

Historical Account of British Legacy in the Naga Hills (1881- 1947)

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Certificate

I certify that the work presented here by Mr. Joseph Longkumer represents his original work that was carried out by him at Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune under my guidance during the period 2007 to 2011. Work done by other scholars has been duly cited and acknowledged by him.

I further certify that he has not submitted the same work to this or any other University for any research degree.

Place:

Signature of Research Supervisor

Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma of the University or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Signature

Name

Date

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a saying among the Nagas that, at one point of time the Nagas wrote and maintained their history, written in some animal skin. However, unfortunately, a dog ate the record wherein history began to be preserved in the form of folklore and folksongs in precaution of being eaten by the dogs again. This story highlights the importance of oral sources for reconstructing any history. Some of the important notes and documents on the Nagas were also lost and damaged in 1879 insurrections (Battle of Khonoma). Damant who was the political agent at Kohima had Manipur Dictionary and a paper on the Angami Nagas, but this was destroyed in the Kohima stockade, during the fighting. The pioneer ethnologists tried their best to accumulate the information on Nagas but they have inadequate knowledge and information about Nagas, perhaps due to communication gap (interpreter) and no written history. There are different perspectives on the Nagas by outside and inside writers, but the works of pioneer authorities on the Nagas have been acknowledged and appreciated, regardless of their incomplete knowledge.

As far as the history of colonisation of Nagaland is concerned, it begins with the forced contact of the Nagas with the British in the early eighteenth century. The British first came in to contact with the Nagas of Nagaland during the strategic

survey of road communication between Assam and Manipur.¹ In January 1832, Captain Jenkins and Pamberton led 700 Manipur troops with 800 coolies from the Manipur valley via Popolongmei, Samoogudting and the Dhunsiri to Mohung Djiooa on the Jumoona River. They literally fought their way through the whole Kutcha and Angami Naga country.²

The present research is concerned with the history of colonisation of Naga territory in the second half of the 19th century, which begins, with the establishment of the Naga Hill District or British district on March 27, 1881 to the transfer of Power in 1947.

- **Reasons for Study:**

The aim of this study is to bring in to limelight the last period (1881-1947), which is also known as the period of Naga national awakening. The study hopes that besides throwing light on the early modern history of Nagaland, it will help scholars to investigate further into the details of the Legacy left behind by the British.

The main aims and objectives of this research work are:

- i) To sensitize readers towards the history of Naga Nationalism.
- ii) To study the nature and methods of British imperial rule in colonial Nagaland.
- iii) To Study the political interactions between the Naga Representatives and the British Indian government.

¹ Foreign Department political – March 1832, *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition (Published by Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland 1991), Sl. No. 70.

² Alexander Mackenzie, *The Northeast Frontier of India*, Reprinted in India by (Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1979), 69.

- iv) To study British administrative policies & judicial procedures implemented during the period under study
- v) To study the roots of Naga Nationalism & Nagas' right to self-determination.
- vi) To study the socio-religious and economic impact of British colonialism.

- **Methodology and Sources:**

The present study has made use of extensive primary and secondary sources. The historical method of data collection, analysis and research formulation with special emphasis on internal and external criticism and evaluation of data has been employed for the present research. As varied techniques of data collection and analysis were used, no single method of research has been adhered to. Synthetic method of combining various sources and techniques has been used for the present study.

The sources used for the study come from a varied range.

The study primarily draws upon archival sources. The Tour Diaries and British Indian Government Records are available in the Archive of Kohima State Museum maintained by the Nagaland Department of Art and Culture. Some Private papers of British Officials have also been used from the collections of the Kohima Museum Archive Section. Old Records regarding the coming of the Missionaries available in the Clerk Memorial Higher Secondary School at Impur and Mopungchuket village library and museum under Mokokchung District were of immense help. Rare copies of following sources published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century are used.

- 1) R. G. Woodthrope; The Naga Hills Expedition, London, 1877.
- 2) W.W. Hunter; Statistical Account of Assam, Vols II, London 1879.
- 3) G.M. Godden; Nagas and other Frontier Tribes of North East India; Published by Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute XXVI 1896.
- 4) Mrs. P. H Moore; Twenty years in Assam; Published by Western book Depot Assam 1901.
- 5) W.H. Furnes; The Ethnology of the Nagas of East Assam; Published by Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute XXXII 1902.
- 6) M. M. Clark; A Corner in India, Philadelphia, 1907.
- 7) T.C. Hudson; The Naga Tribes of Manipur; Published by B.R. Publishing Cooperation Delhi 1911
- 8) Augus Hamilton; In Abor Jungles: Being an account of the Abor expedition, the Mishmi and Miri Mission, London 1912.
- 9) J. H. Hutton; The Sema Nagas; Published by Macmillan and Co Limited, London 1921.
- 10) J. H. Hutton; The Angami Nagas; Published by Macmillan and Co Limited, London 1921.
- 11) J.P. Mills; The Lotha Nagas; Published by Macmillan and Co Limited 1922.
- 12) J.P. Mills; The Ao Nagas; Published by Macmillan and Co Limited 1922.
- 13) J.P. Mills; The Rengam Nagas; Published by Macmillan and Co Limited 1937.
- 14) William Carlson Smith; The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam; Macmillan and Co. Limited, London 1925.
- 15) A.C. Bower; Under Head-hunter's Eyes; Published by Judson Press, Philadelphia 1929.

These books available in the State Library of Nagaland and library of Directorate of Information and Public Relation Kohima Nagaland have immensely contributed in bringing about a comprehensive view towards this research work.

