No.8 “ “ “ “		
9	Ditto	Bodoalia	Bhoodi	0	8	0	No.9 “ “ “ “		
10	Ditto	Tahkar Soburi	Tatum	1	1 2	0	No.10 “ “ “ “		
11	Doolahat	Bodolia	Name gam	7	8	3	No.11 “ “ “ “		
12	Ditto	Goolootia	Takhra	0	4	0	No.12 “ “ “ “		
14	Ditto	Ditto	Panji gamini	1	0	0	No.14 “ “ “ “	2 ditto	
15	Kandurahat	Pai Soburi	Tabs	0	4	0	No.15 “ “ “ “		
16	Doolahat	Bodwaliah	Paom	0	4	0	No.16 “ “ “ “		
19	Ditto	Ditto	Taja	0	4	0	No. 19 “ “ “ “		
20	Ditto	Ditto	Tapee	0	4	0	No.20 ” “ “ “		
22	Ditto	Ditto	Tow	5	8	3	No.22 “ “ “ “		
23	Ditto	Ditto	Taku	0	4	0	“23 “ “ “		
26	Ditto	Ditto	Bejee, son of Tatum	1	8	0	“ 26 “ “ “ “		
27	Ditto	Ditto	Tai	0	4	0	“ 27 “ “ “ “		
28	Doolahat	Ditto	Tabera Tabee	0	8	0	“ 28 “ “ “ “		
29	Ditto	Ditto	Taj	0	4	0	“ “ “ “		
36	Owahat	Ditto	Dulli	15	1 0	0	“ 36 “ “ “		
37	Doolahat	Ditto	Kessak	2	0	0	“ 37 “ “ “		
38	Kandurahat	Abor Soburi	Tat Saha Abor	4	9	4	“ 38 “ “ “		
39	Ditto	Tai Soburi	Pahi	12	5	0	“ 39 “ “ “		
40-42	Ditto	Ditto	Kura	10	1 2	0	“ 40-42 “ “ “	1 bottle rum	
41	Ditto	Ditto	Jabi	12	2	0	“ 41 “ “ “ ‘		
42	Ditto	Ditto	Pator	7	4	0	“ 42 “ “ “ “	Ditto	
43	Ditto	Ditto	Teram	2	1 0	0	“ 43 “ “ “ “		
44	Ditto	Ditto	Tida	17	4	0	“ 44 “ “ “ “	2 bottle rum	
45	Ditto	Ditto	Dadum	3	1 4	0	“ 45 “ “ “ “		
46	Doolahat	BodowaliaPai Soburi	Tai	0	2	0	“ 46 “ “ “ “		
47	Ditto	Ditto	Tabling	0	4	0	“ 47 “ “ “		
48	Kandurahat (now doolahat)	Pij Soburi	Haru	0	4	0	“ 48” “ “		
49	Ditto	Ditto	Taling	0	4	0	“ 49 “ “ “		
50	Doolahat	Pai Soburi and Bouri Soburi	Tati	0	4	0	“ 50 “ “ “	1 bottle rum	
			Carried over....						
51	Kandurahat	Pai Soburi and Bonsi Soburi	Kara	1	8	0	No.51 of 29 th March 1852.		
52	Ditto	Ditto	Takhee	0	7	0	“ 52 “ “ “		
53-54	Doolahat	Takor Soburi	Tap Taklow’s brother Timla	2	8	0	“ 53 “ “ “		

ASSAM SECRETARIAT PROCEEDINGS,
Serials 6.
“Posa “ allowances to the hill tribes of Lakhimpur.

