

**INDIAN INDEPENDENCE: IT'S EFFECTS ON
NAGALAND**

**A DISSERTATION PRESENTED BY
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**UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF
DR. NALINI WAGHMARE**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “*Indian Independence: Its effects on Nagaland*” completed and written by me has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or other similar title upon me of this or any other Vidyapeeth or examining body.

Research Student: Sentilong Longchar

Place: Pune

Date:

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "*Indian Independence: Its effects on Nagaland*" which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in *History* of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune is the result of original research work completed by Shri. *Sentilong Longchar* under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this dissertation has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or similar title of this or any University or examining body upon him.

Sd/-

Research Guide: Dr. Nalini Waghmare

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SENTILONG LONGCHAR

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The British came to India in 1600 as mere traders under the banner British East India Company which was established in 1600. During that time India was under the rule of the Mughals. However, over the next 250 years the merchants found themselves more in the role conquerors than traders. By 1858, more than half of the Indian Territory was ruled by the British. During this time, the British brought many developments in tea and cotton industries, agriculture industries, iron and coal industries, railways and telegraph lines and other prominent developments.

While these developments underwent prominent changes, it disrupted the economy and culture of India. Moreover there was huge gap between the British officials and the working class Indians. With the second class treatment by the British towards Indians, the Indians could no longer tolerate the ill-treatment by the British in their own lands and started to work for Independence. As a result, the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 to lead the Indian Independence movement.

In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi became one of the emerging leaders in the Indian National Congress. Educated in British schools, Mahatma Gandhi was deeply rooted in Indian tradition and culture. In order to fight against the British, Mahatma Gandhi developed the non-violence movement to protest against the British. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi many non-violent movements like the Non-cooperation, civil disobedience movement, and quit India Movement was launched against the British. Ultimately, after the Second World War, the British promised the Independence of India. Due to violent clashes between the Hindus and the Muslims, separate states for

both the Hindus and Muslims was proposed. Finally India got its Independence in 1947 and a separate state for the Muslims, Pakistan was formed.

The course for the struggle of Indian Independence lasted a decade with the loss of countless lives and many changes took place in different parts of India, including Nagaland. Geographically, the state of Nagaland borders the state of Assam in the west, Arunachal Pradesh to the North, Burma to the east and Manipur to the south. Like any other states, Nagaland too was affected by British colonization. The first British invasion happened in areas of present Nagaland state during 1832 but the resistance was so strong that the British did not interfere in the affairs of the Nagas. By 1880 the British established their military base in the Naga Hills. Thus, with the coming of the British in Naga Hills, things slowly started to unfold for the Naga people.

Therefore, the researcher deals with the social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Nagas from the time of the advent of the British to the Naga Hills and the changes after Indian Independence as well as the contributions of the Nagas towards India.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NAGALAND

Nagas have no recorded history of their own, however they are not devoid of rich culture, traditions, legends and stories. But, these are all preserved orally. However, these oral traditions throw some light on their origin, migration and ancestry, but this cannot wholly be accepted as historical. Scholars who undertake research studies on Naga history find it difficult to proceed with their investigations due to lack of reliable historical sources. Historical research on modern periods needs to be based on records available in the archives, either official or non-official.

The history of the Nagas is covered in darkness. It is not known from where the Nagas came from, how they came and when they came. Due to the lack of reliable records all the authors presumed that the Nagas have close links with the tribes of south-east Asian countries and that the Nagas have come from those places. Therefore, the Nagas are not the original inhabitants of this place but have come from outside.

Originally, the Nagas were known by the name of their villages and not by the name of their tribes as they are known now. At present there are 16 major tribes in Nagaland; Ao, Angami, Sumi, Lotha, Chakesang, Konyak, Sangtam, Chang, Phom, Zeliang, Rengma, Yimchunger, Pochury, Kheimungan, Kachari and Kuki.

LOCATION AND AREA

Nagaland is situated approximately between 25°-11'-55'' and 27°-2'-10'' North latitude, and between 93°-0'-20'' and 95°-17'-10'' East longitude¹. The state is bounded by Assam in the west, Manipur in the south, Burma in the east and Arunachal Pradesh in the north. The total area of the state according to 2011 census is 16,579 square kilometre, making it one of the smallest state in India. The state of Nagaland was created on 1st December 1963 as the 16th state of the Indian Union. The state is inhabited by 1,978,502 people of which 1,024,649 are males and 953,853 are females according to 2011 census². The state of Nagaland may be called a tribal state according to the population point of view and it is first of its kind, next being Meghalaya which came into being in 1972.

¹ . *Annexure i*, p. A1

² . Refer *Annexure ii* for census report 2011, p.A1

SOURCES

Unlike other states there is great shortage of materials to construct the history of Nagaland. No historical data is available about the Nagas prior to their migration in this land except that the Nagas have links with the tribes of south-east Asian countries. No historical data is available prior to 1832 when the British first came to the Naga Hills. Therefore up to 1832 we are to solely depend upon traditional oral stories. Even then, traditional oral stories differ among the different tribes and even among the same tribe to some extent. However with these oral stories it is possible to reconstruct fairly correct history of Nagaland and their origin and migration.

From the advent of the British (1832) we come to the age of recorded history. There are many tour diaries, accounts about the Nagas and different tribes, notes and Government files left behind by the British. These records are the greatest source for the reconstruction of Nagas and Naga Hills which is now known as the state of Nagaland. But these records are incomplete too because they deal with the then Naga Hills district which does not include the present Tuengsang and Mon district which lies on the eastern part of the state of Nagaland.

Tradition is also one of the most important sources of the history of Nagaland. Tradition is not only considered as a source because all the past knowledge that existed prior to the British records relies on the tradition. All the sixteen Naga tribes have got different traditions about their migration, settlement, feuds etc.³. As all the different tribes vary in traditions, the variations can be seen among the same tribe in respect of details. Therefore, traditions are the best source about the settlement and migration relating to different tribes, land, feuds and wars.

³ B.B. Ghosh, *History Of Nagaland*, S.Chand & Company Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, 1982, p.24.

The other kind of source is the personal knowledge. In historical sources personal knowledge are not considered as a source but it is otherwise in Nagaland. The personal knowledge is of great significance, especially in regard of culture of the people. In addition personal knowledge is of great help to reconstruct the history of the state since 1957, when the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed. It helps us to gather the information for the causes of the formation of NHTA. Since the history of this period is not recorded personal knowledge is the only reliable source which can be taken into account.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics and such other historical materials in respect of Nagaland are not available due to their absence.

RUINS OF DIMAPUR

Dimapur is the commercial hub of Nagaland, it is considered as the most prosperous town in Nagaland. According to 2011 census, the population of Dimapur is 378,811. Dimapur has the only railway station in the state.

The people of Kachari once ruled the plains of Assam. In Kachari Di means water or river. In Assam there are many important places beginning with Di such as Digboi, Diphu, Dibrugarh etc signifying the rule of kacharis. The name Dimapur originated from a place known as Dima-sa where the Kacharis once ruled.

It is stated in the Mahabharata that Ghototkacha the Rakshasha prince was the son of Bhima, the second Pandava brother by his Rakshasha wife Hirimba. It is believed and

even claimed by the Kacharis that Hirimba belonged to them. That was in the time of Mahabharata and its historicity is a matter of traditional belief⁴.

It is no doubt that the Kacharis once ruled from Dimapur. The worn out brick gate at Dimapur still testifies to the once existence of a palace there. The gate is built of small bricks with decorations. The absence of the ruins of the palace it is inexplicable and so the existence of the gate is also inexplicable without the palace. However, there is a well preserved gate at Dimapur which is called Rajbari-the palace of the King.

The gate is 51 feet long, 15 feet deep and about 15 feet high. There are two octagonal turrets, one on each side. In order to receive the hinges of the double heavy doors some stones have been pierced inside the gateway. The entire gate is well ornamented and few false windows of ornamental moulded brick work are placed. The ruins of the gate are situated on the eastern side of the palace site.

Many massive round pillars surround the palace compound. There are about sixty-four pillars, consisting of four rows of sixteen pillars each in one particular area. The biggest pillar measuring about 15 feet in height with circumference varying from 23 to 25 feet stands as one lonely pillar with a blob on its head. The other pillars vary from 6 feet to 9 feet. Around twenty-three of them are still standing of which fourteen in more or less full form; and the rest have fallen to the ground and broken. Some thirty-two of them are V-shaped standing in two rows but none of them is still standing except one. In another area there are sixteen pillars of which five are still standing.

⁴ . S.S. Tunga, *Bengali and Other Related Dialects of South Assam*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1995, p.4.

There are two groups of pillars. In the first group there are 64 pillars in four rows of 16 each. It is about 300 feet south-south-west of the gate. The pillars are V-shaped in the western side of two rows and the first two rows on the eastern side are round. Out of the 64 pillars, only 14 are standing in full form and 9 standing broken pillars. All of the V-shaped pillars are broken and fallen to the ground. Though broken only one V-shaped pillar is more or less standing on the ground. Arm of one of the V-shaped pillars, fallen to ground, measures 14 feet long and sides 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches. It is rectangular in shape. The round pillars of this group vary in height from 6 feet to 9 feet. Its circumference varies from 5'-7' to 9.11'-4' to 13' and 15' to 17'-9'. No two pillars are identical in circumference or height or decoration. The pillars are from 10 feet to 13 feet apart centre to centre⁵.

In the second group of pillars there are 16 pillars of which 5 are still standing. It lies in the west of gate standing 400 feet tall. There are similarities between the two groups in its height and circumference.

Among the two group, the first group which consist of sixty four pillars out of which some of the pillars are seen fallen to the ground and three rust-proof iron rods measuring about one inch are sticking out from the base stone. There are holes on the fallen pillars which suggest that the pillars once stood on these iron rods. In other cases to prevent the pillar from falling the iron rods have been pierced through the pillars. In most cases the iron rods have holes in the broken parts of the pillars.

The pillars have semicircular tops with representations of deer, peacock, elephant, duck, dog etc. but no figures of human. The pillars are made of sand stone. It is most likely that the stones were carried from Chumukedima (Nichuguard) about 15 km

⁵ . Annexure iii, p.A2.

away from the site of the pillars. It is so because the nearest available place for the stones was in Chumukedima. No two pillars are the same even though all the pillars were ornamented and followed the same general form and pattern.

E.A.Gait in his book, *History of Assam*, states that among the Europeans, Mr. Grange was the first to visit the ruins in 1839.⁶

The palace compound is surrounded by brick walls on all three sides with a total length of about five km. There is no wall on the fourth side since the river Dhansiri runs through it. Others are of the opinion that even if there was a wall on this side the river might have washed it away.

According to the Kacharis the erection of the pillars and the palace are in regard to the fourth Kachari King- Chakradhvaj. They claim that the palace and the pillars were destroyed by Kala Pahar, but they also admit that the Kacharis were defeated by the Ahoms. Moreover Detsung, who was the last Kachari King of Dimapur was defeated and killed by the Ahoms in 1536⁷. It may be worth mentioning that Detsung ruled only for five years i.e. 1531- 1536 and it is very much likely that the palace existed many years before him. After the Kacharis were defeated at Dimapur, they established their capital at Maibong.

Another significant characteristic of the Kacharis was that the Kacharis were very much advanced in brick works. Whereas the Ahoms did not know the use of bricks rather they used to build their houses with bamboo and timber and covered it with mud. The Kacharis were more advanced than the Ahoms in civilisation by the fact that the pillars and the palace gate are still standing in spite of the hot and wet climate

⁶ . E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and co, 1906, p. 246.

⁷ . B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland*, opcit, p.28.

which proves that the mortar they used to build the pillars and the palace gate was of high order and quality.

It is not known exactly the age of the palace and the pillars. But studies suggest it to be not less than five hundred years old. After validating with Detsung, the last Kachari King of Dimapur who was defeated by the Ahoms in 1536 we can say that the pillars and the palace were made during the early 15th century.

The absence of the palace ruins and the existence of a well preserved palace gate points out that the palace was constructed before Detsung came into rule. And by the time Detsung became the ruler of Dimapur the palace was quite old and worn out and slowly the palace disappeared. The palace gate however, might have been constructed by Detsung or his predecessor and that might be the reason of the existence of the palace gate till day.

According to E.A.Gait the absence of any human figures on the pillars proves that during the time of the Kacharis, the Kacharis were not influenced by Hinduism. But this view cannot be wholly accepted because in many wood- works of the Nagas, there are representations of human figures though the Nagas were not Hindus. Moreover, there many Shiva Lingams without human figures in many parts of India, however these pillars seem to be connected with some religious ceremonies.

The Nagas had nothing to do with the palace and the Kachari Kings because the Kachari Kings only ruled over the plains of Assam and not over the Nagas. However, the Nagas shared good relations with the Kacharis.

LONGTOROK

Geographically Chungliyimti is a village Tuengsang district inhabited by the Sangtam tribe, some 20 km by road from Mokokchung district. The Ao Naga believes that they emerged out of 'Longtorok' meaning 'The Six stones'⁸ from Chungliyimti village. In Ao dialect 'Long' means 'stone' and 'torok' means 'six', therefore 'Longtorok' means 'six stones'

In simple word Longtorok means six stones but in fact it is not six stones but more. The myth further says that originally these were only six stones but it has increased in number by natural breaking. The oral tradition of the Ao myth mention about the classification of these stones. There are two types of stone groups. There are two big stones and about ten small ones in one group, each stones measuring about 10-15 to 15-20 cm in size. One of those stones looks like a phallus, measuring about 12-20 cm, one looks like a human foot and the other looks like a football. One of the big stones is flat and measures about 175 cm long, 75 cm broad and 30 cm thick. It has got an oval shape in the middle measuring about 20-50 cm implying female organ.

The other group of stone consist of four big and a few small stones. The four big stones are rectangular in shape and they are also similar in shape and size. Each stones measures about 150 cm long, 25 cm broad and 25 cm thick. From the study and the classification of the stones it is clear that the stones consist of different shapes and sizes and the Ao folklore narrates about the origin of man and women from these stones.

⁸ . *Annexure iv*, p. A2

KHEZAKENOMA CAVE

Some of the major Naga tribes such as Angami, Lotha and Sema have their own traditional oral stories of their migration from Burma and have gathered Khezakenoma and have slowly dispersed from there to their present area. In present day Khezakenoma is situated in Chakesang area, in the mid- south of Nagaland bordering Manipur. Another version of the story narrates that they emerged from a cave at Khezakenoma. These stories also says that they were brothers and were divided into different tribes after their settlement in different places. Their traditional stories also says that the Ao tribe went ahead of them, without any references to their coming ahead of the cave or not. The Semas called them *Cholimi*, which means ‘who went ahead’ since the Ao tribe went ahead of them. Thus the various versions of the major tribes of the Nagas implies that they migrated from Burma and stopped at Khezakenoma for a time being and later dispersed from there. The Naga tribes that dispersed from the khezakenoma cave are Lotha, Ao, Tenyima and Sema.

The story of Khezakenoma gives an insight of the migration of the different Naga tribes in Nagaland. Hence, the cave at Khezakenoma is an important archaeological evidence.

NAGINIMORA

In the end of 17th century there was an internal problem among the Ahom Kings, where one Ahom Prince Godadhar Singho, took shelter in the Naga Hills. During his stay in the Naga Hills in Konyak area he married a Konyak girl named Watlong.