The researcher has also visited historical places relevant with his work. This field study contributed towards adding weightage to the authenticity of bringing out the truth for this present research work. Field visits undertaken by the researcher are as follows:

1. Field study to Molungyimsen village in the year 2008 where the First Christian missionaries came to the Ao region, which later on spread to other region in the Naga Hills. Also visited Impur Mission School, this mission school was later named as Clerk Memorial High School and Mopungchuket village library and museum.
2. Field study to Kohima Second World War cemetery in 2008.
3. Visited Kezakhonoma village in the year February 09, where a legend is belief that the whole Naga tribes originated from there.
4. Visited Khonoma village in the year 2009, the most powerful village in the Naga Hills that resisted the British rule.
5. Visited Kohima State museum and Kohima State Archive maintained by Directorate of Art and Culture Kohima Nagaland State Government for data collection in 2009.
6. Went to Assam State Archive and Shillong State Archive in 2009.
7. Went for field trip to Dimapur, Wokha, Phek, Mon, Mokokchung, Dimapur, Arunachal Pradesh, Calcutta, Delhi that are relevant with the research work.

Rare records of Audio-visual documentaries made by the Directorate of Art and Culture Kohima Nagaland State Government were used in working out the fifth chapter. Personal interviews with the village elders of the Khonoma village regarding the battle of Khonoma (1879), published folklores in Ao language from the village library of Mopungchuket and various literary legendary stories about the Ao Naga tribe have also been used. Interviews with the Naga Second World War veterans, village headmen, Dobashis, Rani Gaidialiu's Personal Secretary have also added to the oral sources used for the present research. In addition, autobiographies, biographies, official histories, personal letters, personal diaries, and archival papers found in the National library, Kolkata as also Government libraries in Shillong, Kohima and New Delhi have been utilised.

Secondary Sources of data such as bibliographies, government reports, census data, periodicals, newspapers etc. have also been used.

- **Scope and Limitations of study**

The present study is limited to the relations between the colonial administration and the Naga people during the period 1881-1947. It does not go beyond this period and beyond the territories where Naga culture has been the predominant culture. Naga history came to be written during the early 19th century mostly as colonial Historiography by the British. Eminent British Historians like Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, J. P. Mills, Henry Balfour, Dalton, Sir James Johnston, H. H. Godwin Austin, Alexander Mackenzie, Damant, Sir Robert Reid, Dr. J. H. Hutton, Christophe von Furer-Haimendorf, Ursula Graham Bower, W. G. Archer, and others wrote a number of initial histories of Nagaland and the North Eastern

India. Difficulties about names, research material & scattered data can be another challenge for undertaking this research. The researcher has tried to counterbalance the colonial and nationalist narratives of Naga history by giving due weightage to the native narratives.

Establishing rapport with the concerned individuals and agencies, which possess data, is a challenge. The researchers' firsthand knowledge of the Naga way of life and language has been of immense use in overcoming this hurdle.

Problem of expenses is another setback as data collection is linked with high cost. The researcher is thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research for awarding Junior Research Fellowship for completing this work.

- **Hypotheses:**

The present study hopes to validate the following hypotheses.

1. The roots of Naga Nationalism and political discontent as manifested today can be traced back to the highhanded approach of the British administration that denied any agency to the Nagas as they followed utterly ad-hoc methods for bringing the Naga people under their administration and control.
2. The primary sources of Naga history created by the colonial administrators offer credible records of Naga traditional and cultural practices.
3. The colonial rule was responsible for a simultaneous process of preservation and destruction of the Naga way of life.
4. Religious ideology along with modern education was responsible in bringing to an end the traditional beliefs of the Nagas.

5. The exposure of Naga people to the two world wars resulted in a drastic modification of their world-view.
6. The rise of Nationalism among the Naga people was a process that ran parallel to the exposure of the Nagas to the western cultures.

- **Chapter Plan**

The first chapter includes an overview of the present study and a background of the establishment of British rule in Naga territory. The second chapter discusses the British policies towards the Naga Hills with special reference to the Tour Diaries. The third chapter discusses the State of Affairs carried forward by the British towards the Trans-Frontier Nagas and the important Acts implemented in the Naga Hills. This chapter covers the period from 1910-1933. The fourth chapter throws light on the Nagas' progress towards modernization with Christianization as the key instrument. The fifth chapter is an account of the World War II and its effects in the Naga Hills and the last chapter is an overview of the main thesis and the conclusions.

Historical Background:

Only towards the early 19th century, the Naga history started making progress. The British and some other western scholars began writing the history of the Nagas. Later, the impact of the World War II exposed the Naga people to the people of different nations and made them realise their existence as a distinct people. Since then spirit of self-determination and nationalism came in the minds of the Nagas to look forward towards achieving these goals from an alien rule. Many progress did took place with the mixing of the Nagas to a higher race along with the mainland Indians. These resultant effects did produce a far-reaching

consequence with the Nagas who at that point of time were living secluded from any outside confluence.