55	Ditto	Pai Soburi	Rassar	0	8	0	“ 55 “ “ “				
57	Kandurahat	Ditto	Takir	1	0	0	“ 57 “ “ “				
58	Doolahat	Pija Soburi	Teleng Haru	0	4	0	“ 58 “ “ “				
59	Ditto	Baru Soburi	Shoo	6	0	0	“ 59 “ “ “	1 bottle rum			
60	Ditto	Ditto	Manika	0	4	0	“ 60 “ “ “				
61	Kandurahat	Pai Soburi	Nam	8	4	3	“ 61 “ “ “	Ditto			
62	Ditto	Ditto	Tai gam	1	0	0	“ 62 “ “ “				
65	Doolahat	Pija Soburi	Teeping	10	1	1	“ 65 “ “ “				
66	Ditto	Seenie “	Habi	1	0	0	“ 66 “ “ “				
67	Ditto	Peij “	Hakhu	1	0	0	“ 67 “ “ “				
68	Ditto	Ditto	Jiga	1	0	0	“ 68 “ “ “	Ditto			
69	Ditto	Ditto “	Taju	0	4	0	“ 69 “ “ “				
72	Ditto	Golowalia	Pania	1	0	0	“ 72 “ “ “				
74	Owahat	Peeju Soburi	Taling	0	4	0	“ 74 “ “ “				
75	.....	.....	Tasji	0	4	0	“ 75 “ “ “			
76	Doolahat	Piju soburi	Bostiz	0	4	0	“ 76 “ “ “				
78	Ditto	Golowialiah Soburi	Nibi Gumi Sonkama	5	4	0	“ 78 of 27 th of January 1863	Ditto			
79	Ditto	Soot Soburi	Aruhu	3	0	0	“ 79 of 29 th of March 1852		Serials 6.		
80	Ditto	Ditto	Eaku gamini	2	1	0	“ 80 “ “ “				
81	Ditto	Golowialiah soburi	Ditto	2	9	0	“ 81 “ “ “				
82	Ditto	Ditto	Maklow	1	1	3	“ 82 “ “ “				
87	Ditto	Ditto	Tasing	1	0	0	“ 87 “ “ “				
88	Ditto	Ditto	Mali	1	0	0	“ 88 “ “ “				
89	Ditto	Ditto	Eloo	1	4	0	“ 89 “ “ “				
90	Ditto	Ditto	Radi	1	4	0	“ 90 “ “ “				
91	Ditto	Ditto	“Garkum	1	4	0	“ 91 “ “ “				
92	Ditto	Ditto	Taku	1	0	0	“ 92 “ “ “				
93	Ditto	Ditto	Chamar	0	4	0	“ 93 “ “ “				
94	Ditto	Ditto	Dadum	0	4	0	“ 94 “ “ “				
95	Owahat	Badowialiah	Charbang and Mali	1	8	0	“ 95 “ “ “				
97	Doolahat	Golowialiah	Taling	0	4	0	“ 97 “ “ “				
98	Doolahat	Tahkar Soburi	Tasing	10	0	0	No. 98 of 29 th March 1852.				
99	Ditto	Ditto	Khoda	0	4	0	“ 99 “ “ “				
100	Ditto	Ditto	Padinga	2	0	0	“ 100 “ “ “				
101	Ditto	Ditto	Mali	0	4	0	“ 101 “ “ “				
102	Ditto	Golowatia	Somi for Whom Kiring	1	0	0	“ 102 “ “ “				
103	Ditto	Ditto	Nabi	0	4	0	“103 “ “ “				
104	Ditto	Ditto	Tabo	0	4	0	“104 “ “ “				
105	Ditto	Ditto	Sidi	0	4	0	“105 “ “ “				
107	Ditto	Ditto	Nebi Abor	3	4	0	“107 “ “ “				
108	Ditto	Eabowalia	Ruba	1	0	0	“108 “ “ “				
109	Ditto	Ditto	Doiah	0	4	0	“109 “ “ “				
110	Ditto	Ditto	Chai	1	5	6	“110 “ “ “				