While on their way back to Assam queen Watlong felt sick and decided to go back home to the Naga Hills and while returning home she died on the way at a place

which is now known by the name Naginimora (Naga Woman) died. At present Naginimora is situated in Mon district, it is a plain area in the North Western part of Nagaland bordering the Sibsagar plains.

Naginimora also testifies the relationship of the Ahoms with the Naga and particularly with the Naga Konyak tribe.

LONGCHUM STONE

The Longchum stone is a pillar located near Longchum village in Lotha area in Wokha district of Nagaland. It is said that in 1820- 1826, the Burmese erected the stone during their invasion of Assam. It is located in Bhandari range near the plains. The Naga tribes like Konyaks, Aos, Lothas and Rengmas were all affected by the Burmese invasion.

SCULPTURE FOOT-PRINT AT KOHIMA

In Kohima there is a flat stone sculptured with the print of both the feet of a human being. It is said that the foot-print is of the Manipur Raja. In 1833, Lt. Gordon with the help and support of the Manipur Raja Gambir Singh, led an expedition to Assam from Manipur through Kohima. The Nagas resisted the expedition but they were defeated. In order to mark this occasion the foot-print of the King was engraved on the stone. The stone has been recently shifted to the State Museum.

The foot-print marks the fight between the Nagas and the Manipuris though the Nagas were defeated.

OTHER RELICS AT KOHIMA

There are several relics such as the War Cemetery, Epigraphical records, several stone erections etc. in the state capital, Kohima.

FOREIGN ACCOUNTS

There are no ancient or medieval foreign accounts about Nagaland. The British under the banner East India Company first came to the Naga Hills in 1832 on their way to Assam from Manipur through the Angami area of Naga Hills. The Angami Nagas encountered the British and finally the British made their way to Assam.

After the encounter with the Nagas the British visited the different parts of the Naga Hills on various occasions. And gradually in 1866 a district of the Naga Hills was established under Assam with its headquarters at Samaguting. The headquarter was later shifted to Wokha which is located in the heart of the Hills in 1876 and later it was moved to Kohima in 1879 and from that time onward the British ruled over the Naga hills till 1947 when India got Independence.

During this period the British led many expeditions and exploration in the Naga Hills and as a result they have recorded their experiences about the land and the people of the Naga Hills.

It is also worth mentioning that the administrators of the Naga Hills district were anthropologists, sociologist, Christian Missionaries and scholars. The main objective of the administration was practically to prevent head-hunting and constant clashes by the Nagas. Their policy was not to interfere in the affairs of the Nagas and hence, no developments in areas like schools or industries were seen in the early administration

of the British in the Naga Hills. At the later part of the administration few primary schools were opened.

The Christian Missionaries undertook various tours which provided them the opportunity to collect data for writing. Apart from these the administrators and the missionaries wrote about the Nagas with great zeal. The Christian missionaries not only converted the local dialects into English but have also converted the hymn books and other English books in local languages.

Some of the foreign accounts which needs special mention are: : The Angami Nagas by Dr. J.H. Hutton⁹, The Lotha Nagas by J.P. Mills¹⁰, Ao Naga Tribes of Assam by W.C. Smith¹¹, The Naked Nagas by C. Von Haimendorf-Furer¹², and Rengma Nagas by J.P. Mills¹³.

From the above foreign accounts it is clear that they have covered Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha and Konyak which are the major tribes of the Naga Hills. However, they have not covered the tribes of the present Tuengsang district which is inhabited by eight other tribes. This was so because the Tuengsang district came under administration only in 1948 after the British left.

Some other references like the Rengma Nagas by J.P. Mills, The Naga Path by Miss Ursula Graham Bower, A descriptive Account of Assam by W. Robinson and Mixed Culture of Naga Tribes by Dr. J.H. Hutton, can also be put into account.

⁹ . Dr. J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969.

¹⁰ . J.P. Mills, *The Lotha Nagas*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1922.

¹¹ . W.C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, Cambridge University press, London, 1925.

¹² . Christoph Von Haimendorf-Furer, *The Naked Nagas*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1946.

¹³ . J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1937.

INDIGENOUS ACCOUNTS

There was no attempt made by the Indians to write anything about the Nagas during the rule of British period. However, some important works were published in 1960. Some of the important published works are *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* by Alemchiba Ao, a Naga himself; *Nagaland* by Verrier Elwin, a domiciled European, and *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century* also by Verrier Elwin. Other than these three books, most of the works are political in nature and some other books are written in English and also in different Indian Languages.

CHRONICLES

Only after the coming of the British in the Naga Hills they have written some chronicles and many of them have been published in *the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *Man in India*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, and several other periodicals¹⁴. Moreover Apart there are several tour notes, personal letters and Government documents which provides useful information about the Nagas in the nineteenth century.

PERIODIZATION

The history of Nagas and that of Nagaland which is inhabited by the Nagas is covered in darkness. All the authors believed that the Nagas have close links with the tribes of south east Asian countries and that the Nagas have come to their present habitat probably in the 13th century¹⁵. Therefore this period may be called the ancient period since nothing is known about this period.

¹⁴ . B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland*, Opcit, p.34.

¹⁵ . Ibid, p. 34

After the migration of the Nagas into the Naga Hills till upto 1876, the Nagas were living in independent villages and were often engaged in inter-tribal and village wars. There was no law-enforcing authority to prevent the inter-tribal war clashes. The early life of the Nagas were headhunters, which means anyone could cut down the head of an enemy village or tribe. Headhunting was practised as an act of valour and heroism. A person who cuts down the head of the enemy was acclaimed as the hero of the village.¹⁶ The period of headhunting was a period of lawlessness and this period was between the ancient and the modern period. So this period maybe called as the medieval period. The medieval period starts from the 13th century and ends in the 19th century after the British administration took over the Naga Hills in 1874. Even though the British administration took over the Naga Hills, it took some time to control the lawlessness and headhunting practises of the Nagas. Therefore it may be fairly correct to say that the medieval period extended even upto the 20th century.

The Modern period here begins from 1876 after the district headquarters of the Naga Hills was set up at Wokha, in the heart of the Naga Hills. This period was a time of peace and order. The British administration put an end to the fears of the people of getting killed and brought peace and safety.

During this period headhunting occurred rarely and very few lives were lost. But in the late 1962 some thirty heads were cut off in the present Tuensang district.¹⁷ This was so because the modern period in the present Tuensang and Mon district started as late as 1948 when the first administrative unit was set up in Tuensang. After the separation from the Frontier Division of North-East Frontier agency, it was added to Naga Hills in December 1857 in order to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA).

¹⁶ . According to *Lolenyangba Aier*, interview.

¹⁷ . B.B.Gosh, *History of Nagaland*, Opcit, p. 36.

It turns out to be a major step towards modernization and later it formed into a state and various developments took place intensively.

RACIAL ELEMENTS AND LANGUAGE OF THE NAGAS

Nagas are not a mixed people. They are considered to be from the mongoloid race even though they differ from one tribe to another in cultural traits, languages, dress and physical features. There are differences even between the people of the same tribe. Some are tall and some short. Some have got comparatively sharp features and some not. There are differences even in the colour of the skin tone. Some have got straight hair as well as some have wavy hairs. Yet in spite of all these differences, they may be classified as Tibeto-Burman group of Mongoloid People.

The Nagas inhabit the areas of Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Burma. There are about thirty tribes and the number of languages is double to that of the tribes. Sir Grierson has put all these languages under Tibeto-Burman group. There are many words in the Naga languages which are quite similar to those of Burma, Japan and China especially that of Angami Nagas.

According to Dr. Hutton before the Nagas came to their present habitat this place, was occupied by the people of Mon-Khmer affinities and some bands of Negrito hunters. Some traces of their existence are still found among people with woolly hair superimposed on Mongoloid features.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD “NAGA”

The origin of the word Naga has many views by different scholars. Some scholars believe that the word Naga has come from the Sanskrit word *Nagna* which means naked¹⁸. It is so because the Nagas were known by the paucity of their clothes. The Nagas used to cover only their private part with a cloth and so they were practically naked or nude. But we cannot fully depend on this view because in Sanskrit literature the wild inhabitants of the hills were also described as Kiratas.

Some scholars also believe that the word Naga has come from the Hindustani word *Nanga*, which means naked. This view cannot be accepted because the Hindustani speaking people have never come in to close contacts with the Nagas. While some scholars suggests that the word Naga originated from the Bengali word *Nangta*, meaning naked. This view cannot be accepted because like the Hindustani speaking people, the Bengalees have not come in contact with the nagas. While the bengalees have come in contacts with the Garos, who are in-fact accustomed to greater nudity than the Nagas, still the Bengalees have not used the word *Nangta* or *Naga* to the Garos¹⁹.

Again, some scholars are of the view that the word *Naga* has originated from the word Naga, which means snake or king of snakes. According to myths, the king of snakes had a daughter, princess Ulupi who was married to third pandava brother, Arjuna of Mahabharata fame. Princess Ulupi's residence was in the south-west region of Nagaland and since the area fall under the kingdom of the Naga-Raj, the king of snakes or the king of the Naga tribe, the people are known as Naga.

¹⁸ . Vaibhav Dhaka, *States of India- Nagaland*, Kunal Prakashan, Delhi, 2008. P.7.

¹⁹ . W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, Ostell and Lepage, 1841, pp.380-98.

Another view says that throughout India the word 'Naga Sannyasi' are applied to all the naked beggars. As the naked Sannyasis are called Naga so also the naked people of this area are called Naga. This is not likely, because the term is not applied to other nude tribes of India, particularly Garos.

Another view suggests that the word Naga has originated from a Kachari word naga which means young man and hence a warrior.

According to Peal Gait, Holcombe and Elwin, the word Naga has originated from some tribal word *nok* or *noka* meaning 'folk'. It is also suggested that the word *nok* or *noka* has some connection with Sanskrit word *loka* which means people. This view is not tenable because an insignificant word of the Garos of Meghalaya or Nocte Nagas of Arunachal Pradesh cannot give the name to such a comparatively great number of people, whereas the Garos themselves are not called Naga.

Moreover it may be noted here that most of the major Naga tribes call themselves otherwise, for example Aos call themselves Aor, the Angamis call themselves Tenyiema, the Lothas call themselves Kyon and the Semas call themselves Sumi.

Another view is that the word Naga has originated from the Assamese word Noga, which means naked. In Assamese 'O' is pronounced as 'A' in Bengali. Since there are many Bengalees in Assam and many of them came in close contact of the British Administrators, it is very likely that they have introduced the word Naga.

In the thirteenth century, in the chronicles of Assam the people have been referred to as Noga. Though this view cannot explain all the pros and cons and extension of the generic term to all the people to whom it is applied now, it satisfies most of the requirements as to the origin of the word. Still now Assamese word for the Nagas is

Noga. It is widely used in Assam, and there is no other word to substitute it. In fact noga is a purely Assamese word and is in use in Assamese literature all through.

It has to be noted that originally the word noga or naga used to be applied to all the naked people of the hills who used to come in contact with the people of Assam. Gradually the name was applied to a greater number of people and ultimately it has become a generic term for many tribes. It is very likely to extend further and include still greater number of people.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION OF THE NAGA TRIBES

Different Naga tribes differ among themselves in features, languages, customs, dress and traditions. This proves that the Nagas were not one people and did not originate in one place. But at the same time there are similarities among the different tribes. For example, there are some words which are similar among some Naga tribes and also their food habits are more or less similar. These proves that the different Naga tribes were once closely associated with one another.

Another similarity among the Naga tribes is that the Angami men use cowries on their kilt, a short cloth which is worn round the waist and comes down up-to the knee. In the same way the Semas also use such kilt. The Lotha women use pieces of conch shell in their necklaces²⁰. Similarly other tribes are also fond of using such articles. Moreover, the Aos and the Konyaks make Log drum in the shape of a canoe²¹ while some other tribes also practise such methods. All these similarities and use of marine articles like the conch shells, canoe shape log drum suggest that the different Naga

²⁰ . *Axxexure v*, p. A2

²¹ *Annexure vi*, p. A2

tribes were once living together near the sea²². Among the Naga tribes, the Angamis and allied tribes practised terrace cultivation. Terrace cultivation is a cultural aspect of the Indonesian islands and it is most probable that the Angamis were closely related with the people of the Indonesian people. Furthermore, since the other Naga tribes do not practice terrace cultivation, it is reasonable to say that they were not closely related with the Angamis or the people of Indonesia.

According to Lotha tradition, they came from chin, which means China. According to an elderly Lotha gentleman in Wokha who claimed to know about the history of the Lothas told B.B. Kumar and his colleague in 1976²³ that the Ahoms and the Nagas came from the same place but the Ahoms entered Assam through Patkoi Hills and along with the Lothas the Konyaks went ahead. Furthermore, he also states that the Lothas and the Sangtams were brothers but they were separated and living in different places²⁴.

Moreover, according to this tradition the Lothas came from Manchuria through Burma, Manipur, Khezakenoma and finally to Kohima, which is their present place. According to their tradition, they have their own names for the places such as, they call Manchuria as Monsuraj, Burma as Kutcha, Manipur as Thungocheura. The coming of the Lothas from Manchuria through Burma and Manipur is known from the song which they used to sing often and also while harvesting the paddy for the feast day of the season. The song goes as:

Oh Mansuri-a vanathung Ronsi

Oh Kutcha vavathung Ronsi

²² . H. Bareh, *Gazetteers of Nagaland, Kohima District*, Saramati Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1970, p.19

²³ . B.B. Kumar, *Naga Identity*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2005, p.40.

²⁴ . Ibid, p.40

Oh thungpocheura vanathung Ronsi

Etc. etc

The above song means: “Let the prosperity as was in Manchuria, Burma and Manipur be on us”. Ronsi is prosperity and akin to goddess Lakshmi who can give wealth and as such this song is sung for more wealth.²⁵

He also added that before they came to the present place they were once living near the sea and they have crossed a river in Burma by boat in order to reach the present habitat. While crossing the river they have also collected some conch shell and cowries. To justify his statement he also showed them a piece of length wise-cut conch shell and claim that it was not purchased rather it has been preserved through generation to generation as a symbol of their original settlement.

It was hard to believe that they have come from a place like Manchuria as it was a place which was located far away but however, both the traditions (Chin and Mansuraj) together point to China as the origin of their place.

Even though the Aos trace their origin from Longtorok which means six stones (Long means stone and Torok means six) erupted from the Chungliyimti village. But before coming to Chungliyimti they were in some other place and have crossed the Wady river as per the claims of some elderly men of the Aos. Not only the Aos, Lothas and konyaks but along with them many other tribes states that they came from the simple East or Burma.

Therefore, all the traditions suggest that the Nagas before they entered India were living in different places. But at present all the Naga tribes are living together.

²⁵. Ibid. p.41

According to W. C. Smith a Christian missionary and a sociologist from America states that the Nagas have close links with the tribes of South-East Asian countries.²⁶ He further enumerated some thirteen points of similarities between the Nagas and the South-East Asian countries. The following thirteen points have been quoted by Alemchiba²⁷ as:

1. Disposal of Dead on raised platforms.
2. Absence of any powerful political organization.
3. A sort of Trial marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage.
4. Aversion of Milk as an article of diet.
5. A large quadrangular or Hexagonal Shield.
6. Common sleeping house for unmarried men which are taboo to women.
7. Tattooing by pricking.
8. Head hunting.
9. The simple Loom for weaving cloth.
10. Residence in Hilly regions with a crude form of Agriculture.
11. Betel-chewing.
12. The double-cylinder Vertical Forge.
13. Dwelling House built on Posts and Piles.