Until the middle of the 19th Century, Nagas were independent people and no outside authority have ever extended their suzerainty over them. Even after the advent of the British rule in Assam, the Nagas, particularly the Angamis, used to make frequent raids in the plains of the present Nowgong District where the British had one of their strong military establishments for the administration of the acquired territory in Assam after the treaty of Yandobo. In order to stop these frequent raids by the Nagas, particularly by the Angami tribe, the first British outpost was established in Asalu, a Naga village in the present North Cachar Hills District. After many skirmishes with the Angami tribes, in order to stop further harassment of the territory by the Nagas, the British adapted the policy of gradually extending their Suzerainty over the tribe. Records from the old documents clearly show that, from the strong hold at Nowgong and from the first outpost in Naga territory at Asalu, the British force tried to deal with the raiding hordes of the Angami tribe and finally decided to carve out a separate District for the administration of the tribe with Samaguting as their first headquarters. Naga Hills District was formed in the year 1866 and the notification of the first Naga Hills District was issued on 16th December 1867, which included the present Mikir Hills, Western Rengma now in the Mikir Hills and North Cachar Hills and part of the present Nagaland. This Notification was again amended on the recommendation of the Political Agent, Captain Butler, of the Naga Hills District vide Notification No.3386P dated 24.12.1875. Therein, for better administration and convenience of the Naga Hills, the Headquarter was shifted to Kohima in 1879. Finally, the British occupied Naga territory was declared as “Naga Hills”

British District in March 27, 1881 with Kohima as the administrative headquarters. During the preceding year when Mr. C. A. Elliott, was the Chief Commissioner of Assam decision was made to bring about the Naga Hills as a permanent British District. Thus, the final decision to make the Naga Hills a British district was taken in 1881³. Alexander Mackenzie who was one among the first pioneer to write the history of the Nagas and author of the book “The North-East Frontier of India” also said that with the establishment of a permanent Naga Hill as a British District, “On the whole the Angami Naga problem was at last in a fair way the final solution”⁴.

An account of Origination:

Man himself is weak to know of his origin beyond himself. This is because of the confusing nature of the origin of humankind and the iniquity without traces of recorded facts. There are different theories and speculation regarding the origination and meaning of the word Naga that is still shrouded in mystery. It is not clear how the name “Naga” was derived. There have been several attempts made by the Anthropologists and historians to trace out the origin of this word. Verrier Elwin (1902-64), one of the early British pioneers on Naga history and author of the book ‘The Nagas’ points out, “the derivation of the word is still obscure” Even three decades after Elwin made this observation the problem remained unsolved. An attempt has been made to present the explanations made by different scholars and find out the correct position. The issue is complicated due to the continuing process of identity assertion, formation and expansion

³ Sir Robert Reid (Governor of Assam 1937-1942), *History of the frontier bordering on Assam 1883-1941*, Published by (Eastern Publication House Delhi, 1983) (First published in 1942) 99.

⁴ Mackenzie; *Assam proceedings*, March 1881, 143.

movement of the Naga themselves. Many ethnologists have studied the tribe of the Nagas since ancient time. The British were the pioneers who encountered the Naga people and studied about them. The Nagas have not its own written history about their origin. However, the folksong, folk-tale and legends of different tribes of Nagas are the sorts of Naga history that we can trace the origin of the Nagas.

According to Ao Nagas belief, it is said that once six persons came out of six rocks at Ongtrok or Longtrok (Long means stone and trok means six), near Chungliyimti and from those six human beings, three were men and three women, who first settled at Chungliyimti village. These six people formed their own six clans. It is said that all the six major Ao clans emerged from these six rocks. This is a folk tale or we can say a myth about the origin of the Ao Nagas⁵. Infact all the Naga tribes have their own legends about their origin.

According to Julian Jacobs with Alan Macfarlane, Sarah Harrison and Anita Herle, who produce a book “The Nagas Hill Peoples of North-East India” from five years research work comments, Naga origin stories have two aspects. One is essentially mythological, and describes the supernatural origin of humankind from a stone or (in case of Konyaks, for example) a pumpkin or a giant bird. The other aspect describes in detail actual movement of people in the Naga Hills. As J. H. Hutton (1917-35) Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills have said, that the present sociological make-up of the Nagas is ‘mixed’ and so is their pre-historic origin, there being no unique origin for any of the tribes separately or for the Nagas as a whole.

⁵ Researchers himself have recollected.

Most of the pioneer ethnographers on the Nagas were soldiers. The authorities of Nagas were non-professional Anthropologist. This may be one of the reasons that no one study deeply on 'Nagas' origin and etymology of the word 'NAGA' and bring out satisfactory explanation with evidences.

The different authorities on Nagas have different perspective about the origin of Nagas. One of the pioneer authorities on Nagas, Sir James Johnstone, who had been the Political Officer of Manipur, came to contact the Naga people in 1847, wrote about the origin of Nagas as, "Where the Angami came from must be uncertain till the language of our Eastern Frontier is scientifically analysed. The late Mr. Damant, a man of great talent and pioneers of research, had valuable paper regarding them in hand, but it perished in the insurrection of 1879. The probability is that they came originally from the South-Eastern corner of Tibet"⁶.

The folktale and legends of Nagas, however does not trace their origin from Tibet. However, all the stories of origin are pointed to the Southeast. Mr. Huzumo Sekhamo of 59 years from Enhulumi village (Phek district), told me that some Mongolians moved towards Mao Tsu (China) and lived there for some time. Later they marched towards Indonesia, from where they came to know about the seashells. However, due to big floods (probably Tsunami, as they were not aware of its name during those days) they dispersed from there and decided to live on hilly land. They first reached Burma and then to Nagaland. Majority of the people reached Mekhromi/Mekhrone, which is near Tadubi (Manipur) and lived in a cave for some time. When they reached Mekhromi, a walking stick was erected on the ground, which grew into a big tree (in a slow process). This tree

⁶ Sir James Johnstone, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, Reprinted by (Manas Publications, Delhi 1987), 28

has a very important impact in the lives of the Nagas, it is said that if any branch falls on any direction it is a bad omen and that particular side (North, South, East or West), had to offer offerings to the tree to avoid any natural and unnatural calamities. From there they moved to Khezhakenoma village where they multiplied in numbers, moved to different directions, and form their own villages. The tree still stands at the top of Chowenamai village⁷.