111	Ditto	Golowaliah	Hargee	8	4	9	“111 “ “ “			
112	Ditto	Ditto	Bhooa	0	6	0	“112 “ “ “			
113	Ditto	Ditto	Gera	0	4	0	“113 “ “ “			
114	Ditto	Eabowalia	Tajet Galin	0	4	0	“114 “ “ “			
115-116	Ditto	Ditto	Warest Apum	1	8	0	“115-116 “ “ “			
117	Ditto	Ditto	Siriz	0	1 2	0	“117 “ “ “			
117	Owahat	Eabowalia	Karu	1	0	0	“117 “ “ “			
117 ½	Ditto	Ditto	Tawa	0	4	0	“117 ½ “ “ “			
117 ¾	Ditto	Jalwaliah	Poongbor	3	1 5	4	“117 ¾ “ “ “			
123	Ditto	Nirikolia Soburi	Tona	14	3	9	“123 “ “ “ “	Ditto		
124	Ditto	Ditto	Tami	3	4	0	“124 “ “ “			
125	Ditto	Bodowaliah	Dadum	1	0	0	“125 “ “ “			
126	Ditto	Ditto	Tara	1	4	0	“126 “ “ “ “			
127	Ditto	Eabowaliah	Tadu	1	0	0	“127 “ “ “			
127 ½	Ditto	Ditto	Tenta gam	0	4	0	“127 ½ “ “ “			
129	Kandurahat	Pai soburi	Rejum	0	4	0	“129 “ “ “			
134	Doolahat	Khotowaliah	Sajing’s son Siring	1	0	0	“134 “ “ “			
137	Ohat	Balowaliah	Gera	5	0	0	“137 “ “ “			
138	Ditto	Ditto	Taluk , brother Gera	1	0	0	“138 “ “ “			
139	Ditto	Ditto	Teola				“139 “ “ “			
140	Ditto	Takhaslia	Mali	0	4	0	“140 “ “ “			
141	Ditto	.....	Nerinj	0	4	0	“141 “ “ “			
142	Dalahat	Pai and Buri Soburi	Tekha gam	5	6	0	No. 142 of 29 th March 1852.			
143	Ohat	Bolowalia	Tajus ,son of pai	0	1 2	0	“143 “ “ “ “			
144	Kandurahat	Budowalia	Haonggart gam	16	1	9	“ 144 “ “ “			
144½	Doolahat	Takhawolia	Relse	0	4	0	“ 144½ “ “ “			
146	Malowhati	Batowolia	Sabhu	0	4	0	“ 146 “ “ “			
148	Ditto	Ditto	Kara	0	4	0	“ 148 “ “ “			
149	Nokrong	Takshislia	Tamarpisa, son of Gompu	4	0	0	“ 149 “ “ “			
150	Ohat	Ditto	Hai	1	0	0	“ 150 “ “ “			
151	Ditto	Ditto	Hasing	1	0	0	“ 151 “ “ “	1 bottle rum.		
152	Ditto	Ditto	Hago	1	8	0	“ 152 “ “ “			
81-153	Ditto	Talmalia	Kapu,son of hajigola	3	8	0	“ 81-153 “ “ “			
154	Molowalia	Solmolialia	Sabu	0	4	0	“ 154 “ “ “			
155	Doolahat	Boori soburi	Kapai, brother of late Boda	0	4	0	“ 155 “ “ “			
170	Nokrong	Singolia	Singking	0	4	0	“ 170 “ “ “			
173	Ditto	Ditto	Bogi	2	0	0	“ 173 “ “ “			
189	Ditto	Saiswalia	Tasong	3	4	0	“ 189 “ “ “			
189	Ditto	Ditto	Paru	1	4	0	“ 189 “ “ “			

194	Ditto	Sengewalia	Ditto	0	1 0	0	“ 194 “ “ “ “			
195	Ditto	Ditto	Tema	0	4	0	“ 195 “ “ “ “			
198	Ditto	Chrislia	Kesang	0	4	0	“ 198 “ “ “ “			
	Doolahat	Golowalia	Tais	0	4	0				
	Ditto	Bodowalia	Tatum	0	8	0				
	Ditto	Ditto	Kesack	0	4	0				
	Ditto	Galowalia	Reli	0	4	0				
	Ditto	Bodowalia	Lali	0	4	0				
	Ditto	Golowalia	Paphi	0	4	0				
	Ditto	Bodowalia	Jais	0	4	0				
1-149	Nokrong and Molowkatia	Takhawalia	Guncheegora	3	6	0				
2-157	Nokrong	Tabloodia	Nana gam and Siksori	2	1 1	8				
3-58	Ditto	Ditto	Atagam	11	1 3	8				
4-159	Ditto	Ditto	Naragam	1	1	8				
5-161	Ditto	Ditto	Muji and Chuti gam	2	1	8				
6-161 ½	Ditto	Ditto	Korong gam	0	4	0				
7-161 ¾	Nokrong	Tabloolia	Tari gam	1	0	0				
8-162	Ditto	Ditto	Oja,son of Tabin	3	7	0				
9-162	Ditto	Ditto	Sisi and Oja	0	5	4				
10-162	Ditto	Ditto	Bobin ,brother of Oja	0	1 0	2				
11-163	Ditto	Ditto	Sili gam	2	1	8				
12-163	Ditto	Ditto	Nena, brother of Seli	0	8	0				
13-164	Ditto	Ditto	Oto gam	0	8	0				
14-165	Ditto	Ditto	Seentory gam	0	9	8				
15-166	Ditto	....	Taki Sekam	...	...	...	
	Ditto and Malowhat	Sasengolia	Hali Charan Teka Durjow ...	6	0	0				
17-167	Malawhati	Salmolia	Tatam gam	0	9	8				
18-168	Ditto	Ditto	Pili gam	0	5	8				
19-169	Ditto	Ditto	Siring gam	0	9	8				
20-170	Nokrong	Selengalia	Charbung	7	1 2	0	No.20-170			
21-	Ditto	Ditto	Kopong’s wife	2	8	0	“ 21-171			