²⁶ . W.C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1925, p.15.

²⁷ . M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970, p.4.

The above cultural similarities are common with the south-east Asian tribes of Dayks and Kayns of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatru, Igorots, Ifugaos and some other tribes of Formosa²⁸.

It is also worth mentioning that the above thirteen points do not imply to all the Naga tribes. Some traits like the Morung is not common to all the Naga tribes, it is not found among the tribes of Angami, Chakesang, Sema and Rengma. Beetle-chewing is common among the Aos but not the Angamis. The Konyaks were prominent to trial marriage but not among other tribes but sexual freedom is found among all the tribes. In-spite of all these differences and similarities, it is agreed upon by all the scholars that the Nagas have close similarities with the south-east Asian tribes.

It is said that the earliest home of the Mongoloid people was the upper reaches of Howang Ho River which lies in the Sinkiang province of China. Sinkiang served as the home of the earliest people similarly like any other desert areas of the world. But many people of the earliest era dispersed into different direction because of sufferings and hardships of life. The people were separated into different groups one group which moved towards east and south-east are now known as Chinese, while the other group moved towards south-westward and was later known as Tibetans. However, another group moved towards southward and was gradually known as the tribes of Indo-China. The people who live in the hills of upper Burma are known as Karens, this group of people headed towards the southward during migration.

The Shan people who are living in Eastern Burma were originally living in China and were driven away by the Chinese. When Kublai Khan conquered Talifu where the Shans were living in 1257, the Shan people were completely driven away.

²⁸ . B.B. Gosh, *Gazetteers of Nagaland, Zunheboto District* , Government of Nagaland Press, Kohima, 1979, p.23.

According to Sir Grierson the Shans are the latest immigrants of Indo-Chinese into India. The Shans entered Assam early in the 13th century and came to be known as Ahoms²⁹. The Ahom immigration was later to Naga immigration if we agree to Grierson's point of view and this may not be the totally accepted. In order to clear the concept we may place the Naga Immigration either later to Ahom migration to Assam or simultaneously with the Ahom Migration.

Unlike the Chinese, Tibetans and Shans, there is no known history about the Naga people as to where they migrated from. So we may opine that the hill people like the Karen and Shan people entered the Naga Hills from north-east through and that these people are more likely to be Konyaks and Phoms. Whereas the major central and southern tribes who came from Indonesian islands and Indo-China areas came to Naga Hills through Burma and Manipur. Hence, these people vary in their cultures but are known as Nagas.

When the Nagas came to their present habitat it was not inhabited by any people. The existence of the Austric, Negrito and Mon-Khmer people who once occupied this land might have left or wandered through it long before the Nagas came along. There is no encounter by any people or the Nagas to suggest that there was any contact of the Nagas with other people. Some stone celts³⁰ have been found in the river bed of Mokokchung district which suggest that this land was previously occupied by some other people. But due to the absence of any other reliable proofs, this alone cannot be deemed as conclusive.

²⁹ . E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906, p.71

³⁰ . The stone Celts preserved in the State Museum, Kohima.

MIGRATION OF THE NAGAS INSIDE NAGALAND

All the authorities confirm that the Nagas have come to their present habitat from outside through Burma. Different Naga tribes came from different directions and at different time. The current position of the various tribes of Nagaland is like this. The Konyaks and Phoms occupy the northernmost part of the state. The Aos occupy the north-western side of the state, the Lothas and Rengmas occupy the mid-western part of the state, the Angamis occupy the southern part of the state, the Zeliangrong occupy the south-western part of the state, the Chakesang occupy the south-eastern part of the state and the Semas occupy the central part of the state.

As all the tribes came to their present habitat in different waves, it is not known the exact date of their migration. But according to the authorities the age of the Ao village Ungma which is 800 years old opines that the southern wave of migration started in about 12th century. The migration of the eastern waves started later.

DATING THE MIGRATION

According to the oral traditions of the Nagas, it is not known with certainty when the different Naga tribes settled in their present habitat. It is believed that the Konyaks who live in the north and north-west came earlier than the others. Then came the Aos followed by the other tribes like, Angami, Lotha, Sema, Chakesang and Zeliangrong etc. The Lothas are likely to have come at the same time with the Aos in 13th century (1215-1228)³¹ when the Ahoms came to upper Assam through Patkoi Bam. The Aos settled between the Lothas and Konyaks, therefore it is believed that they also came at the same time or earlier than Lothas. But in 1970s the Aos claim that they have been

³¹ . B.B. Ghosh, *History of Nagaland*, opcit. p.58.

living in the first Ao village Ungma for at least 32 generations which means that the Ungma village was established in 1170s, that is towards the close of 12th century. The dating of the Aos migration and settlement does not tally with the Ahom migration to Assam (1215-1228). Therefore it is considered that the Aos came prior to the Ahoms or the migration of the Aos has to be placed at a later date to coincide with that of the Ahoms.

It is accepted that the Ao village Ungma was formed in 1170s and it is also known that the Aos came prior to the Ahoms. The Aos came ahead of the other tribes and stayed at Chungliyimti (in present Sangtam area under Tuengsang district) for a period of time and were thoroughly organised there. Therefore the most probable date of the Aos is 1070 AD.

Ahoms entered Assam in 1228. They fought the Nagas on their way from Burma (1215-1228) and fought them even after reaching Assam for several centuries. It is not clear or sure of what tribe of Nagas the Ahoms fought. They probably must have fought with the Konyaks and Phoms, but the Aos and Lothas do not come in the picture in the earliest period. The Aos and the Lothas also fought the Ahoms but only at a later date. Therefore it is not necessary to place the Aos and Lothas in the border areas before 1228. Therefore it is quite probable that the Aos came to Chungliyimti in 1100 AD to Ungma in 1200 and the border area in 1300 AD.

The tradition of Sema, Lotha, Angami, Chakesang and Zeliangrong says that the Aos were one of them and they went ahead, so if we are to accept that the Aos settled in Chungliyimti in 1100 AD, than we are also to accept that the other tribes who followed the Aos also came to their present place at the same time i.e. 1100 AD or early 12th century.

The eastern tribes such as Chang, Kheimungan and Yimchunger etc. probably came at a later age. There is no evidence of dating their migration and settlement, so we are to depend on our conjecture. The major Naga tribes do not claim any relations with these three eastern tribes as these tribes are culturally less developed³² than the other tribes and it is proven by the fact that they still cultivate millet instead of rice as millet can be grown practically without cultivation. This proves that they do not know much about cultivation. They also depend more on food-gathering from the jungles.

There are two proposition for these Eastern tribes, the first one is either this tribes are very old and have withstand acculturation, or the second is, they come in control with the advanced tribes very late. If we accept the first proposition than we may assume that these tribes were living in their present place long before others tribes migrated and settled. And on the other hand if we accept the second, then we are to assume that they came very late. It may even be still later but we randomly accept and assume that the later view and place of their date of migration in the 13th century.

In the Yimchungers tradition it is maintained that they came from the east which means Burma and on their way they settled in one village named Longa. Lakiumong the ruler of Longa village was an oppressor and terror to the people. His strict rule over the people was one of the major reasons that led the nine hundred houses of the village leave their habitat on one particular night and marched to different directions. It is claimed that this incident took place some seven to eight hundred years ago. Therefore we can accept seven hundred years, that means 1979 minus 700 which will be 1279 or say 1280 A.D. is the expected year that the incident took place. It is

³² . Because they are less developed, when the state of Nagaland was formed in 1963, the then Tuengsang district where they live was placed under the special responsibility of the Governor for ten years. Further, for the same reason, there has been a demand in 1979 of forming a Union Territory of the present Tuengsang and Mon districts that is former Tuengsang district.

already justified that the Aos settled at Chungliyimti in 1070 and all the tribes agreed that Aos were the first to go ahead than the other tribes. Thus, it is clear that the Yimchangers came and settled after the Aos, two hundred years later. It is therefore accepted and agreed that the Yimchangers settled at their present place in the year 1280 or 1300 A.D.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME NAGALAND

It is mentioned in the British accounts that during the British rule the Nagas did not resist or complained about their administration. Rather the Nagas were the one who wanted protection from their own aggressive brethren and appealed for the extension of administration into their area, and therefore the British government reciprocated well. And it was because of this reason the British administration gradually extended all over the Naga Hills. But the Naga tribes and villages were not united. It was only in the later years (1876-1947) the different tribes and communities gradually felt that they are all Nagas and should be one. It lurked their mind only after the spread of Christianity and education by the British missionaries and eventually in the formation of Naga Club in 1918.

In the year 1927 the Simon Commission visited Kohima (at present the capital of Nagaland) the Naga leaders pleaded that they should be left alone and remain independent after the British go away from their land so they approached for an agreement. Apparently from this time the nationalism struck the minds of the Nagas. In the middle of the 20th century the thoughts became clear and some people started writing Nagaland instead of Naga Hills. Therefore, the term Nagaland came into use in the analogy of England, Scotland, Thailand etc. When the de-facto state of Nagaland was formed in 1961, that time it was written as Naga Land. Later it was

changed to Nagaland after the state of Nagaland was inaugurated on 1st December
1963

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The present research, “Indian Independence: Its Effects on Nagaland” is an attempt to bring out the various changes that occurred in Nagaland as a result of the colonization of the British and Indian Independence. It also aims to bring out the various contributions of the Nagas towards India. Few researches have been done on Nagaland by scholars, but most of their works deals with the history of Nagaland, origin of the Nagas, Naga insurgency, Naga freedom movement, Nagas and the British, Nagas and the World War II and various other related topics on Nagaland. The present research, “Indian Independence: Its Effects on Nagaland”, is different from the rest of the researches done so far, because the present research not only deals with the history of Nagaland but also throws light on the social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Nagas from earliest time to British administration and how Indian Independence had impacted on these social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Nagas. In addition, the present research also focuses on the various contributions of the Nagas towards India.

1. Elwin Verrier, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969. This book is a collection of tour notes from different people who have visited the Naga Hills. It attempted to edit and put together all the tour notes on physical features; socio-cultural life of different tribes; early history and economic life of the Nagas.

2. Elwin Verrier, *Nagaland*, Spectrum Publications, 1997. This book observes the background of the Naga people, Nagas relations with the Ahoms, India's attitude towards Nagas, the Indo-Naga conflict and the creation of Nagaland State.
3. M. Alemchiba, *A brief historical account of Nagaland*, Kohima, 1970. This book focuses on the origin of Nagas, the author writes about the different traditional views on the origin of the Nagas. The author also focuses on the etymology of the word Naga and the different opinions of the scholars on the word Naga. The author discusses in detail about the migration of Nagas to their present Naga Hills.
4. M. Horam, *The Naga Polity*, B.R. Pub. Corp, 1975. This book gives detail information about the Socio-Cultural life of the Nagas. The author writes about the early social life of the Nagas. It also focuses on the starting of the Naga National Movement.
5. Bendangangshi, *Glimpses of Naga History*, Saraighat Offset Press, Guwahati, 1993. In this book the author attempted to present a historical sketch on the origin and migration based mostly on the Naga oral traditions, giving an impression that the distinct tribes in the different states of North East India and Myanmar are all inevitably linked to a common past. The author also points out that the similarities between the different tribes does not end only in cultural resemblance but also linguistically. He cites various examples of certain words used by all the tribes, which are found to have similar meanings. A portion of the book entitled 'The Naga Boundary' talks about the demarcations of the Naga inhabited areas, complete with a map to substantiate the view. The book

also dwells on the origin and racial affiliation of the Nagas and their migration patterns and is also interspersed with a lot of nuances about the traditional ways of living, from the folklores to common traditions, attires and habits etc. The author tries to justify that all Naga tribes have a common ancestry and along with the essay on the historical origin of the Nagas, he presents a detailed essay on the traditional political set-up of the Ao Nagas, beginning from the place from which the system first originated.

6. B.B. Kumar, *Naga Identity*, Concept Publishing company, New Delhi-110059, 2005. The author attempts to analyse the process of Naga Identity formation in the broader framework. The author attempts to trace the origin of the Nagas and according to his findings he states that the Nagas have close affinities with the tribes of the south-east Asian countries. He further claims that the Naga tribes entered India through Bruma. Furthermore, he also states that all the Naga tribes did not enter India at one wave but in different waves and at different time.

The author also talks about the origin of the Word 'Naga', he put forth several views regarding the origin of the word 'Naga'. The author also discusses at length their migration, culture, social structure, ethnicity, religion, languages and village polity. He states that the early Nagas were head-hunters and that head-hunting was a matter of bravery and honour. Slavery was also prevalence in the early Naga society.

The early Nagas had chiefs or Anghs in each village. Further, the author claims that the early Nagas were animist and had many deity gods and

spirits. The existence of the Morung and the various rituals associated with it are also explained.

7. MhiesizokhoZinyu, *Phizo-And the Naga Problem*, N.V. Press, Nagaland Secretariat Road, H.S. Junction, Kohima, 2014. In this book the author gave detail information about the life of A.Z. Phizo and his contributions towards Naga freedom movement. The author discuss in detail about the early life of A.Z. Phizo and his extra ordinary perception towards life. The author also states that even as a young boy, A.Z. Phizo was against the British Administration. The author also writes how at a very young age, A.Z. Phizo became one of the members of the Naga Club due to his determination.

Furthermore, the author writes about how A.Z. Phizo and his brother went to Burma to start their business and how their business flourished there. The writer also mentions how A.Z. Phizo came in contact with the Japanese and the Indian National Army (INA) under Subhas Chandra Bose. The author further discusses about the understanding made between A.Z.Phizo and the Japanese and INA, if A.Z.Phizo helped the Japanese against the British.

The Battle of Kohima and the Nagas participation in the War is also explained. The author also writes about how the Japanese were defeated by the British and the arrest of A.Z. Phizo and his brother and the later life of A.Z. Phizo and his works have been well elaborated by the author.

8. AsosoYonuo, *Nagas Struggle Against British Rule Under Jadonang And Rani Gaidinliu 1925-1947*, Leno Printing Press, Kohima, Nagaland, 1982. This book focuses on the freedom struggle of the Nagas under Jadonang

and rani Gaidinliu. This book also gives detail information about the life of Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu.

In the beginning of the book the author states about the British Administration. The coming of British has made a drastic change in the lives of the Naga people. One of the major changes that the British brought in the Naga Hills was the spread of Christianity. During those days the Nagas were purely animist worshippers and they were very strong in their belief and rituals. Yet, the British were successful in converting to Christianity.

The present scenario hindered the sentiments of the orthodox animist worshippers and Jadonang was also one of them. Since the spread of Christianity was swiftly spreading over the land Jadonang started to oppose and revive the animist culture against the British. But he was well aware of the fact that he alone cannot handle the British, in order to revive he need to gather troops and support of the people. So he started a mission to gain the trust and support of the people. He started to heal the sickness of the people by performing various rituals and using herbal medicines, this works of Jadonang was slowly spreading all over the land and he started to encourage the people to move back to the roots of animism. He also stated that all this miracles were possible because of their gods and spirits. Soon his works were known by many and his followers increased day by day.

This act of Jadonang soon reached to the British administrators and they impose an arrest warrant since he was trying to divert the minds of the people. He was finally arrested and hanged by the British.

The revival did not end here because after the death of Jadonang the leadership was soon passed on to Rani Gaidinliu. Gaidinliu was very young when she was appointed as a leader. She was a disciple of Jadonang. Under her leadership the movement became stronger and bigger. She recruited many troops which also included women.