My Late father, Mr. Tinu Meren Longkumer of Mopungchuket village (Mokokchung district) said that during the process of migration into the Hills, the Nagas came across a big river, where they built a cane bridge so that they can all go to the other side of the river. It is said that, after the cane bridge was completed, the Ao tribe went first and cross the river. However as soon as all the Aos have crossed the river, no sooner they cut the bridge to prevent others from following them. On seeing the treacherous act, the others were badly disappointed and as a result, they gave an appropriate name 'Ao', which means 'went' or 'went away'. To the group left behind were called by the name 'Merir' which means hate or dislike, a name given by Aos to the rest who were left behind (Trans-Frontier Nagas). He said that this river might have been either Dikhu River in Nagaland or Chindwin River in Burma. Thus from this folk tale, we can also assume that at some point of time, the Nagas have migrated from a long destination to the present land (Nagaland)⁸.

When James Johnstone again came to contact the Nagas in 1874 at Samaguting, an old Naga (centenarian) told him that they had come from the North East and were the Seventh generation living there. Another pioneer

⁷ Researchers himself have recollected.

authority on Nagas, J. H. Hutton wrote, "Where the country near Manipur is a much more difficult problem and one quite beyond the scope of this book. All sorts of origins have been connected with the Head-hunters of Malay and the races of the Southern Seas on the one hand, and traced back to China"⁹.

He also stated that the terrace rice cultivation system of Angami is resembled with those tribes of Bontoc or Igorots in Philippines. He did not precisely state about the original home of the Nagas. According to L. Wati, "Originally Nagas migrated from Southern China. In very ancient times, the North West China between the two great rivers of Huang-ho and Yangtse-kiang was like a nerve centre for all Mongoloid races". Dr. S.K Chatterji , "Different branches of the great Sino – Tibetan, speaking peoples who had their Nidus near the headwaters of Yang-tse-Kiang and the Huang – Ho rivers, to the West China, pushed South and West probably from 2000 B.C onwards".

W.C. Smith a missionary and Sociologist traced the origin of Nagas to the southward movement through Brahmaputra valley. "It is this southward movement which brought this people down the Brahmaputra valley when they were forced into the mountain vastness or otherwise isolated tract and became the ancestors of the Nagas and other more or less wild tribes. This southward movement pressed on down through Burma and the Malay Peninsula to Borneo and to the Philippines where we have the Dyaks, Igorots and related groups"¹⁰.The hypothesis given by him is also uncertain. One of the Indian authorities of Nagas, Murot Ramunny writes, "The original home of the Nagas,

⁸ Researcher's himself have recollected the story narrated by his late father during the high school days.

⁹ J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Published by (Oxford University Press London, 1885), 8.

¹⁰ Shimray, *Origin and culture of Nagas*, Published by (Somsok Publications, New Delhi 1985), 3.

before they reached the areas they now occupy, is rather difficult to ascertain. Different authorities have connected them with head hunters of Malay, the races of the southern seas, while other traces them back even to China"¹¹.

Some of the Naga tribes consider Dog meat as a delicacy in their diet. It is also said that this meat has the capability to treat diseases like Tuberculosis, asthma etc. There is a saying that the person who eats dog meat cannot be harm by any black magic. Countries like Japan, Korea, China, Philippines and Thailand also consider dog meat as a delicacy in their diet. Considering this, we can say that Nagas might have some link with these Mongoloids stock of people at some point of time"¹².

About the origin of the Nagas, a Naga scholar Dr. Horam also traced the Naga origin to the Southern Seas. He stated that Nagas custom and culture are similar to those tribes in the Southern Seas in many aspects. He writes, "There can be little doubt that at one time the Nagas must have wandered about before they found this their permanent abode; from their myths and legend one gather that there is dim relationship with the natives of Borneo in that the two have a common traditional way of head hunting; with the Indonesians, as both use the loin loom for weaving cloth. The embroidery on the Naga clothes resembled the kind done on Indonesian clothes"¹³.

R.R. Shimray a Naga scholar supported Marshall's view of Indo-China southwards movement. Thus, he wrote, "The Nagas and other tribal of North East India followed the Southward movements toward Indo-China. It has been seen

¹¹ Ramunny Murot, *The world of Nagas*, Published by (Northern Book Centre Delhi (1998), 5.

¹² Researchers own findings.

¹³ M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, Published by (B.R. Publishing Co., New Delhi 1975), 28.

that the ancestors of the Nagas had lived at Sea Coast in the remote past. This has been taken from the various evidences that the Nagas at one distant past were living near the Sea. This theory is further supported and upheld by the very fact that the last take-off in their migration was from Thangdut in Burma (previously called Hsawngsup and pronounced as Samsok in Tangkhul). The last migration from Samsok (Thangdut) in Burma to Makhel in Mao, Longpi and Hunphun in Ukhrul District is very clear and most recent and is supported by historical facts and monuments"¹⁴.

It is believed that some other groups of Nagas went down further from Moulmein to Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. Quoting Shimray's view, "It is very probable that the Nagas had first followed the southward movement and after reaching the coast or some Islands, they turned North-west leaving their brothers somewhere near the coast or perhaps in some Islands"¹⁵.