171			biloni						
22-172-173	Ditto	Ditto	Gopi andBagi ...						
174	Ditto	Ditto	Bora and pungkingsam Miri	11	4	0	" 22-172-173	1 bottle rum.	
133-176	Ditto	Ditto	Bekaram for late Tena gam	1	0	0	133-176		
23-183	Ditto	Ditto	Tattoo gam for Bekang	5	4	0	" 23-183.		
24-184	Ditto	Sasingalia Sooru	Gumba gam	12	1 5	6	" 24-184	Ditto	
25-188	Ditto	Ditto	Tapi, son of Talang	1	4	0	" 25-188		
26-189	Ditto	Ditto	Papung Hari gam	0	4	0	" 26-189		
190	Ditto	Namamolia sooru	Karu gam	1	0	0	" 190		
194	Ditto	Tengmolia Loori	Tai gam's son Beha gam	8	5	2	" 194		
28-196 and 197	Ditto	Tasulia Toorie	Gupi gam's cousin Huraman	7	1 0	0	" 28-196 and 197		
29-199	Ditto	Serislia Loori	Papang	2	1 3	0	" 29-199		
30-202	Ditto	Tonolia Sonni	Bhiea gam	0	9	8	" 30-202		
31-203	Ditto	Bokowalia	Tapaisa gam	0	9	8	" 31-203		
32-204	Ditto	Ditto	Rebang gam	0	9	8	" 32-204		
33-205	Ditto	Ditto	Teoak	0	9	8	"33-205		
34-206	Ditto	Ditto	Tarang	0	9	8	" 34-206		
2-12	Ditto	Ditto	Tatum gam	2	4	0	" 212		
2-3	Ditto	Makengolia	Parai gam	1	1 4	0	" 213		
30-207	Nokrong	Bokowalia loori	Sesak	0	9	8	No.35-207.		
36-214	Boronga	Magnolia soori	Rangkoo , son Harmasi	7	4	0	" 36-214		
216	Ditto	Ditto	Dulung's son Borsanglow	1	4	0	" 216		
218	Nokrong	Anialia Soori	Herapuah	2	8	0	" 218		
38-219	Ditto	Anialia Loori	Chengring's son Mani, bhena's son Hazarika.	6	4	6	" 38-219		
39-220	Ditto	Ditto	Miri Brother of Nigoni	3	2	6	" 39-220		
40-221	Ditto	Ditto	Oni gam	2	1 0	0	" 40-221		
41-222	Ditto	Ditto	Tatum gam	2	8	0	" 41-222		
42-	Boronga	Wangaolia	Keleng, son of	22	6	0	These are both		

223		loori	Akhai				Keleng's son and payment has been transferred to Darrang – see Deputy Commissioner, Darrang's No.1023J. Dated the 30 th March 1885.			
43-224	Ditto	Ditto	Bhokut, for Kokai gam	13	1	0				
44-226	Ditto	Ditto	Koka gam's son, of Pioli	6	8	0	...			
46-228	Ditto	Niaolia	Durjon and Harin	5	0	0	...			
47-229	Borduar	Enowalia	Gopi, Tapi, and Sengereng	9	2	0	...			
48-230	Ditto	Ditto	Cehander, Tama, Hari, Sanca, Rengta.	15	6	6	....		
49-231	Ditto	Ditto	Hari Tajs	4	5	3	....		
50-232	Ditto	Ditto	Soma gams's brother Jagi	6	9	6	....		
51-233	Ditto	Ditto	Nagar's brother Noun	4	1 4	0	....		
52-235	Ditto	Hasingolia	Runka gam's brother rengo.	1	4	0	....		
53-236	Ditto	Ditto	Kekoni, women	2	1 2	0	....		
54-237	Ditto	Ditto	Yalum's son Pura gam	2	4	0	....		
241	Ditto	Ditto	Toking gam	1	7	1	....		
56-243	Ditto	Nelengolia	Rumbha, Wife of Kola gam	2	0	0	....		
			Posa by salt	1	9	6	....		
			Ditto in money	12	8	0	....		
	Land awarded permanent to Kotokis annually to the amount of rupees as follows:						....		
		Rs.		70	0	0				
		Badhi kotoki 15								
		Shogi “ 15								
		Disu “ 10								
		Nomal “ 10								
		Mani “ 10								
		Gahari “ 10								
		Deit allowances of Dafflas.		20	0	0				
		Grand Total of		72	1	1				