The author also claims that the British made many attempts to capture Rani Gaidinliu as she was a threat to them. However, she was finally arrested.

9. Tasile N. Zeliang, *Glimpses from the Life of Rani Gaidinliu*, Heritage Foundation K.B. Road, Paltan Bazaar, Guwahati-781008. This book focuses on the life of Rani Gaidinliu. It focuses on the early life of Gaidinliu and her determination to join the movement under Jadonang. The book also explains how Rani Gaidinliu came to contact with Jadonang and how she became one of the faithful of Jadonang.

The author also writes about how the leadership was passed down to her after Jadonang and how she strengthened the movement under her leadership. Moreover, the author also writes about the later part of her life after she was arrested and put in jail and how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru acknowledged her for her cause.

10. Dr. P. K. Sema, *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland 1881-1947*, Scholar Publishing House 85, Model Basti, New Delhi-110005, Second Edition, 1995. This book focuses on the British administration and their relations with the Nagas. This book also focuses on the role of the Nagas during the Japanese invasion of the Naga Hills.

11. Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1986. In this book the author highlights the origin and early life of the Nagas, the Naga British relations. The author also focuses on the transformation from animism to Christianity. Boundary issues between Nagaland and Assam, formation of Nagaland State, peace talk with the underground and Naga Nationalism.
12. B.B. Gosh, *History of Nagaland*, S.Chand and Company Ltd., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, 1982. The author writes about the origin of the Nagas. He opines the different views expressed by different scholars regarding the origin of the Nagas. He also puts into account the different oral traditions put forth by different Naga tribes according to their oral traditions.

The author also focuses on the sources of Naga history. He states that the history of Nagas is covered in darkness and very little reliable records are available.
13. Article by KekhriesituoYhome on *Politics of Region: The Making of Nagas Identity during the Colonial and post-Colonial Era* which was published in borderlands e-journal, volume 6 number 3, 2007. The writer attempts to problematize the concept of 'region' so as to analyse the politics of the Nagas in the first half of the twentieth century.
14. Article by Khrienuo on *Nagas Role in World War II* which was published in Journal of North East India Studies, volume 3(2), July-Dec, 2013. The writer claims that the Second World (1939-1945) is an important historical event of the world and for the Nagas in particular. This is primarily due to their participation in the Battle of Kohima, which

was a part of the Burma Campaign between the British and the Japanese during the Second World War. The Battle of Kohima took place at Kohima, the present capital of Nagaland. The Nagas role in the Battle of Kohima was of great importance and their role in the battle cannot be ignored, as it was one of the factors which contributed to the victory of the British in the battle.

15. Article by Ketholesie on *British Administrative Policy in the Naga Hills* which was published in International Journal of Languages, Education and Social Sciences, (Vol.17, Issue 01), June 2015 WWW.IJLESS.COM (An Indexed and Refereed Journal with Impact Factor: 2.55). The author claims that the British administrative policy towards the Nagas was essentially to protect their interests in the administered areas of Assam. The prolonged period of Anglo-Naga relations approximately from the treaty of Yandabo in 1826 to 1880 reveals the British reluctance to extend their administration to the Naga Hills. However, during the period of effective administration (1881-1947), the Nagas who were fighting in defence of their freedom were in the end subdued, and since then the Nagas had gradually accepted the unavoidable situation and became by and large loyal subjects of the British.

After the review of literature, it is seen that almost all the scholars have written about the origin and migration of the Nagas in their present habitat. While some scholars have dealt with the socio-cultural life of the Nagas prior to Indian Independence and while some others have written about the political life of the Nagas. Hence, no in depth study has been conducted so far by any scholar on the social, political, economic and religious transformations in Nagaland after Indian Independence.

Though some works have been done on the early social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Nagas before Independence.

Therefore, the researcher has taken up the topic, “Indian Independence: Its Effects on Nagaland”, since very little work has been done on it so far.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present research is based on descriptive and analytical method. Therefore the researcher has made a close reading of the selected texts and an in depth analyses. The researcher also conducted interview among some few elderly folks and scholars. The combination of textual analysis and oral survey will lend authenticity to the entire exploration and the findings that will be arrived at.

The data for study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through interviews. Interviews were conducted with the elders and scholars. More primary data were collected through participant interaction.

The primary sources also included publications and Acts enacted by the Government of India and Government of Nagaland

The secondary sources include all the various texts used for this research. The secondary data were collected from both published and unpublished works, official documents, reports, newspapers and website.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. The aim of the present research is to bring out the social, political, economic and religious conditions of the Nagas from the time of the advent of the British till post-Independence.
2. To do a close reading of selected texts.
3. To investigate and do a comparison of the social, political, economic and religious changes in Nagaland before and after independence.

4. To forecast the contributions made by the Nagas towards India.

HYPOTHESIS

1. It is analysed whether the changes have occurred due to the coming of the British or as a result of the Independence of India.
2. It is stated that whether the dominance of British control in Nagaland blocked ways for Indian administration in Nag Hills.

SCOPE OF STUDY

As a researcher there are some limitations to this research. Since, after independence many Nagas have migrated to neighbouring states which is now known as Naga dominated areas. The research will be limited only within the three districts of Nagaland i.e. Kohima, Dimapur and Mokokchung.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

1. Construction of the history of Nagaland.
2. The present research will pave ways to the future researchers on this area, it will also bring out new conclusions.
3. The researcher will not only bring out the social, political, economic and religious changes but it will also throw light to the people who have very little knowledge about Nagaland.
4. It will be an eye opener to the people who have the misconception about the various changes that occurred in Nagaland after Indian Independence. Therefore, it will also clear the doubts of the Naga people.
5. This research will not only be an eye opener for the Nagas itself but will also open the doors to the outside world which is hidden from the limelight.

6. Through this research people from the mainland will also come to know about the small state that reigns in the corner of North east Region. Thus, the researcher will be introducing the state of Nagaland to the outside world.

CHAPTER SCHEME

- i) Chapter 1
Introduction
- ii) Chapter 2
Review of Literature
- iii) Chapter 3
Research Methodology
- iv) Chapter 4
Analysis and Interpretation
- v) Chapter 5
Conclusion

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

INTRODUCTION

The social structure of the Naga Society was not uniform. It differed from tribe to tribe. There was strict stratification in some cases and egalitarian social structure among some others. Some sections among them were more privileged than the others. Clan-based functional differentiation and the performance of degrading work by certain sections of some tribes were also observed. Acute form of slavery also existed among some Naga tribes. Christianity and modern education has strengthened individualism. Substantial flow of resources from the central Government has failed to bring desired developmental results. Weakening of the egalitarian ethos continue; the gap between the rich and poor is widening day-by-day.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE NAGAS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

1. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The early life of the Nagas was head-hunters and animist worshippers. A person who cuts down the head of an enemy was considered as the hero of the village. The heads were brought to the village and kept as a trophy. The more heads a warrior beheaded and collected of the enemies, the more respect and honour he earned.

The Nagas were animist; they had many deity gods and spirits which had control over their everyday life. In order to avoid the wrath of the gods, they perform many rituals and sacrifices to please the gods.

The Nagas follow the patriarchal society and males are the sole inheritors. Only a male member can be the head of the family and all the decisions are taken by him and are to be followed strictly. There are village councils in every village and only men can take part in it. Women are considered as second, and are kept out of bounds to participate in traditional decision-making village councils. Being a patriarchal society, age-old customary laws and culture have hindered women from enjoying equal rights both socially and politically and under such laws, the women's position and power in the society have been imbibed in them for years that even if times have changed, most of them are still chained to those laws. As per the customary laws women do not enjoy land, property or inheritance rights.

Another central part of Naga culture was *morung*¹. This was the lodge, where young men of the same exogamous clan slept before they married and moved into separate houses. It also frequently served as a guard-house and it was generally located near the village gates. The missionaries forbade their male converts to live in the village morung. The Morung was to the Nagas what the "Hebrew university is to the Jews"². It was a unique institution practised by many Naga Tribes, while some other tribes used other forum or platform in lieu as a learning institution. Morung is where all the young male members of the village conscripted themselves as members up to a certain age-group to train and educate in all round customary practices and life-style and to be groomed to a standard human being to the fitness of the contemporary generations. Morung also served as incessant "watch tower" to detect the incoming enemy's raid and for other village security. The safety and prestige of the village were in the vigilance of Morung. All male members of the village were trained in all disciplines. The morung was a place for the boys to grow, so similarly like the morung girls have

¹ . Annexure vii, p. A3.

² N.Venuh, *Naga Society- Continuity and Change*, edit, Shipra Publications, Delhi, 2004, p.42

their dormitories were they were trained to enhance their skills in various arts and crafts, house making and cultivation. Though the girls' and boys' dormitories were separated from each other, they come together in many occasions for them to mix and this is a time to choose their life partners. It is also a place where the Naga boys and girls learnt about history, the philosophy and values like respect for the elders, the duty to protect the village and also the commitment to their community. They also learn how to live their life with courage, dignity and wisdom. The old glory and good job done in the past is attributed to the institution to the morung life. Morung was the focal point for, major village celebrations and feasts that marked its ritual year.

Social Deprivation

Slavery prevailed among the Nagas before the formation of the Naga Hills district, especially among the Aos, Lothas, Konyaks and Phoms. The Rengmas used to buy and barter them for only two cows.³ The slave traffic, however, was wide-spread in a large area.⁴

The prisoners of war and persons captured in raids and counter-raids,⁵ fugitives,⁶ bankrupts,⁷ the children of the bankrupt persons sold to pay the debt,⁸ and the children of the slaves used to become slaves in Naga society. It was not uncommon to make someone slave as a punishment of theft.⁹ The slaves were also procured by barter.

³ . B.B. Kumar, *Naga Identity*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2005. P.101

⁴ . Elwin, Verrier, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp.154, 184, 194, 200, 204, 224.

⁵ . J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1937.pp. 157, 162.

⁶ . Ibid. p. 146

⁷ . J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1926, p. 211

⁸ . Ibid, p. 246

⁹ .J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Oxford University Press, London, 1969. p.148.

The slaves were given as tribute¹⁰ or as peace-price¹¹ or killed to enhance the prestige of a rich man as head-hunter¹² or used as an object of sacrifice.¹³ The Angamis¹⁴ and Rengmas¹⁵ used to procure slaves for sacrifice. The main reason of keeping slaves, however, was economic. The slaves were the prime cause of the riches of their masters.

The rich Aos invariably possessed large number of slaves. It was not unusual for a rich Ao to be surrounded by 15-20 slaves. In case of any attempt on the life of the master and the slave saving his life, the latter could hope to be emancipated from the bondage of slavery.¹⁶ However emancipation from slavery was more or less a rare phenomenon and the bondage was invariably a permanent one. It was said that slaves became members of the master's clan, but in reality, it was not so.¹⁷ However, the case of slaves founding the clans was also reported.¹⁸ Mating with slave women was prohibited among the Aos.¹⁹

The early British travellers observed prevalence of a large slave traffic among the Nagas.²⁰ Grange during his journey through Zeliang and Angami areas witnessed slave-mart. Birema was also a great mart of slaves.²¹

¹⁰ . Elvin Verrier, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, opcit, p. 207

¹¹ . Ibid, p.326; J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Opcit, p. 159; J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Opcit, p. 161.

¹² . J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Opcit, p.206

¹³ . Elvin Verrier, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, opcit, p. 326, J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Opcit, p. 159; J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Opcit, p. 161.

¹⁴ . J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Opcit, p. 159

¹⁵ . J.P. Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, Opcit, p. 161.

¹⁶ .J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Opcit, p.211

¹⁷ . Ibid, p.211

¹⁸ . Ibid, pp. 22-23

¹⁹ . Ibid, p. 211.

²⁰ . Elvin Verrier, *Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, opcit, pp. 154, 184, 194, 200, 204, 224.

²¹ . Ibid, p. 251.

2. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The Naga Village Polity

The Nagas had diverse forms of self-governing institutions, which may be categorized into the following types²²:

1. Chieftainship with political power and priestly function concentrated in the same persons as in the case of the Angship of the Konyak Nagas,
2. Chieftainship with political and the economic powers in the hands of the chief as in the case of the Sema chief,
3. Chieftainship with limited powers,
4. Republican type village polity as in the case of Ao Nagas, and
5. Ultra republican village polity as in the case of Angami Naga village polity.

The Chieftainship with Political and Religious Functions

The Konyak Naga Chiefs, called Angs, used to be not only the chiefs but also the priests of the community. Some of the Angs are very powerful. The Angs of Mon and Chui have many villages with smaller Angs under them. The Angs are advised by their ministers in deciding matters. The ministers are selected by the Ang from various clans of the village.²³ Somewhat similar was the case with Wanchos of Arunachal Pradesh.

The Wancho villages are administered by their chiefs called Wangham assisted by the council of Elders, which is called Wangchu Wangcha. Wangchu Wangcha, a well-organized body, not only administers the village, or a group of villages, but is

²² . B.B. Kumar, *Introduction to the Naga Tribes*, Meerut, Pragati Prakashan, 1997, p. 53.

²³ . Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1986, p. 167.

also entrusted with the task of the administration of justice. The Chief is the president of the council. The others include the senior members (who are assigned different responsibilities and are also called ministers), the priest, and the representatives of the various clans. It needs mention that none can become a Wancho chief unless his both parents have Wangham blood.

The Wancho society has two important sections, namely, the Wangham, the chief and the Wangpen, the commoner. They believe that this division dates back to the days of the first creation. The chief marries from both the sections and has several wives. The children of the chief from the commoner wife form an intermediate class known as Wangsa. The children of Wangsa form another class called Wangsu irrespective of the status of the mother. Wangsu have lower status than that of the Wangsa. Thus, Wancho society has four sections. The post of the Wancho chief goes to the first born son from his Wancha wife (wife with cent-per-cent blood of the chief). In case the chief has no such son, then either his brother's son or the son of the chief of the parental village succeeds him.²⁴

Chieftainship with Political and Economic Power Concentrated in the Hands of the Chief

The hereditary chieftainship is one aspect of the Sema society, which differentiates it from other Naga tribes. A.W. Davis observes about the same:

“The chief point in which the Semas differ from the other Naga tribes living in this district is the possession of the hereditary village chiefs. These chiefs have many privileges, i.e. their subjects cut their jhums and cultivate them for them for

²⁴ . L.R.N. Srivastava, *Among the Wanchos of Arunachal Pradesh*, Shillong: Research Dept., Arunachal Pradesh Administration, 1973. p. 4.

nothing; they get a portion of every animal killed in the chase, and generally are in a position far superior to that of an ordinary Naga headman. These chiefs invariably have three or four wives, and usually large families. It is the custom for the sons as they grow up to start new villages on their own account. We thus find that, as a rule, Sema villages are small as compared with the villages of other Naga tribes.”²⁵

Hutton has written about the succession of chieftainship among the Semas:

“The chieftainship goes down from father to the son, the elder sons becoming chiefs in their own villages during the father’s lifetime, provided the sons are able to found separate villages, and one of the younger sons probably succeeding in his father’s village. Where, however, the elder sons are not able to found villages of their own, the eldest son succeeds his father and his brothers become sort of satellites. In some case, of course, the chief is succeeded by his brother, on his death, however, the office reverts to the elder line.”²⁶

The land in Sema villages get divided and sub-divided among the brothers if they are unable to throw out colonies. However, the unmarried younger brothers do not necessarily get share if the father dies. Like the land, the right to free labour is also apt to split where the chief’s sons cannot separate. As the subjects owe the chief various services, the former cannot leave the village without the consent of the latter. The chief, however, looks after his subjects, provides them with wives, often feeds them or lends them food in times of scarcity.²⁷

²⁵ . A.W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol.1, p.226; cited in *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 372.