When we study the history of Malaysian origin, they also traced back their origin to Yunnan province in China. The Nagas once lived near the Moulmein seas coast but probable they did not lived in the Island. If they lived in Island, there is less possibility to retreat to Naga Hills. However, it is sure that once they lived near the Seas coast or must have come from the Seas coast. It is supported by historical facts (folktale, folklore, legends etc) and the evidences showed that Nagas uses the cowries-shells and conch-shells in decorating their dresses (kilts), which is not found in the hills. The cowries-shells are not found in Naga Hills but the Nagas are fond of cowry's shells and familiar with the marine

¹⁴ Shimray, *Origin and culture of Nagas*, 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

shells in decorating their Kilts (pant). They must have used marine shells during their migration and acquired the knowledge from the Southern seas of Myanmar.



Sea Shells and Cornelian beads used as Ornaments.

L.W Shakespeare, who wrote the history of Assam, also wrote that Nagas resembled those tribes of Dyaks and they loved the marine-shells, which is not found in Naga village. Thus he wrote, "They recognize a slight resemblance in matters of counting name domestic implements, in way village architecture and their Head-hunting propensities to those of the Dyaks, while their love marine-shells (which they part with but rarely) may seem to point to a bygone home near the Sea, though they are far inland-residing community"¹⁶.

Dr. Horam, an eminent Naga scholar writes, "Some people believe the present group of Nagas came from the Philippines where there is a place called

¹⁶ Shakespeare L. W (1914), *History of upper Assam, Upper Burma and North East Frontier* Reprinted by (Cultural Publishing House, Delhi 1983), 197.

Naga"¹⁷. However, the above belief is just an assumption because the Naga village (present Naga city) in Philippines was named by Spanish troops only in 1573, when they discovered a flourishing Bikol village with abundance of NARRA TREES in that place. This Naga city is named after Narra trees, in Bikol Narra is known as Naga. The folk songs and legends of Poumai Naga narrated that they (Nagas) came from Deimaofii, (literal meaning Island or land with water) and ultimately reached MAKHEL following the big rivers¹⁸. Here Deimaofii may also refer to Seas Coast since the Nagas probably did not come from Island. One of the Naga Scholars Late Shimray also believed that Nagas must have come from the seacoast or at least some Islands. Thus, he wrote,

"The hypothesis that the Nagas must have come from the seacoast or at least seen some Islands or the seas is strengthened by the life-style of the Nagas and the ornaments being used till today in many Naga villages. The Naga being left undisturbed for such a long time, have retained the culture of the most ancient times until today. Their fondness of Cowries shells for beautifying the dress, and use of Conch shells as ornaments (precious ornaments for them) and the facts that the Nagas have many customs and way of life very similar to that of those living in the remote parts of Borneo, Sarawak, Indonesia, Malaysia etc. indicates that their ancient abode was near the sea, if not in some islands"¹⁹. It was only after they dispersed from MAKHEL; they called by the name of tribe naming after their progenitor. For example, Poumai Naga tribe is named after their progenitor name POU and Mao tribe after the name of MEO. Thus, different name of the

¹⁷ M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, Published by (B.R. Publishing Co., New Delhi 1975), 25.

¹⁸ Personal interview taken by R.B.Thohe Pou (2003): Saluni P. (Headman Koide village) interviewed on 23 May at Koide village and Vio R. Ex-MLA interviewed on 3rd June at Vakho village.

¹⁹ Shimray, *Origin and culture of Nagas*, 13.

Naga tribes like Seema, Lotha, Angami, Ao, Tangkhul, Poumai Naga etc came to exist after they departed from MAKHEL.

The Angamis, Semas, Rengmas and the Lothas subscribed to the Kheza-Kenoma legend “Khezakenoma” which is few miles away from Makhel, Mao. According to another legend, to which the Western Angamis subscribe, the first man evolved from a lake called Theniakelhu Zie near Khonoma. The Rengmas believe that until recently they and the Lothas formed one tribe. Whereas, after the coming of the missionaries, some Naga-Christians believe that they are the generations of Adam and Eve who were the first to come on Earth according to the Holy- Bible. As the children of Adam and Eve spread all over the world as the Bible says. However, these stories and legends do not seem to be very convincing because they are based on superstitions and religious beliefs. It thus appears that there is lot of controversy regarding the origin of the Nagas²⁰. Mr. P.D Stracy found that, “The biggest mystery is the origin of various tribes of the Nagas because different tribes have their own version of their origin”. However, there is a consensus that has been agreed upon by all scholars that the Nagas are Mongoloid by race. They have broad head and are light complexioned with black hair and yellowish eyes. They have different tribes and sub-tribes with various customs and traditions broadly scattered between the great rivers of Brahmaputra in India and Salween River in Myanmar. It is believed that the earliest home of the Mongoloid people was on the upper reaches of Hwang-Ho River in China and further moving down to South-East Asia then to these mountains. Symbolic buffalo horn and mithun horns are still used among the Naga tribes connected

²⁰ Dr. Ashikho Daili Mao, *Nagas problem and politic*. Published by (Ashish Publishing House, Punjab Bagh, New Delhi, 1992), 10-11.

culturally with Malay Archipelago and mountain tribes in the far-off ranges Luzon, Philippines and other Indonesian Islands²¹.



Mithun



Horns.

Mithuns.

Terrace agriculture and irrigation in general are also important facts in Naga engineering. Certainly no ancient people mastered art of irrigation, hydraulic engineering and terrace cultivation as did the Austrics or Nagas. Sea people were further more scantily clad, beardless, and apparently organised in totemic clans. The prows of their boats were decorated with bird heads possessing long duck-like bills and many of them wore feathered-head dresses; others wore horned helmets²².