		Dafflas' Posa payable annually.		9	4	0				
Nyishis of Kamle Valley										
No.	Name of duars.	Name of Khel.	Name of Persons entitled of subsidy	Amount of Posa.			No. and date of certificate on posa	Remarks		
18-1	Maumati ...	Simir Tarbotia	Tapa Miri	Rs	a.	p.	3 rd April 1873.			
				3	8	0				
6613-2	Ditto	Ditto	Bakara'ssonTacha Miri	12	2	6	3 rd February 1866.			
1-3	Ditto	Ditto	Fie Miri	25	4	8	10 th March 1870.			
33-4	Ditto	Ditto	Tayar's son Tech	2	1	0	9 th March 1852.			
19-5	Ditto	Ditto	Tasi gam	2	4	6	Ditto			
20-6	Ditto	Ditto	Terir's son Jekumiri	1	1	0	25 th March 1863.			
5-7	Ditto	Ditto	Terir's sons Talan and Takum.	10	0	4	Ditto			
11-8	Ditto	Ditto	Tachar Miri	2	1	0	7 th March 1859.			
63-9	Ditto	Ditto	Tachar's son Bakari Miri	7	1	2	3 rd February 1860			
82-10	Ditto	Ditto	Dek Miri's wife Eam Miriani	3	1	0	16 th March 1880.			
60-11	Ditto	Ditto	Taker gam	3	1	2	Ditto			
43-12	Ditto	Ditto	Tennis' brother Tali	3	1	0	Ditto			
55-13	Ditto	Ditto	Tamla Miri	0	8	0	Ditto			
51-14	Ditto	Ditto	Musa Eab Miriani	4	5	0	Ditto			
7-15	Ditto	Ditto	Teti gam	10	2	6	Ditto			
44-16	Ditto	Ditto	Minir's son Tumar	1	3	0	Ditto			
66-17	Ditto	Taloms	Kera gam	11	1	3	Ditto			
3-54-1-8	Ditto	Ditto	Takar Miri	12	2	4	Ditto			
56-19	Ditto	Keba	Tachar's son Tata, and his son Tesi, mother Chito.	24	1	8	9 th March 1852.			
67-20	Ditto	Ditto	Kanu Miri	0	1	0	Ditto			
65-21	Ditto	Riha	Tibin Miri	4	6	0	Ditto			
62-22	Ditto	Ditto	Paik gam's son Boda	27	1	2	Ditto			
29-	Ditto	Chunir	Tada Miri	11	1	0	Ditto			

23					0				
10-24	Ditto	Ditto	Tadum gam	7	7	6	Ditto		
73-25	Ditto	Talan	Tale gam's sonTani gam.	10	8	8	Ditto		
21-26	Ditto	Ditto	Teda gam	1	1 2	8	Ditto		
59-27	Ditto	Ditto	Tamir Miri	6	0	0	Ditto		
76-28	Ditto	Riha	Eam gamini	1	3	0	Ditto		
68-29	Ditto	Ditto	Tapak Miri	17	0	7	Ditto		
58-30	Ditto	Ditto	Takar's son Tag Miri	11	0	0	Ditto		

Sources: Assam Secretariat, file No.177J, Nos.1-6, serial No.6, pp.8-24,

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the Posa system had been the key policy of both the Ahom rule as well as the British government to appease the certain hill tribes. The system was introduced by the Ahoms in order to establish friendly relations with Nyishis and also mutually exchange their produces. The Ahoms used to assign some section of plain cultivators who were known as *Dafla Bohatias* to give their produces to the Nyishi as *Posa*. The British, after the annexation of Assam, found lot of difficulties to deal with the hill tribes particularly Nyishis. Therefore, the system of *posa* was continued by the British with some changes in order to maintain good relations with the Nyishis. However, They used to pay *posa* to the Nyishis directly through their officials like *Mulguzars* instead of assigned to ryots. It successfully stopped the Nyishi raids and also stopped the capture of assigned ryots regarding misunderstanding on the *Posa* payments. The Nyishis also promised that they would not give shelter to the offenders of British in their territories and also promised to help them to detain the offenders and criminals. The British Government directed that any conflicts and complexities related to *Posa* payment would be referred to the British Magistrates for settlement. After lots of persuasion, finally the British introduced the system of cash payment of *posa* in 1852. Another new system introduced by the British was issue of the *hathchitta* (hand written note) to every recipient in the year 1878 for more transparency and accountability. In this new feature name of *posa* recipients and amount fixed for each recipient were written in the note. They also used *Posa* as means and tools to pressurise and subdue the Nyishi raids and outrages in the British territory. In order to stop raids, the British introduced a system in which the *posa* payment to the offenders or raiders was stopped until and unless they surrender before authority. Thus, the British Government fully utilized the *Posa* system on the Nyishi as per requirement of time and situation to control raids and outrages by the Nyishis. Though the British could not colonise the entire Nyishi inhabitant areas, they maintained significant relations with the Nyishis through conciliatory policy like *Posa* system. This system was continued till the end of the British rule in India.

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