²⁶ . J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Opcit, p. 358.

²⁷ . Ibid p.358.

The Chang Nagas have also their chiefs in every village. The founder of the village becomes the chief of that village. He is called Sangbushou. The chieftainship is hereditary in his family. But, they are not as powerful as the Sema chiefs, as they do not have the same monopoly of lands as the latter have.²⁸

The chief (Lowang) and the council of elders (called ngongthun or ngothun or ngothit) are responsible for the administration and the administration of justice among the Nocte Nagas. The village council's chairman is the chief. Others in the council include Ngongba (priest and the minister), Ramba (priest and the one who informs the village about any activity), Noktang or Kampa (six elderly persons from various clans), and now-a-days, the gaonbura nominated by the government. Tangsa Nagas of Arunachal Pradesh used to have their very powerful elected chiefs, called Lungwang (also called Lowang or Ngowa). He was assisted by the council of elders elected by the villagers. The elected elders were called Sangta or dedwa or Kamba. Many Tangsa sub-tribes or even the villages used to have their respective councils of elders with different nomenclature for the council, etc. There were other differences also from one sub-tribe to another. Usually, the chief was elected from a particular clan and others from various other clans.²⁹

The Zemi Nagas are ruled over by Kadepeo. The priest, called Gekungme, was the next influential and powerful person in the village. The Kadepeo and the village council had the power to banish a person from the village for committing serious crime or for disobeying their verdict. Kabuls or ROUNGMEIS have Khumbu, who is the founder of the village or his descendant. He is the nominal and powerless hereditary chief of the village. Khulakpa, chosen by a body of the village elders,

²⁸ . J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, opcit, p. 379.

²⁹ . B.B. Kumar, *Introduction to the Naga Tribes*, Opcit. pp. 55-56.

called Thoupei, exercises real power. Once elected, he may continue life-long on that post and his son may even succeed him subject to the approval of the Thoupei. Thoupei is the administrative body of the village. It also administers justice.³⁰

Tangkhul society consisted of the chieftains and the commoners. The headman of the village used to be the head of the panchayat (Hangnga) consisting of the clan representatives. The administration of justice according to their customary law was done by the panchayat. However, the verdict of the headman used to be final and binding. The person, who used to seek signs and omens was considered to be number one among the chieftains. He was responsible for the security of the village and his consent was essential for declaration of war. In his absence, the number one warrior of the village did his duties, and if desired by the headman, he was allowed to seek signs and omens also. The Tangkhul villages also had the officers with the Manipuri titles of Khullakpa and Lulakpa. The Tangkhuls also had a higher organization, called 'Long' with headmen as its members. Its chairman is called 'Longva'. It is purely a communal organization of the Tangkhul Nagas after the advent of the administration.³¹ The Mao Naga village affairs are run by the headman (Mohou) and the council of elders selected from every clan according to their customary laws. The administration of justice is done by the council of elders. The chief has all the powers related to 'Mani' or 'genna' days.³²

³⁰ . Ibid, p. 54.

³¹ . Ibid, p. 63.

³² . Ibid, p. 65.

Republican Type

The Ao Nagas have the Council of Elders called Tatars, elected from every clan of the village. The village councils are responsible for the administration of justice, and now-a-days, even for the development activities of the village.³³ Each Ao village is a small republic. A.W. Davis has written: “Each village amongst the Aos is a small republic and each man is as good as his neighbour, indeed it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities.”

Ultra-Republican Village Polity

The Angami Nagas have neither the village chiefs, nor the dully elected village councils. The Angami villages are found to have internal cohesion and they do not lack internal discipline in spite of the lack of chieftainship and the village councils. The whole village gathers in case of any dispute; anybody who has to say something is heard, and after hours of prolonged and tiring discussions, they arrive at certain decision or consensus, and the dispute is settled.³⁴

Hutton has beautifully summed up the village polity scenario of the Nagas in the following words:

“Turning to the polity of the village, different tribes have very different customs. Among the Semas a system of hereditary chiefs exists, each chief having an almost feudal positions as the lord of the manor of his village, a system which seems to have obtained among the Kacharis, as the remnants of it are still perceptible among the remote Kachari villages of the south-west of the Naga Hills. The Changs have a system of chiefs very like that of the Semas, and both

³³ . Ibid, p. 56.

³⁴ . Ibid, p. 57.

may be compared in this respect to the Thado Kukis, though among the latter the system is more elaborately developed. The Konyaks too have hereditary chiefs in the Thendu section of the tribe, though not in the Thenkoh division, but among the Konyaks the priestly side of the chieftainship seems more prominent than among other Naga tribes chiefs. On the other hand, the Ao and Tangkhul villages are governed by bodies of elders representing the principal kindreds in the village, while the Angami, Rengma and Lotha and apparently Sangtam villages are run on lines of democracy, in view of his peculiar independence of character, it is difficult to comprehend how his village held together at all before they were subject to the British Government. The Angami has, however, hereditary priests, office descending in the line of the first founder of the village in question.”³⁵

The founder of the villages and their descendants had very little power among the Angamis. The Lothas had comparatively peaceful state of affairs as, unlike Semas and Angamis, they did not suffer due to paucity of land. Each village was ruled by a chief (ekyung) assisted by an informal council of elders during the days when wars were more frequent. The chieftainship was hereditary in the family of the founder of the village. However, it did not necessarily pass from father to the son. The chief was mainly the war leader among the Lothas and the end of war due to Pax Britanica put an end to his role. Thus the post of ekyung virtually ceased to be. The affairs of the Lotha villages were managed after that by the informal council of old and influential men and the headmen selected by the government. The old men inflicted fines of pork in petty cases and eat the fine and therefore

³⁵ . J.P. Mills, *The Lotha Nagas*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1922, p. 33.

were called satsoi (meat-eaters).³⁶ It may be mentioned that the Ao councilors also eat a fine of pork.³⁷

The land in the Naga society belonged to the clans, chiefs³⁸ and the individuals. The village council or the chief as the case may be, allotted the land for cultivation to the individuals for jhum period. Such things were not needed in the case of terraced cultivation.

3. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Every traditional society attempts to explain, predict, and control its environment through religion. Nagas are no exception to this phenomenon. The patterns of beliefs of the early Nagas appear to be animistic. Hemmed in both sides by the massive mountain ranges of the hills and by the very walls of the typical village, most Naga groups developed religious systems which were very locality-specific, that is, highly elaborated with respect to the immediate, localized microcosm in which villagers lived.³⁹

The traditional Naga cosmology consisted of two-tiered scheme. At the upper tier was a supreme deity who underpinned the universe and who, though benevolent, was but vaguely understood and seldom approached because of his remoteness from everyday concerns of Naga communities. At the lower tier were a host of minor spirits. Since these spirits were thought to have controlled the specific relations of everyday life--- disease, crops, rain, human fertility, death, etc. it was through their agency that these

³⁶ . J.P. Mills, *The Lotha Nagas*, Opcit, p. 96.

³⁷ . J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Opcit, p. 194.

³⁸ . Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Opcit, pp. 168-69.

³⁹ . R.M. Eaton, *Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas 1876-1971*, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.21, No.1, 1984, p.4.

phenomena could be explained and predicted.⁴⁰ These spirits were considered wicked and needed constant appeasement, usually in the form of sacrifice of pigs, fowl or other living things to keep them from harming individuals or whole villages. For these purposes services of village specialists were required.

At one level early Nagas believed in the creator God, who was known by different names to different tribes. The Ao Nagas called this supreme deity *Lungkijingba*, the Semas called it *Alhou*, the Lothas called it *Potsa*, the Angamis called it *Ukepenopfu*, a supreme goddess.⁴¹ The existence of creation was ascribed to the work of the creator who was thought to be supreme and beneficent. But this spirit does not interfere in the everyday life of Nagas, although he is in charge of final destiny.

At another level they believed in spirits of the sky (sky Deities). The Aos believed in *Lizaba*, as the creator of the earth and deity in control of the rains and consequently of the food supply for the rice-growing Aos. But *Lizaba* was also malevolent because he commanded sickness and disease. As such Ao villages held annual ceremonies in his honour in June, during which pigs would be sacrificed outside village gates and eaten by the officiating priests.⁴² The Semas called these sky spirits *Kungumi*.

At third level they believed in swarms of spirits which inhabited the everyday world of Nagas and were generally harmful. They are everywhere in the village, in the field, in the jungle, by streams, in trees and in huge boulders.⁴³ The Aos called them 'tsungrems', the Semas called them *Tughami* and the Lothas called them *Nagza*. They are supposed to be malevolent but can be propitiated through sacrifices.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 5.

⁴¹ . Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Opcit, p. 36.

⁴² . W.C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, Cambridge University Press, London, p. 78.

⁴³ . J.P. Mills, *Ao Nagas*, Opcit, p. 217.

In order to propitiate these malevolent spirits, early Nagas performed a lot of *gennas* or ceremonies. These *gennas* varied from tribe to tribe and from region to region.⁴⁴

The word *genna* is used in two ways: (i) it may mean practically a holiday, i.e., a man will say ‘my village is doing *genna* today’ by which he means that owing either to the occurrence of a village festival or some such unusual occurrence as an earthquake, eclipse or burning of a village within the sight of his own, his village people are observing a holiday, and (ii) *genna* means anything forbidden.⁴⁵

Closely connected with these beliefs are practices such as head-hunting, human sacrifices etc. This practice of head-hunting was embedded in the belief that the occasional capture of a human head was essential for maintaining the fertility of the crops and well-being of the community. Again human sacrifices were offered to ensure a good harvest. The captured people from raids were treated as slaves and slaves sold for economic gains were often sacrificed by their new masters.⁴⁶ Among other beliefs, Nagas thought that certain men possess the power of turning themselves into tigers, often known as tiger-men. These tiger-men are still a living legend in Naga society.

Even after the assumption of colonial administration in Naga Hills, the British did nothing directly to disturb the traditional religious beliefs of the people.⁴⁷ It was seen to be inexpedient to interfere with Naga customs and beliefs.⁴⁸ But it took necessary

⁴⁴ . Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Opcit, p. 42.

⁴⁵ . A.W. Davis, *Census of India, Assam*, Vol.1, 1981, p. 249.

⁴⁶ . W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, Trubner & Co., London, 1879, p. 181.

⁴⁷ . Elwin, Verrier, *Nagaland*, Spectrum Publications, Shillong, 1961, p. 78.

⁴⁸ . Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf, *The Naked Nagas*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1946, p. 50.

measures to remove certain social evils and practices associated with the customs and traditions of Nagas.⁴⁹

It was in this backdrop that Christianity was introduced in Naga Hills. For missionary to work and the spread of the gospel, the missionaries undertook various measures. They began to translate gospels into, many tribal dialects. While translating Bible, missionaries leaned heavily on Naga cosmological aspects. In the beginning, Ao Bible translated both *kyrios* (Lord, master) and *theos* (god, God) by the Ao word *tsungrem*, a word that denotes simply ‘a spirit’ not endowed with any specific attributes. It was a generic term not a proper noun. Again, E.W. Clark used Ao word ‘molomi’ (great fire) to Biblical Judgement Day. It was only in 1945 that J.E. Tanquist revised ‘tsungrem’ with Jihova. In the same way, Christian supreme deity was identified with *Ahou*, the traditional supreme deity of the Semas. This was a decision of considerable importance, for its effect was greatly to facilitate the cognitive transfer from ‘old religion’ to the ‘new’. And by using the Sema supreme deity’s name to stand for the Christian supreme deity, as opposed to planting a foreign word into the language, there never really occurred a transfer at all, but only a greater refinement and elaboration of Semas’ Conception.⁵⁰ Tanquist, the missionary to Angami region, translated God as *Ukepenopfu*, the Angami female supreme deity. The missionary did not realize at that time that ending ‘pfu’ was a feminine ending, although the word Jihova which his friend Stanley Rivenburg used did not become popular. So Tanquist hoped it would be accepted as the equivalent for Christian God.⁵¹

⁴⁹ . Piketo Sema, *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland, 1881-1947*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, Second ed., 1992, p. 60

⁵⁰ .R.M. Eaton, *Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas, 1876-1971*, Opcit, p. 38.

⁵¹ . Ibid, p. 41.

Once Christianity spread, missionaries began to implement Christian principles strictly. Candidates for baptism were required to know Christian doctrines and furnish evidence that they had not participated in any 'heathen ritual' nor drunk any beer for three months.⁵² And even in dress new converts adopted Assamese jacket and body cloth. Later more and more European styles were adopted such as long shirts, mauve coats, khakhi short or white blouses imported from plains.⁵³ Later this became a controversy between the Missionaries and the Government.

It was the decision of the Christian Missionaries of India that they should avoid mutual conflict and overlap in their activities in this country. Accordingly, Assam was assigned to the Protestant Churches and the Naga Hills district of Assam fell to the American Baptist Church.⁵⁴ Rev. M. Bronson, the first missionary among the Nagas, went and worked among Hindu Vaishnavite Nocte Nagas of Namsang in Tirap district of the present Arunachal Pradesh during 1835-40. He, however, could not succeed in his effort and had to leave the place very soon.⁵⁵ It goes to the credit of Sibsagar Baptist Mission to get the first Naga Christian convert-an Ao Naga- for the new religion in 1851. Nine more Nagas were converted in 1872 due to the pioneering work of Mr. Subongmeren, an Ao Naga convert and Mr. Godhula, an Assamese evangelist.⁵⁶ This encouraged Dr. E.W. Clark, the missionary at Sibsagar, to visit Molungyimchen village on 18th December, 1872. 15 persons were baptized by him on December 23, 1872, leading to the first foundation of a church on the soil of Naga Hills. A year later, the Christian population was separated and settled in a new village,

⁵² . Rivenburg, *The Star of the Naga Hills*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1941, p. 117.

⁵³ .M.M. Clark, *A corner in India*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 33

⁵⁴ . Hokishe Sema, *Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future*, Opcit. p. 51.

⁵⁵ . H. Bareh, *Gazetteers of Nagaland, Kohima district*, Saramati Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1970, p. 92.

⁵⁶ . Ibid, p. 93.

Molungyimsen, three miles to the north of the old one, Molungyimchen (Deka Haimong).⁵⁷ The first Baptist Mission Centre was established there in 1876. It was shifted to Impur in October 1894.

The attitude of the Nagas towards conversion varied from tribe to tribe. Some readily accepted the new faith, whereas some others, such as the Angami Nagas continued to resist and did not show disposition towards conversion from the very beginning. In the beginning, warriors and priests among the Changs opposed it and Bumbu section (commoners and adopted sections) accepted it readily.⁵⁸

Progress of evangelization remained very slow, except in few areas, even upto Independence in 1947. The membership of the church among the Aos rose to seventy-nine by 1885-86.⁵⁹ There were 22 Chang, Kalyo-Kenyu (Khiamngan), 18 Phom and three Yimchungru communities in Tuengsang district in 1950 with only 1800 church members and only 252 Changs were converted to Christianity in that particular year. Rapid conversion started only after Independence. The Christian population increased by 99.44 per cent during 1951-61. It further increased by 76.29 per cent during 1971, 1981 and 1991 was reported to be 66.76 per cent, 80 per cent and 90 per cent respectively.⁶⁰

The Ao Naga missionaries took lead in evangelical work among trans-Dikhu tribes. In 1833, Tamlu Baptist Church was formed in Konyak area by Rev. Longri Ao and Rev. Subongwati. This was a year after a Konyak was converted in the Ao area. Around 1936, the Baptist Mission work started in the Sangtam area and the Sangtam

⁵⁷ . M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970, pp. 134-35.