Terrace cultivation.

However, a limitation must be entertained at this point. It is easy, but probably unhelpful, to imply that social or linguistic influence are a matter of the

²¹ V.K. Nuh: *The origin of Naga*, Published by (Vision Press, Mission road, Kohima, 2002), 2.

²² *Ibid.*, 3.

physical intrusive migration of discrete social groups or entire populations at a particular point in time, carrying a package of social or economic traits. Rather, it is possible to envisage widespread cultural horizons and traditions sharing parallel developments, with contacts and borrowing resulting in a gradual process of change. Origination and Migrations there may have been, but this does not require the identification of a single source of origination and migration from which occurred the physical transportation of traits from one area to another. An area characterized by migratory slash-and-burn cultivation will after all necessarily bring neighbouring peoples in to contact with each other, facilitating a process of contact and borrowing. No single people are the ancestors of the Nagas, nor did the Naga Amalgamation of customs and beliefs arrive en bloc. The present arrangement has most probably been created by the interaction with other Nagas, with non-Nagas, with their environment.

ESTABLISHMENT OF HEADQUARTERS IN NAGA HILLS:

From 1832 until 1877, the British policy towards the Hill people was briefly of repression of raids into the plains of British territory. The establishment of political control and influence over the tribes, but only to such extent as to maintain peace upon the British Frontier. This policy had since 1873 been extended to the Eastern Nagas and it proved successful in checking the Naga raids in the British territory. However, an experience of 11 years showed that this policy had completely failed to repress internal feuds or internal peace and good order among the tribes immediately on the British border. Successive political agents of the Naga hill district, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Chief commissioner of Assam frequently recommended the adoption of a more active policy, urging that the political agent should have general authority to act as

arbiter in inter-tribal feuds, with power to enforce his awards and thus prevent and put an end to anarchy and bloodshed which prevail among the Naga tribes.

The secretary of state has also written in his despatch No. 9 dated 18th January 1877 (forward with Government of India despatch No. 218 dated 9th November 1867, to the secretary of state), the facts reported in this papers appears to Her Majestic Government to be matters of regret. In their opinion no time should be lose in taking necessary steps as to prevent any repetition of such horrible incidents as were reported in Mr. Carney's letter dated 12th September 1876 file No. 2114. Mr Carney, the political officer at Samugudting, forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam about attacks by Angami Nagas on Angami villages. 1) By Mozuma village on Kohima village. 2) By Khonoma, Mozuma and Jotsoma village on Nirhema village.

After a careful consideration of the opinion of Mr Carney, the events of the past three years and the views of her Majestic Government, the Government of India considered the existing arrangement for securing control and influence over the Naga tribes would be achieved through careful management. Samagudting, then headquarter of the district, was too far from the heart of the Angami Naga country to admit the control of the district officers effectively influencing the more powerful clans. It was still further from the country of the Eastern Nagas (Naked Nagas), wherein considering the protection of the tea cultivators in Sibsagar, which was under the British Protectorate. Moreover the powers of the district officer was inadequate and burdened with heavy civil work in addition to political duties and was only assisted by a police officer so he could not devote time and attention towards establishing real influence among the Hill tribes.

They therefore, considered the following measures necessary:-

- i) The removal of head quarters of the Naga Hill district to some locality in the interior of the Naga Hills.
- ii) The location of the British officers in the Eastern as well as the Western Naga Hills.
- iii) The entertainment of additional Ministerial and police establishment as may be necessary.
- iv) A proper allowance for the improvement of communication.
- v) An increase of the power of the political officer to the extent recommended by the local authorities.

Concerning the head quarters of the District, the Chief Commissioner of Assam recommended a spur on the North side of the Thebzotu Hill in the neighbourhood of Wokha. Colonel Johnstone, political agent of Manipur recommended Kohima. The Government of India left the decision to the Chief Commissioner but only after personal inspections of both localities. To carry out the second proposition, it was arranged that the Political Agent should have a selected assistant to reside at Wokha if Kohima were to be the Head quarters or vice versa.

Thus, they sketched out the policy and the arrangements proposed by the Government of India with cordial approval of Her Majesty's Government. However, from 1874 to 1877, a considerable change had taken place between the British Government and the Nagas. In 1874 two Naga villages Meziphema and Sitikima the inhabitants fearing for their life's, beg the officiating Political Agent to take them under British protection and in return offered revenue. The

officiating Political Agent Captain Johnstone agreed to the proposal and the Government of India sanctioned it. After this, various other villages made similar request and in November 1875, the Chief Commissioner of Assam granted the request of four villages. This measure was approved and sanctioned by the Government of India saying 'only in defence to strong recommendations of the local officers responsible for the conduct of affairs in the Naga Hills'. The Govt of India seems to have given up protesting against taking Naga villages under their protection and by 1878 they sanctioned the protection of seventeen Naga villages (Meziphema, Sitikima, Pherima, Tesephema, Jolukemah, Phuima, Intu, Zowna, Nityuma, Henima, Thesima, Injas, Injoma, Merema, Impi, Sohema, and Keruphema) in all.