⁵⁸ . B.B. Kumar, *Tribal Societies of India*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1999, p. 234.

⁵⁹ . *Ao Naga Baptist Church Centenary Album, Impur*, 1972, preface, p.2.

⁶⁰ . Prakash Singh, *Nagaland*, NBT, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 171-72.

Association was formed in 1946. The first persons to be baptized among Changs and the Phoms were in 1941 and 1943 respectively.⁶¹

The attitudes of the British officers towards Christianity differed from person to person. While some of them were critical of the *modus operandi* of the missionaries, most of them favoured it. Some favoured it keeping the interest of the British empire in mind.

The ways and means followed by the missionaries for preaching Christianity are given below:

- (i) The study and use of the local languages,
- (ii) Simple preaching,
- (iii) Use of student groups and gospel teams,
- (iv) Scripture translation and other library works,
- (v) Village schools and boarding houses,
- (vi) The role of native evangelists,
- (vii) Medical work,
- (viii) The witness of the life of the missionaries, and
- (ix) The Naga love for music and songs.

All sections of the Naga tribals were not equally receptive to the Christianity and modern education. There is a saying among the Changs that “only the lazy go to the schools.” In many cases a person from the lower social status got converted, received English education and job, and thus became a member of the neo-privileged section of the society. Thus these factors not only worked as ‘status equalizers’ but also

⁶¹ . Ibid, p. 170.

catalyzed the status re-mix.⁶² It caused social tension and conflict in the beginning. Gradually, however, the control and dominance of the Christians in politics and administration was total. It helped rapid conversion. Due to obvious reason, the conversion was more rapid in post-Independence period and majority of the Nagas became Christians only then.

The spread of Christianity was at faster rate after Independence. The conversions were driven by the fact that the political and bureaucratic leadership was mostly in the hands of the educated Christians. Even theology students received scholarships in the state. Being Christian conferred social status and tangible rewards including education and the jobs.

Another basic Naga institution that was discouraged by missionaries, presumably because of its association with Naga deities, was the Feast of Merit. This was a carefully ranked sequence of feasts given by individuals for their village or for their clan within a larger village. The giving of this feast raised the sponsor's position in the eyes of his peers, thereby constituting a major channel of social mobility. Great quantities of food supplies were expended on these feasts of Merit and they occasioned much drinking and merrymaking. Again, missionaries forbade drinking rice-beer, a drink that was central to the Feasts of Merit and other ceremonies.

Thus while some of the practices underwent a sea-change, most beliefs continued with some modification. Colonial state was not as much instrumental in bringing this change as were Christian missionaries and their activities. Education, too, has its role in contributing to this reformative process in the Naga society.

⁶² . B.B. Kumar, *Tribal Societies of India*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 244-45.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Ancient Naga Economic System (A.D. 150-1832)

While the rest of the world was busy setting up monarchic and aristocratic societies and systems of government, the fore-fathers of the Nagas were busy tilling the land and evolving a pure democratic and classless society. As they tilled the land, the culture, traditions and customs that they evolved were all deeply rooted in the soil. There was kingdom of sovereign independent villages with no kings ruling over them or any village ruling over any other village. From the sovereignty of the individual, their concept of sovereignty spread in wider and wider circles to the clan, khel and tribal level. The lands that belonged to a village community was equally shared between the major khels and clans. In one sentence, it was a land without landlords. Every individual member of a village was, by virtue of his membership in the village, entitled to a private plot of land where he could build his house to shelter his family. He was also entitled to a plot of field where he could till the soil to produce various crops for the sustenance of his family. Beyond this immediate private property, the individual was also entitled to clan, khel and village lands where he could hunt, cut timber or practice jhum cultivation and gardening of any sort for greater production of food to achieve wealth and prosperity.

The people were also deeply religious, paying great reverence to God in whom the forces of elements of nature were endowed. Taboos and gennas were all part of their agricultural lives where they abstained from work during deaths in the village or any oddity in the weather or natural world such as earthquakes, storms, eclipses, etc.

In times of sowing and harvesting, strict religious rituals would be performed by the elders or priests. Joyous festivals would also proceed or follow such important event

when the whole village would celebrate with gaiety and feasts. In all the agricultural activities of ploughing and sowing, weeding and harvesting, various age-groups and help one another by working in one another's field in turns. In times of leisure, these age-groups would compete with one another in sports and hunting activities as well as construction of rest houses on the paths of their fields. All these training in their social activities would be conducted in the various clan and khel morungs where the elders of the village would instruct them.

The wealth procured as a result of all the hard work in the fields was measured not in terms of money but in terms of the grain and cattle that an individual family had been able to produce. Such wealth was however not hoarded or kept for future generations but generously shared by the individual with the whole village community in feasts of merit. A person who had been able to feasts the whole village thus would earn the position of a titled person in the village. The titled person could then decorate his house with a horned roof and carved walls symbolical of his earned title. The title-earner also became entitled to wear a special shawl indicative of his titled status⁶³. On such occasions, the entire village would also drag monoliths and erect them at the entrance of the village to commemorate the event. Songs would be composed in praise of their achievements. These achievements and the accompanying titles were however not hereditary. Every individual had to earn one's title through sheer hard labour and sacrifice.

When a whole clan or village had prospered materially, they would extend invitations to collective feasts of merit to other clans in other villages or even to entire neighbouring villages.

⁶³ . C. Joshua Thomas, Gurudas Das, *Dimensions of Development in Nagaland*, edited, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2002. P.12.

On such occasions, all the male members of the village being hosted would walk to the host village attired in their best ornaments and garments, singing, ululating and firing guns into the air. On arrival every family in the host village would invite another head of a family from the other village and host him the entire duration of the feast. Both the guest and the host then became permanent guests of one another in the sense that a special relationship developed between them. On business trips across villages, the traveller could stay in his guest's house. This was how the problem of lodging, in a period when there were no hotels, was solved. Alliances between clans and villages were also formed through these inter-village feasts where permanent commitments to help one another in times of war or natural calamities were forged.

In this period the barter system was the only mode of transaction and with the exception of Manipur and Assam, trade beyond the borders of the land was unknown.

Thus, we find that Naga economy was tightly knit into the social customs, traditions and culture of the Nagas. The prosperity of the economy resulted in the social prosperity of the individual, clan, khel and even between neighbouring villages. Also though the Nagas were not economically affluent, they were nevertheless economically self-sufficient and were never dependent on any foreign countries for their economic survival.

The fact of Naga economy, whether past or present, is one where every Naga family has a private house to shelter their family and a private plot of land from which to procure the families basic economic requirements. In this sense Naga economy is much better than even present Indian economy because in spite of the fact that a small section of India's population possess a lot wealth and economic affluence; millions of pathetic homeless and landless Indians still roams the length and breadth of India.

Before the advent of British administration, which is till 1876, the Nagas were living in numerous independent villages which may be called village states. They were more or less independent in their economy, except for salt which they used to get from the Assam plains through barter of their produces such as chilly, ginger, cotton, mustard seeds, decorated spear, Naga shawl etc. With their own villages they seldom sold or purchased anything, but if necessity arose for any article they would get it by barter. It was so because there was no money in circulation and monetary economy did not come into being. Of course among some tribes, notably among the Ao, there was a form of currency known as *chabili*. It was a slender piece of iron varying from ten to twenty five centimeter in length. Gold or silver or copper coins of the pre-British period was not known here. Likewise *kapardak* or cowri were also not in use, though cowri were in much use in Assam-Bengal in early British period.⁶⁴ It goes without saying that the Nagas carrying on slave trade or other trades with the plains used the prevalent currency, but that was only in the border areas, not in the heart of Naga Hills.

When the British started coming into Naga Hills they employed coolies to carry the luggages of their troops and constructing roads, sheds etc. and for that they made payment in money. This is the beginning of circulation of money in Naga Hills. When the British shifted the district headquarter first to Wokha in 1876 and thence to Kohima in 1878 they started constructing their shelter as well as some small roads. These were done by the Nagas and they got money for that. Some of them were employed in Government service also. Gradually Mokokchung Sub-Division was opened in 1889 and that led to construction of shelters, hospitals and roads as well as more government service, and it brought money to the Nagas. Things continued like

⁶⁴ . E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906, p. 330.

this till the Great War (1914-18) when several hundred Nagas went to Europe. Particularly France to work as labourer and they earned a good amount of money. When they came back they were comparatively rich and were in a position to undertake contract works independently and thus money started rolling.

EFFECTS ON NAGALAND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

There have been many changes socially, politically, religiously and economically in Nagaland after Independence. However these changes started to occur after the advent of the British in the Naga Hills. Indian Independence has changed the whole scenario of Nagaland. A group of indigenous people who were once secluded from the rest of the world are now known of their existence. It also contributed significantly to the Naga Nationalism.

1. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Nagas have come a long way from ancient to modernity. The coming of British and American Missionaries not only brought Christianity and education to the state but also developed the living conditions of the Nagas. In Ancient times The Nagas were Naked and did not wear any clothing to cover their body parts, they practiced head hunting and pierced their ears and nose and tattooed on their body as a symbol of integrity.

The traditional shawls were worn only by the chieftains or the high class people. Their sole means of earning was through farming and cultivation. With the coming of British, civilization started in the land. The Nagas started to adopt western clothes, they stopped piercing and tattooing their body and head hunting practice was abolished. While some traditions and rituals like the Morung, feasts of merit and

slavery have been abolished some are still followed and accepted with some improvisations. The Naga society is patriarchal in nature yet the condition of women has changed in a better way through the ages.

Nagas who were once secluded from the outside world are now abroad in foreign countries for education and jobs. Furthermore, the Nagas who spoke only local dialects to interact are now able to speak and write Hindi and English, in addition some of the Nagas are taking up foreign languages courses as part of cultural exchange.

With the above effects of Independence in Nagaland, it is remarkable to see how Nagaland has come a long way from headhunting practices to modern education, from animism to Christianity, from savage life to modernity. The State of Nagaland has gone through different stages; Ahom invasion, British invasion, WWII, integration into the Indian union, yet their traditions and customs are well intact and preserved.

Moreover, Nagaland has come a long way in terms of literacy after Independence. The Nagas who were once a group of illiterate indigenous tribesman, secluded from the outside world until the British came along in the Naga Hills in 1832⁶⁵. The coming of the British and the American Missionaries also brought education along with them. The sole purpose of educating the locals was to induct the educated locals in various government offices to assist in the workings of the British officers. With time people understood the importance of education and how education can help them get government jobs.

Literacy rate in Nagaland according to 2001 census was 66.59 percent. According to 2011 census Nagaland has seen upward trend and is 79.55 percent as per 2011 census.

⁶⁵ . B.B. Gosh, *History of Nagaland*, S.Chand & Company Ltd, Ram Nagar, New Delhi, 1982, p.32.

Among the 11 districts of Nagaland, Mokokchung district has the highest literacy rate in Nagaland with 91.62 percent while Mon district has the lowest literacy rate with 56.99 percent⁶⁶.

2. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Before Independence, Nagas lived as independent people. There were no rulers to rule over them. However, some tribes such as, the Konyaks, Semas, Phoms, Changs, Rengmas etc had Chiefs who was the head of the village. While the Aos had a council of elders known as tatars who looked after the affairs of the village.

The nine point Hydari accord was signed between the then Governor of Assam, Akbar Hydari and the Naga National Council (NNC) at Kohima in 1947. These proposals included some administrative measures and in June 1947, the memorandum was submitted to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who accepted it. The constitution was to give Shape to the Naga demands in this agreement or memorandum so that the Nagas could decide for themselves vital questions concerning the mode of their functioning within Indian Union.

After Nagaland attained her Statehood on 1st December 1963, the chieftain system of government was replaced by the state government. While some villages still has chiefs and enjoys certain privileges in the affairs of the village.

3. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

The early life of the Nagas were headhunters and animist worshippers. A person who cuts down the head of an enemy was considered as the hero of the village. The heads

⁶⁶ . Nagaland Census report 2011.

were brought to the village and kept as a trophy. The more heads a warrior beheaded and collected of the enemies, the more respect and honour he earned.

The Nagas were animist, they had many deity gods and spirits which had control over their everyday life. In order to avoid the wrath of the gods, they perform many rituals and sacrifices to please the gods.

After the advent of the British and the American Missionaries, headhunting was banned and several other rituals and traditions were discouraged. The spread of Christianity and modern education led the Nagas to change their way of living. Gradually the Nagas converted to Christianity and the Missionaries discouraged various animist rituals and practices. Though some rituals and traditions continued with some improvisations.

The spread of Christianity in Naga Hills was at its peak during Indian Independence. At present 90 percent of the total population in Nagaland are Christians while 7.7 percent are Hindus, 1.8 percent Muslims and 0.5 percent others⁶⁷.

4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Nagaland has an agricultural economy since time immemorial. The dream of villager is to have a good harvest. Since the time of their forefathers there were no landlords or landless peasants. The village was so organised that every villager had their own land to cultivate.

In tribal areas like Nagaland there are obstacles for economic development due to the prevailing physical, social and economic conditions. Physical conditions relate to hilly terrain, dense forests and lack of communications. Social obstacles like lack of

⁶⁷ Nagaland Census report 2011.

education, lack to grasp new innovations and primitive method of production. Economic obstacles include lack of capital, absence of marketing centres and various other factors which hinder the economic development of the State.

Nevertheless, apart from all these obstacles, there are some few factors which have helped in the economic development of the state. The water supply industry of Nagaland which supplies water to various agricultural and industrial centres of Nagaland contributes significantly to the economic growth of the State.

Livestock is another important factor in the economic growth of the State which includes fishery, animal husbandry, cattle farming, poultry and piggery.

The tourism department also plays a vital role in the economic development of the State. The State of Nagaland boasts a rich natural spot for tourists destinations spots which attracts thousands of tourists round the year.

INTERVIEWS

Sr. No	Name	Age	Profession	Date of Interview	Opinion
1	Imkongtemsu Longchar	59	Deputy Director, Directorate of Agriculture Office, Govt. of Nagaland	4 th & 5 th Dec. 2016	That the Ao Nagas originated from Longtorok (six stones)
2	Lolenyangba Aier	63	Rtd. Deputy Director, Industry office, Kohima,	9 th Dec. 2016	Headhunting was practiced and the one who beheaded more heads of the enemies

			Govt. of Nagaland		was acclaimed as the hero of the village.
3	Dr. Lanukumla Longchar	35	P.hd (History), Nagaland University	13 th Dec. 2016	That the Nagas migrated from South-East Asian Countries.
4	Dr. Imtinaro Longkumer	34	P.hd (Education), Nagaland University	17 th Dec. 2016	That the Nagas had good relations with the British.
5	Er. Talitemsu Jamir	59	Chief Engineer, P.W.D., Housing, Govt. of Nagaland	19 th & 20 th Jan. 2017	The British recruited young Naga boys to carry arms and ammunitions during WWII. His step-father was also among them.
6	Sashiyangla Lemtur	54	Headmistress, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Dimapur	29 th Dec. 2016	The Nagas were animist worshippers.
7	Rev. Medemsangb a Longkumer	58	Pastor Kohima Ao Baptist Arogo (KABA)	3 rd Jan. 2017	Among the Nagas, the Ao Naga tribe was the first to embrace Christianity.