In course of 1876, various representations were made to Government by the Chief Commissioner of Assam forwarding reports from the political officer in the Naga Hills. According to Mr. Canergy reports they consisted of i) Attacks by Angamis on villages within Manipur territory ii) Aggression in North Cachar iii) Attacks on villages of their own or other tribes within Naga hill District. Mr. Canergy said that till July 1876 six villages had been plundered nine wholly or partially destroyed, 334 men, women and children killed and nine wounded. Of these numbers 262 killed and 8 wounded were laid to the account of the two large Angami Naga villages i.e. Khonoma and Mozuma. In June 1878 three more raids were reported in which 79 persons were killed and wounded, a large been women and children. In all these, Khonoma village was implicated. On September 1877, another outrage was committed by Mozuma resulting in the slaughter of 220 persons mostly woman and children. In consequent of this, it was decided to send a punitive expedition in the cold weather of 1877-78. The expedition was led by

Captain Brendon and accompanied by the political officer Mr. Canergy; the principal object was to punish Mozuma for a raid committed by that village in North Cachar in February 1877 and at the same time to give punishment for other numerous outrages committed by Mozuma and Khonoma. On December 8th expedition attacked Mozuma and the village was burnt to the ground, though the burning had not been intentional and the village was believed to have been set on fire by some camp followers. A party was sent to intercept the flight of the Nagas, but did not arrive on time and so no serious harm was inflicted on them. The Nagas dispersed to the Hills and jungles and did their best to harass the troops by continuous fires and night attack. The troops fortified themselves in the side of the village. The Nagas on the other hand having placed their women and children in safety mostly in Khonoma village began to operate in rear of the force, threatening Samaguting and cutting of the Dak (Postal service). Mr. Carnegie was anxious to take more energetic means against the enemy, and advocated an attack on Khonoma who were helping and sheltering the Nagas of Mozuma. Captain Brydon, however disapprove this opinion, as the troops at his disposal were not sufficient for undertaking such steps. He therefore made an application for re-enforcement. The Chief Commissioner sent a small detachment but at the same time instructed the political officer to avoid further complications against Khonoma and that the case should be limited to punishing only Mozuma leaving other refractory villages, to be dealt later. Captain Williamson, officiating Inspector General of Police was sent to assist Mr. Carnegie along with the re-enforcement. Though Khonoma was in alliance, with Mozuma village was compelled to furnish the British troops with supplies and Mozuma failing to induce any other Naga villages to join them openly began to sue for peace early

in January. Unfortunately, at this juncture Mr. Carnegy was accidentally shot by one sentry and his wounds ultimately proved fatal. Captain Williamson who arrived at Mozuma on 9th January, finding Mr. Carnegy completely prostrated by his wound was obliged to take full charge of the political officer duties. He was imperfectly acquainted with the wishes, orders of the Government, also the requisite papers were not in the camp for reference, and Mr. Carnegy was too ill to be consulted. During this time, deputations from Khonoma and Jotsoma came praying for peace and the Mozuma clans, before his arrival expressed desire to come to terms. Captain Williamson finally decided to accept the submission of the Nagas and thus imposed a fine of Rs.50 on Mozuma for their offence of fighting on political path and also asked them to restore the arms and accessories of the three constables who were waylaid when the Dak was intercepted, and also the contents of the mail bags and to surrender four of their firearms. He also extended pardon to Khonoma and Jotsoma on their Chiefs formally and humbly tendering their submission. Although Mozuma was the chief offender, yet Khonoma and Jotsoma had also both to be called to account for various raids and outrages. The punishment to the Nagas of Mozuma was ample, as their houses were destroyed, their grains consumed and their prestige as an imminent and un-subdued village was humbled.

Colonel Keatinge the Chief Commissioner after the operation of the expedition, he marched through the district and after a careful inspection of Kohima and Wokha, he favoured Kohima as the new Headquarters of the Political Officer in the Naga Hills, with Wokha as a sub-divisional Post²³.

²³ The Chief Commissioner Colonel Keatings, in March 1875, re-opened the question of policy, advocating the gradual and systematic prosecution of the survey of the hills not for mere purpose of

However, he considered that the head quarters should not be move to Kohima until the completion of the road from Golaghat (Assam) to Kohima. The Chief Commissioner than expressed his view about the future policy to be pursued in the Hills and said that the police if unaided were not strong enough to perform the duties which would be required of them, therefore a military detachment was requested. With such a force, the Chief Commissioner considered it practicable to occupy the Hills and make some degree of progress towards the problem of internal feuds, but the progress was slow and it became necessary to aid the Political Officer from time to time with additional assistance to bring the offending villages into account. Thus for complete and final pacification of these savage tribes and to enable the Political Officer to put a stop to raiding and murderous retaliation with a high hand the Chief Commissioner considered that he should have at least an additional 200 men at the Head quarters. With such a large force, progress would be more rapid and it would enable them to raise considerable revenue from the district of 16 villages. Under British protection, 13 villages were already paying revenue of Rs 1032 per

exploration but as a continuation of political occupation of the hills. In 1875 he followed this up by recommending the transfer of the head quarters from Samoogudting to Wokha. Colonel Keating pointed out that Samoogudting was originally chosen as lying between the Naga villages of Mozemah, Khonomah, and Jotsomah, and the plains of Nowgong (Assam) and it had effectually protected Nowgong from raids. He showed that in 1873 the Bengal Govt. was in favour of moving the officer in charge of the hills to a site more healthy and nearer to the chief Naga communities. What was now specially required was a screen for Sebsaugor(Assam), and a move to Wokha would bring influence to bear on the Lothas, Hathigorias(Ao tribe), and neighbouring tribes who threaten the district. Though Wokha was further from the Angami Naga than Samoogudting, the road thence was easier. Samoogudting would be kept up as an outpost, but was in any case too unhealthy for the permanent headquarters. The Govt. of India decided to await the result of the next season's survey operations before moving the headquarters of the district. A. Mackenzie: *The North East Frontier of India*: Page 128; Assam Proceedings, March and July 1875. Wokha has also been fixed upon by Butler as the best site for the future head quarters after a long residence in the hills and much exploration of them; Foreign Department political, FPP August 1877, *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition; Published by (Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland 1991), No.120

annum. With 450 men in the Hills, they plan to bring all the Naga Hills, Kacha Nagas and Kukis under taxation.