NAGAS CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS INDIA

India being a land of multiculturalism has a unique history of its own and has contributed in the history of the world. Like any other Indian States, Nagaland; a small pinch in the North-Eastern part of India has its own side of contributions in the

making of Indian history. After the coming of the British in the Naga Hills, the British administration changed their whole course of living; socially, economically and religiously. While some sections of the Naga people accepted these dominion changes some sections of the people started to act against the dominion nature of the British administration and started to recruit people to fight against the British for a free Naga country. The Nagas have not only contributed towards the making of Indian History but have also contributed in various fields like arts, music, dance, festivals, oral traditions, education, languages.

Nagas contribution in WWII

The Japanese army had pushed the British out of Burma and entered Naga Hills in 1944. It was here that some of the fiercest battles of the Second World War were fought.

The Second World War brought about a great transforming impact on the Nagas. The significance of the war for the Naga area may be seen from the statement of Lord Mountbatten: “The Battle of Kohima will probably go down as one of the greatest battles in history. It was in effect the Battle of Burma.”⁶⁸

The Nagas, who had already become loyal subject of the British, sided with them and contributed in a big way to the success of the allies in the eastern sector of India. They served the allied forces as military guides, guerrillas, regular forces, interpreters and informants.

In this fateful war, three Nagas in the regular force received the Military Cross, nine the Military Medal, one the I.D.M.S., and six Naga civilians, M.B.E.⁶⁹ moreover, the

⁶⁸ . Campbell, Arthur, *The siege: A Story from Kohima*, George Allen & Unwin, 1956 p. VII.

⁶⁹ . Elwin Verrier, *Nagaland*, spectrum publications, 1997, pp.102-103.

villagers of Lazami received a handsome cash award from the government for the capture of twenty six Japanese soldiers.⁷⁰ On the whole, Nagas won great appreciation from the British soldiers with whom they fought shoulder to shoulder against the Japanese invaders. Field Marshal Slim in his book 'Defeat into Victory' has paid fine tribute to them for the loyal and consistent service rendered to the allied forces. Speaking of the Nagas he wrote: "The gallant Nagas whose loyalty, even in the most depressing and the burning of their villages, they refused to aid the Japanese in every way or to betray our troops. This active help to us was beyond value or praise... They guided our columns, collected information, ambushed enemy patrols, carried our supplies, and brought in our wounded under the heaviest fire and thus, being the gentlemen they were, often refused all payments". He concludes that many a British and Indian soldiers owed his life to them, and no soldier of the Fourteenth Army who met them will ever think of them but with admiration and affection."⁷¹

FAMOUS NAGA NATIONALISTS

A.Z. Phizo (1904-1990)

Phizo was born in May 1904⁷² at Khonoma. Phizo's father Krusietso Dolie died when he was hardly 11 years old. Phizo did his middle school at Rev. Dr. Sidney White Rivenburg school, Kohima and high school from Government High School, Shillong. Even as a young boy, Phizo was far ahead of his peer groups. He did not want to be under the control of anyone. While the rest of the educated Nagas wanted to become a Government officer, as in those days serving as Government officers held great prestige and respect in the eyes of the public. But for Phizo, he did not want to serve

⁷⁰ . Political Case no.33, D.R.O, Kohima, December 1945. In all an amount of Rs. 5,500 was awarded to the villagers of Lazami.

⁷¹ . Slim, Field Marshal Viscount, *Defeat into Victory*, Cassell and company, 1956, pp. 341-42.

⁷² . **Annexure viii**, p.A3.

under the command of the British, though he dreamt of riches and power. He did not like the idea of serving the foreigners in his own land.

Though Phizo was still young, he was very much influenced by the formation of the Naga Club which was established in 1918, soon after the First World War with its primary objective to formulate and consolidate a distinct Naga Nationality and to look after the welfare and unity of the various Naga tribes. In 1921, Phizo became the Secretary of the Naga Club and he actively worked towards its objective.

In 1934 Phizo set out for Burma (now Myanmar) to try his fortune after many fail attempts back home. Phizo and his brother Kevi Yallay slowly started to flourish their business establishment. Phizo always dreamt of success and popularity and to achieve this Phizo and his brother decided to enter politics for a cause; Naga Independence.

In 1942 while in Burma, Phizo was invited by the Japanese officers for talks. During that time the Japanese and the INA (Indian National Army) under Subhas Chandra Bose were in working relation⁷³. The Japanese were at war with the British while the INA was fighting for Independence against the British and on the other hand Phizo wanted to liberate Nagaland from foreign dominion. After a series of meetings between the Japanese, I.N.A and Phizo, they came to an understanding that if Japan won the war, they would recognize the Independence of Naga country from the day it was liberated. But Phizo made it clear that helping the Japanese has nothing to do with anti-British or pro-Japanese as his main objective was to liberate Nagaland from foreign domination.

⁷³ . Mhiesizokho Zinyu, *Phizo-And the Naga Problem*, N.V. Press, Nagaland Secretariate Road, H.S. Junction, Kohima, 2014. P. 31

Meanwhile the Japanese forces were ready to move towards Kohima, and as planned they were to bypass Kohima and reach Assam at the earliest and cut off the railway bridge-head, which was the only railway line connected to the rest of India and from where the British forces receive their reinforcements and rations. With the railway line being cut-off, the British forces will have no reinforcements and rations for months and will have a hard time defending their position. But due to the over-confidence of the Japanese and differences between the Japanese Generals, the Japanese forces halted at Kohima and decided to defend it and thus the Japanese lost the surprise attack initiative.

In Naga Hills the Second World War was fought between the 31st Division of the Japanese Army and the 2nd Division of the Allied Forces. During the war the Nagas rendered all help to the British forces while some sympathetic Nagas helped the Japanese forces. The Nagas helped the British Forces mainly because the Nagas had no other option but to help their masters since Naga Hills was under British regime. Another reason was that, the Japanese forces forcibly took all the food stocks and live-stocks at gun point since the Japanese forces were out of rations. Their rude conduct was not favoured by the Nagas and thus the Nagas helped the British. On the other hand some Naga villages like Khonoma and Mezoma who were sympathetic towards the Japanese welcomed them and offered help in every possible way.

After the defeat of the Japanese, the British gained control of Burma and Phizo along with his brother Kevi Yallay and INA members were arrested for helping the Japanese. Though Phizo denied joining INA, he admitted collaborating with the Japanese with the sole intention of liberating Nagaland⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ . Ibid, p.36

Thus, while some sections of the Nagas helped the British during the war, Phizo and his brother Kevi Yallay stood by the Japanese along with Subhas Chandra Bose. Phizo's main aim was to liberate Nagaland from British domination. Had the Japanese won the War, India as a whole would have been under the Japanese and Nagaland in particular would have been a totally different story.

Haipou Jadonang (1905-1931)

Haipou Jadonang was born in 1905⁷⁵ at Kambiron (Puiron). His father Thiudai died when he was about 1 year old. Jadonang was not so fortunate to have a formal education as in those days modern education had not reached his village. But he grew up around the richness of animistic customs, traditions, laws and cultures from his mother and villagers.

Jadonang was concerned with the degrading nature of the animistic society because of the spread of Christianity and the imposition of house taxes by the government and supply of labour and foodstuffs whenever government officials were on tour. He was also against the discriminating customs of the British administrations. In order to revive the animistic society and rise against the British, first he had to gain the confidence of his people. In order to win their confidence, Jadonang performed sorcery, supernatural power to heal sick people. And while doing so, he used to preach his new restated animism and called upon people to accept animism and discard Christianity. He used to preach people about how the goddess and spirits prescribe medicines in the form of plants and herbs in the jungles. In this way Jadonang attracted many people, even from the neighbouring villages.

⁷⁵ . Annexure ix, p. A3

In 1927, Jadonang was determined to build his own army of freedom fighters to fight against the British and restore Naga sovereignty. In order to recruit more armies, Jadonang sent his followers to different villages to spread the message that Jadonang was the one true Messiah king of the Nagas who will overthrow British Raj and liberate the Nagas. In the meantime, funds were raised for purchase of guns, daos and spears. Young and old were recruited and were trained to fight for their Independence.

By the end of 1930 the ideas and activities of Jadonang spread almost all over the Naga inhabited areas. The people now stood beside him to fight for their freedom. The movement reached such zenith that it posed great threat to the British and the British authorities had no other choice but to crush the movement before the movement spread to other parts of the Naga areas.

In 1931 while Jadonang and his followers were returning to Kambiron from Bhubon cave after having a worshipped God, a police constable disguised himself as one of his faithfuls invited Jadonang to his house for rest and food. Unaware of the heinous intention, Jadonang and Miss Gaidinliu along with five other girls went without any precautionary measures for security. After reaching the house, to his utter surprise, Jadonang and his faithful's were ambushed and arrested on 19th February 1931⁷⁶.

Rani Gaidinliu (1915-1993)

Gaidinliu was born on 26th January 1915⁷⁷ at Luangkao village in Manipur. At a very young age Gaidinliu was hard-working, quiet, calm and very sympathetic to the poor and needy. Gaidinliu heard about Jadonang and his freedom movement when she was young. Gaidinliu met Jadonang at Kambiron and she was deeply influenced by him.

⁷⁶ Asoso Yonuo, *Nagas Struggle Against British Rule Under Jadonang And Rani Gaidinliu 1925-1947*, Leno Printing Press, Kohima, Nagaland, 1982. P. 76.

⁷⁷ . **Annexure x**, p. A3

After joining his movement, Gaidinliu organized the female wing of army to fight against the British.

After Jadonang was executed, the leadership was passed to Gaidinliu in 1931 she was only 16 years old. Even though she was still young she displayed great devotion to the movement. She re-organized the movement, recruited more armies, re-energized her army and intensified the fight against the British. She ordered total non-cooperation with the British and encouraged her followers not to pay house taxes to the Government.

Under Gaidinliu's leadership the movement rapidly gained momentum and for the first time people from every corner rendered help and support for the freedom and unity of the Nagas. She was respected and hailed as the Messiah sent from God.

The British Government on realizing that the movement under Gaidinliu was rapidly progressing and it posed a much greater threat than before brought the military punitive operations against Gaidinliu directly under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills of Assam and ordered to bring an end to the movement and declared Miss Gaidinliu as "Wanted".

Several military operations were made to arrest Gaidinliu but Gaidinliu was able to escape each time. The Government was now determined and they now knew that to capture Gaidinliu would not be as easy as Jadonang was captured by a trap. Now the Government made long, well-planned operations to capture Gaidinliu dead or alive. Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District, J.P. Mills was placed in direct control to carry out the military operations against Gaidinliu. All authority was given by the Assam Governor-in-Chief to draw out the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the Assam Rifles if needed to attain the objective.

Meanwhile under the command of Gaidinliu, a big fortification was being built at Pulomi village with the aim to accommodate three to four thousand warriors. On 15th October 1932, a British loyal Dr. Haralu informed the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Hari Blah, at Kohima about the presence and activities of Gaidinliu at Pulomi village. The British Government sent troops under Captain Macdonald to Poila. The troops of Assam Rifles and J.P. Mills who was at Imphal arrived on 19th October 1932 at Pulomi village and arrested Gaidinliu⁷⁸.

After the arrest, Gaidinliu was brought to Imphal for trial. After the trial she was sentenced to life imprisonment and was put in Guwahati Jail. Later she was shifted to Shillong, then to Aizwal and finally to Tura Jail. Gaidinliu was finally released in 1947 after India got Independence.

Cultural Contributions

The richness of Naga heritage and tradition is revealed through majestic dances, songs and games in the festival. People of Nagaland comprises of sixteenth major tribes with rich traditions and distinctive cultures. Each tribe has its own clan with its traditional attires, language, beliefs, customs, festivals and traditions.

India is known as a multi-cultural nation comprising of various religion, castes and tribes. Each twenty-nine states of India consist of various culture, beliefs and traditions and as a whole contribute to what is known today as a multi-cultural nation. Nagaland; as one of the Indian States having an ethnic group of people with their own unique and rich cultures and traditions stands apart from the rest of the Indian states in terms of religion, customs and traditions. The state of Nagaland serves as a tourist hotspot for both domestic and international tourists, who want to catch a glimpse of

⁷⁸ . Ibid, p. 107

the rich Naga culture. The state of Nagaland which is often called as the Land of festivals celebrates numerous festivals throughout the year. Each of the sixteen tribes of Nagaland has its own festival celebrating in different months of the year which is related to seed sowing and good harvest.

In addition to that, to promote cultural heritage and encourage inter-tribal interaction of Nagaland, the Government of Nagaland organizes the Hornbill festival every year from 1-10 December. The Hornbill festival was first started in the year 2000. The Hornbill festival is being held every year at the Naga Heritage Village⁷⁹, Kisama which is about 12 km away from Kohima. All tribes of Nagaland takes part in this festival in showcasing their attires, dances, folk-songs, foods, handicrafts and various other activities under one roof. The main aim of this festival is to revive and protect the rich culture of Nagaland and display its extravaganza and traditions. The Hornbill festival not only attracts the local people but also attracts tourists from both domestic and international who wants to get a glimpse and experience the Naga culture.

Travel and Tourism

Nagaland is a small hill state located in the far North-Eastern part of India. The state of Nagaland which is often called as the Switzerland of the East makes an amazing tourist destination with its vast forests lands, breath-taking valleys and beautiful landscapes. Some of the famous hotspots destinations are; Japfu peak⁸⁰ located some 15 km from Kohima, The WWII Cemetery⁸¹ located at the heart of Kohima City, Capital of Nagaland, Kisama Heritage Village located around 12 km away from

⁷⁹ . Annexure xi, p. A4.

⁸⁰ . Annexure xii, p. A4.

⁸¹ . Annexure xiii, p. A4.

Kohima, The Kohima Cathedral⁸², The Dzukou Valley⁸³ located at the border of the States of Nagaland and Manipur, the Kachari Ruins and Rangapahar Reserve Forest in Dimapur, Langpangkong Cave, Fusen Kei and Mongzu ki Caves in Mokokchung, Doyang River and Mount Tiyi in Wokha, Naganimora in Mon, Shilloi Lake in Phek, Saramati Peak and the twin stones in Kiphire.

After analysing the above findings and validating the hypothesis, the researcher has concluded with the following interpretations:

First hypothesis: It is analysed whether the changes have occurred due to the coming of the British or as a result of the Independence of India.

After careful study of the findings, the researcher has analysed that the changes have occurred due to the coming of the British in the Naga-Hills and not as a result of Indian Independence. In the words of Lolenyangba Aier⁸⁴, the early Nagas practised head-hunting but after the coming of the British head-hunting was abolished. The Morung which was an integral part of the Naga society and a focal point of feast of merit was banned by the Missionaries. Certain traditions and rituals were also abolished and some continued with some modifications.

Politically, the Nagas lived in independent villages or khels which was looked after by chiefs or chieftain. Some tribes such as the Semas, Rengmas, Changs, Konyaks and Chakesangs had chiefs while the Aos had a group of elders known as tatars which look after the welfare of the village. After the advent of the British, the Naga-Hills came under the administration of the British. While the British did not directly involve in the affairs of the Nagas, the Chiefs and tatars had some limitations in their

⁸² . Annexure xiv, p. A4.

⁸³ . Annexure xv, p. A5.

⁸⁴ . Interviewee

village administrations. After Independence Naga Hills came under Assam district and gradually Nagaland attained its Statehood on 1st December 1963. Though some tribes still has chiefs and are highly regarded, the administration is controlled by the state government.

Again, in the words of Dr.Imtinaro Longkumer⁸⁵, the early Nagas were Animist worshippers, but after the coming of the Missionaries, they started converting to Christianity. B.B. Kumar in his book, Naga Identity, states that, “The spread of Christianity was at faster rate after Independence”. There is no denying the fact that the spread of Christianity was at faster rate after Independence but the spread of Christianity and conversion from animism to Christianity started only after the coming of the Missionaries. Hence, the changes in religious conditions occurred due to the coming of the British and not as a result of Indian Independence, though the spread of Christianity was at faster rate after Independence.

Economically, the Nagas were self-sufficient they were more or less independent in their economy, except for salt which they used to get from the Assam plains through barter of their produces such as chilly, ginger, cotton, mustard seeds, decorated spear, Naga shawl etc. With their own villages they seldom sold or purchased anything, but if necessity arose for any article they would get it by barter. It was so because there was no money in circulation and monetary economy did not come into being. When the British first came to the Naga Hills, they employed coolies to carry their luggages and construction of roads and payment were made in money. Thus, circulation of money began in Naga Hills.

⁸⁵ . *Interviewee*

Second hypothesis: It is stated that whether the dominance of British control in Nagaland blocked ways for Indian administration in Naga Hills.

After careful analysis of the findings the researcher claims that the dominance of the British control in Naga Hills was not a hindrance for Indian administration in Naga Hills because the British came to India in 1600, whereas the British took control of the Naga Hills in 1832. So, if the Indian rulers wanted to extend their kingdoms they could have done so before the British took control over the Naga Hills. It may be worth mentioning that a ruler conquers a region for its riches and resources which Naga Hills lacks. The Naga Hills was not a Kingdom but a small region consisting of tribesman. Moreover Naga Hills lies in the North East part of India covered with hills on all three sides which makes it difficult to enter into the Naga Hills.

With all these factors, the British still controlled Naga Hills because Burma (now Myanmar) was under British control and to enter Burma, the British has to go through Naga Hills. The only reason the British took control over the Naga Hills was to make Naga Hills a station for their troops.

Conclusion

Based upon the interpretation, the researcher therefore concludes that the changes that took place in the Naga society was a mere result of the advent of the British administration. The effects of the British administration had both positive and negative impacts in the Naga society. Socially, people were more modernised at the expense of loss of their certain rituals and traditions. Politically, the British took over the administration and the Naga Chiefs or Anghs had their limitations. Religiously, Christianity took over the animist Naga society. Economically, money circulation came into being and replaced the age old barter system. All these changes drastically

changed at faster rate after Indian Independence making Nagaland enter into the world of Modernization.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present study is to find out the effects on Nagaland as a result of Indian Independence. The struggle for Independence affected the whole of India socially, politically, religiously and economically. Nagaland, a small part in the North East region too was affected by Indian Independence. The Nagas who were isolated from the outside world started to get a glimpse of the modern era with the advent of the British in Naga Hills. While the Nagas were slowly adapting with the changes, the occurrence of Indian Independence, made drastic changes in the whole scenario of social, political, religious and economic conditions of the Nagas.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The history of Nagaland is indeed a unique history because like any other history, the history of Nagaland cannot be found in recorded books until the advent of the British. All history has been passed down through oral traditions from generations to generations until the British came to Naga-Hills. Scientifically oral traditions cannot be considered as recorded history and one cannot fully depend upon oral traditions, but in the case of Naga history it is different. One has to depend on oral traditions to know about the history of Naga Hills before the advent of the British. Even today there are researchers who seek the help of village elders to dig up the history of the Nagas.

After careful reading and research of selected books as well as interviews with elderly folks, the researcher has made an in depth study of the Naga history. The major findings of the analysis of this research are as follows:

1. The Nagas belong to Mongoloid race but there are great differences between the different tribes in terms of features and other traits. There are differences even among the people of the same tribe as well.
2. There are no recorded historical data of the Nagas available prior to 1832. We have to solely depend upon oral traditions upto 1832. However after the advent of the British (1832) we come to the age of recorded history.
3. The Nagas are not the original inhabitants of Nagaland. Due to lack of reliable records, it is not known exactly from where the Nagas came, how they came and when they came. But it is believed that the Nagas have close links with the tribes of South-East Asian countries.
4. Before the Nagas came, this place was occupied by people of Mon-Khmer affinities and some Negrito.
5. During the British period, practically no Indian has written anything about the Nagas.
6. Of all the Naga; Angamis and allied tribes only practice terrace cultivation.
7. All the traditions suggest that the Nagas have entered India through Burma and prior to Burma they were in other places- not one place but different places.
8. All the Naga tribes came to their present habitat from different places and in different time.
9. Semas, Konyaks, Wanchos, Changs and the Rengmas follow the tradition of chieftainship.

10. The Aos were controlled by a council of elders (tatars).
11. Slavery was practised among the Nagas before the formation of the Naga-Hills.
12. The Nagas were animist worshippers before Christianity came.
13. The Nagas had different levels of deities. At one level they believed in the creator God who was thought to be supreme and beneficent. At another level they believed in spirits of the sky, the creator of the earth and deity in control of the rains and consequently of the food supply for the rice-growing. At another level they believed in swarms of spirits which inhabited the everyday world of Nagas and were generally harmful.
14. In order to please the malevolent spirits, early Nagas performed a lot of ceremonies.
15. Even after the assumption of colonial administration in Naga-Hills, the British did nothing directly to disturb the traditional religious beliefs of the people. But it took necessary measures to remove certain social evils and practices associated with the customs and traditions of Nagas.
16. The first Baptist Mission Centre in Nagaland was established in Molungyimsen in 1876. It was later shifted to Impur in 1894.
17. The Morung, which was the central institution of the Naga culture was discouraged by the Missionaries due to its association with feasts of merit and other rituals which were against Christian principles.
18. Monetary economy did not come into being during the early Naga society. Goods were bought or exchanged through barter system. Among the Aos, there was a form of currency known as Chabili. It was only after the coming of the British that monetary circulation came into being among the Nagas.

19. While India was preparing and organising several freedom movements for her Independence against the British, the Nagas too were organising and preparing themselves for a free Naga country.
20. Haipou Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu started their movement against the British because they wanted to revive the animistic culture by chasing out the British from their land and put an end to the spread of Christianity.
21. A.Z. Phizo agreed to help the Japanese and INA under Subhas Chandra Bose because the latter promised to recognize the Independence of Naga people if Japan won the war. It had nothing to do with pro-Japanese or anti-British.
22. While the Nagas considered and fought for a free Naga country simultaneously with the Indians who were fighting for their Independence. The Nagas never considered themselves to be a part of India; they considered India as their neighbour. But the British had been administrating in the Naga-Hills as part of Assam province and ultimately India considered Naga-Hills district as part of Assam province which is part of India.
23. The movements started against the British directly and indirectly contributed in Indian Independence. This is so because in some way these movements pressurized the British to grant Independence.
24. After India got Independence, Nagaland was brought under Assam province. After the British left, the Nagas continued their fight for freedom with the Indian government. Consequently Nagaland became the 16th state of India on 1st December 1963.

CONCLUSION

This particular research has an important significance from the perspective of learning-teaching. With the passage of time and modernity, the knowledge of one's identity and roots is forgotten. As Indians many people are not aware of the Naga people as Indians in nor do they have any idea about its geographical locations. The feeling of alienation in one's own country will cease once the existence of the Nagas as Indians is recognized by the Nation. The research gives an insight to the students about the history of the Nagas; their origin and migrations, relations with the British, Nagas and the World War II and Nagas struggle for Indian Independence and its contributions.

The present research is an attempt to analyse the effects on Indian Independence on Nagaland. The researcher also acknowledge that there are various good research works which has been done by different scholars and likely to be produce more research in this field in the days to come. Therefore the researcher hopes to find a small place without any great claims.

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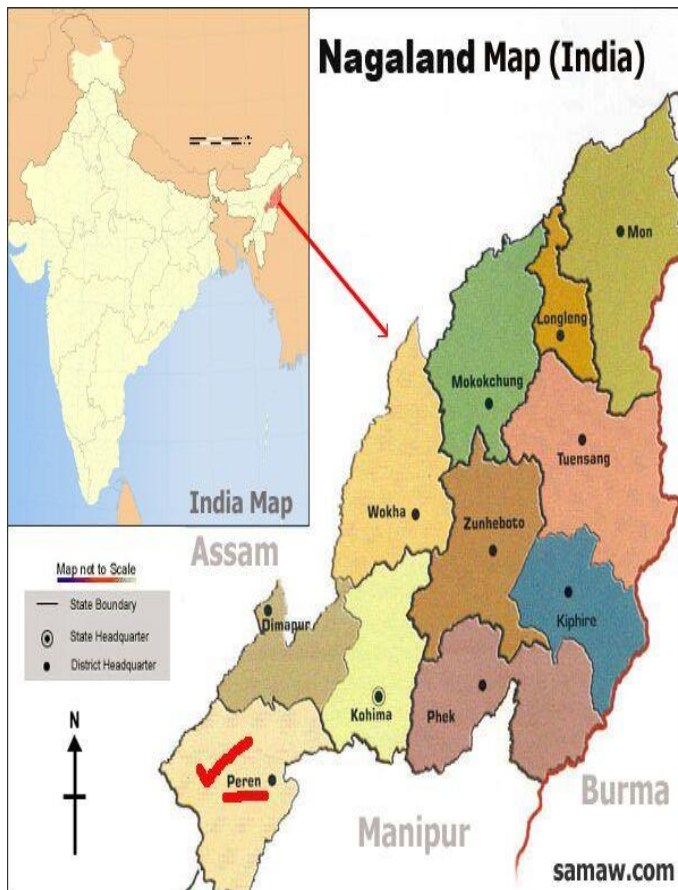
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ANNEXURE



(i) Map of Nagaland

Description	Census 2011
Population	1,978,502
Male	1,024,649
Female	953,853
Population Growth	-0.58%
Sex Ratio	931
Literacy	79.55%
Male literacy	82.75%
Female Literacy	76.11%

(ii) census 2011



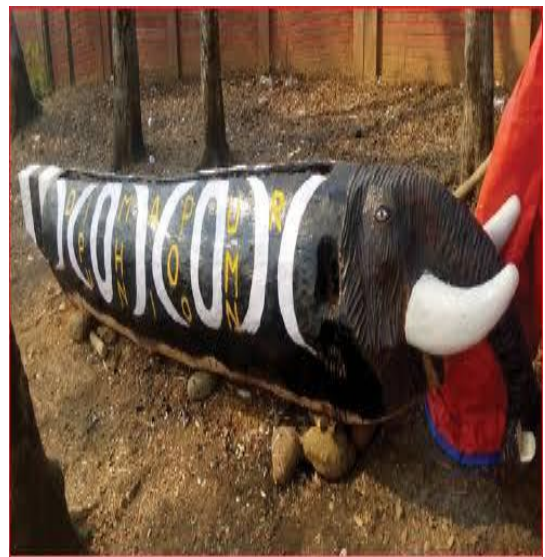
(iii) Kachari ruins in Dimapur



(iv) Longtorok (Six Stones)



(v) Conch Shell Necklace



(vi) Log Drum



(vii) Morung



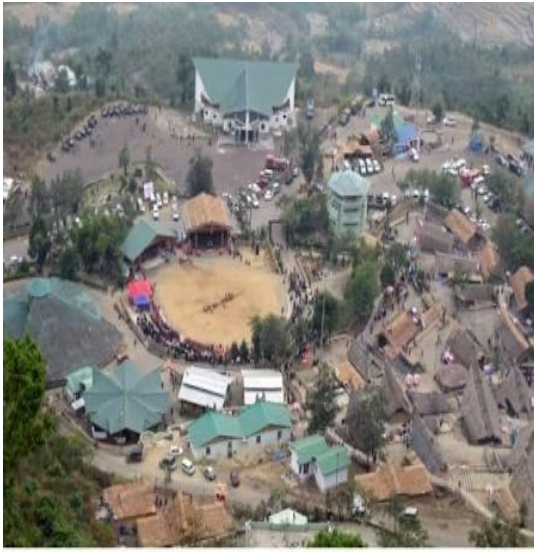
(viii) A.Z. Phizo



(ix) Haipou Jadonang



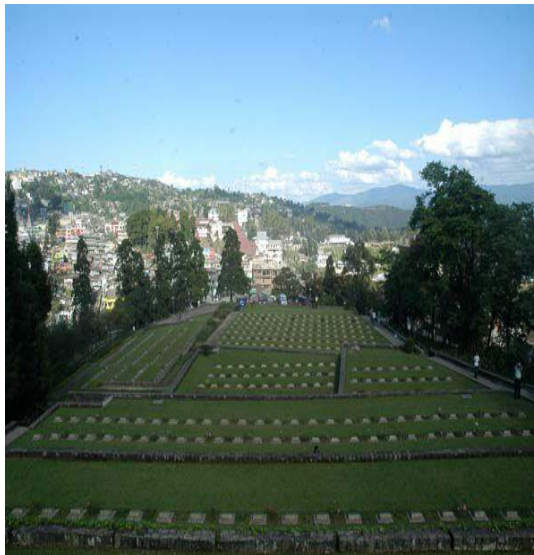
(x) Rani Gaidinliu



(xi) Kisama Heritage Village



(xii) Japfu Peak



(xiii) Kohima War Cemetery



(xiv) Kohima Cathedral



(xv) Dzukou Valley

INTERVIEWS

Sr. No	Name	Age	Profession	Date of Interview	Opinion
1	Imkongtemsu Longchar	59	Deputy Director, Directorate of Agriculture Office, Govt. of Nagaland	4 th & 5 th Dec. 2016	That the Ao Nagas originated from Longtorok (six stones)
2	Lolenyangba Aier	63	Rtd. Deputy Director, Industry office, Kohima, Govt. of Nagaland	9 th Dec. 2016	Headhunting was practiced and the one who beheaded more heads of the enemies was acclaimed as the hero of the village.
3	Dr. Lanukumla Longchar	35	P.hd (History), Nagaland University	13 th Dec. 2016	That the Nagas migrated from South-East Asian Countries.
4	Dr. Imtinaro Longkumer	34	P.hd (Education), Nagaland University	17 th Dec. 2016	The Nagas were animist worshippers.

5	Er. Talitemsu Jamir	59	Chief Engineer, P.W.D., Housing, Govt. of Nagaland	19 th & 20 th Jan. 2017	The British recruited young Naga boys to carry arms and ammunitions during WWII. His step-father was also among them.
6	Sashiyangla Lemtur	54	Headmistress, Kendriya Vidyalaya, Dimapur	29 th Dec. 2016	That the Nagas had good relations with the British.
7	Rev. Medemsangb a Longkumer	58	Pastor Kohima Ao Baptist Arogo (KABA)	3 rd Jan. 2017	Among the Nagas, the Ao Naga tribe was the first to embrace Christianity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present research focused on the historical background of the Nagas; their origin and migration, impact of British administration in Naga-Hills, Naga Nationalists, Nagas contributions in the Second World War and Nagas contributions towards Indian Independence and India. The research is done on in-depth analysis of selected books and some oral interviews with the elderly folks. Moreover, the study focuses more on the historical background and Indian Independence. A comparative study can be done on the Naga-British relations or Indo-Naga relations before Independence. In addition to these, a study on Naga insurgency can also be done.

Similarly, a research work can also be done on other North-East states like Manipur, Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Sikkim, Mizoram and so on.