In the mean time reports came from Colonel Johnstone (Political Officer Manipur) to the Chief Commissioner that the attitude of the Angami Nagas i.e. Semomah khel of Khonoma was far from satisfactory and he feared new troubles. Some members of this clan complained that one of their men had been murdered by Supfomah and that the Supfomah men refuse to give up the murderer. An expedition was sent to arrest the murderer, but the Supfomah village was alarmed at the threatening attitude of Khonoma. Therefore, Colonel Johnstone consequently authorised the Manipur Burbar (police) to establish a force for their protection.

During this time, the Nagas of Kohima village also committed raids on four other villages and the officiating Political Officer was unable to punish the culprit. The Chief Commissioner and Mr. Damant the Political Officer considered that Kohima have to be occupied as soon as possible even without waiting for the completion of the road (Golaghat to Kohima)²⁴. They purposed the occupation of Kohima on October 1878 and to this the government of India agreed. When the matters were progressing, Colonel Johnstone wrote a letter to Mr. Rivers

²⁴ On 24th April 1879, Damant political officer Naga Hills wrote to Secretary Chief Commissioner of Assam recommending strongly to the government the necessity of extending British influence throughout the whole country inhabited by the Naga tribes, and the introduction of the more vigorous policy than that which had been hitherto in vogue. Eventually, the Govt. of India was please to decide that the time has come to interfere actively in inter-tribal feuds, and suppress, once for all, the system of murder, which had so long flourished unchecked in these hills. In order that this policy might be efficiently carried into effect, and that the Political Officer might be able to enforce his orders with greater promptitude than could be done at Samooguting, it was decided that the head quarters of the district should be moved to a more commanding position on the center of the hills, and the spot first chosen was Wokha. Doubts were, however, raised as to whether this was the best spot that could be found or not, and last Colonel Keatinge decided on Kohima as the best site for the new station; Foreign Department political, FPP January 1880, *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 508.

Thomson on Naga affairs. In this, he sketched the history of the British dealings with the Naga tribes from the beginning, he pointed out many mistakes made by different officers and that these mistakes generally arose from want of decision in their policy and want of qualities, which is necessary for dealing with the Nagas. He considered that the expedition under Mr. Carnegy had done more harm than good.

In October 1878, the Chief Commissioner reported that he considered it necessary to carry out their purposed occupation of Kohima. With this letter the Chief Commissioner forwarded correspondence showing that, Mr. Damant desired to make occupation of Kohima a new point of departure and not to insist upon the surrender of persons engaged in raids prior to the occupation. Captain Williamson assured the people of Kohima that the Government will not interfere in their internal disputes. Thus, Kohima was subjugated without opposition in November 14th 1878²⁵.

²⁵ Accordingly the Foreign Secretary, Government of India wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Assam that "Govt. of India concurs in the desirability of advancing the Headquarters, shall be at Wokha or Kohima, it will be left to you to determine after local inquiry. Govt. of India is also prepared to sanction appointment of an Assistant Commissioner to be located at Wokha or Kohima, as the case maybe. It has been urged that it is important that a European officer would remain at Samaguting. Do you concur, and if so, can the Assistant Political Officer expected to remain there?" FPP August 1877, No 125. It was believed that, "Fear of responsibility is detrimental to all progress in a wild country and amidst a wild race; prompt measures save live, peace and prestige; the reverse may be said of vacillating ones" FPA, 1880; January, Nos. 498-511; Damant to Secretary, Chief commissioner, Wokha, 21 February 1979; February, No. 328, Secretary, Chief commissioner, 10 December 1879. Thus, after a careful inspection of the alternative sites, Steuart Bailey, the Chief Commissioner Assam, decided Kohima the Headquarters of the District maintaining Wokha as a Sub divisional Post. The Secretary of States to Government of India on 23rd August 1879 wrote that, 'In the opinion of Her Majesty's Govt. an attitude of indifference to the internal feuds amongst the Nagas, which result in wholesale massacre of woman and children, could no longer be maintained without this credit to the British Govt.. the facts now reported show that both in the interests of our own subjects and for the sake of the Nagas themselves, a more active policy than has hitherto been pursued should be adopted towards the tribes inhabiting the Hills on the South- east borders of Assam. The arrangements which you have sanctioned with the object of securing influence over the tribes do not appear in excess of the requirements of the case and are cordially approved by Her Majesty's Govt';

FALL OF KHONOMA:

Mr S. H. Damant (1875-79) Political Officer arrived in the Naga Hills in 1878. He immediately prepared for an advance to Kohima, and by December, preliminary arrangements were completed and by early March 1879 he had removed, his headquarter from Samogudting to Kohima without any outward opposition from the population who indeed readily assisted him with coolies²⁶. In the beginning, he rather hesitated in pushing forward before the completion of the road from Samaguting to Kohima. He was more concerned about the rations and did not thought it necessary to take further number of troops to hold the country. In fact the diaries of Mr Damant, during the early part of 1879-80 were full of encouragement; recording generally the arrival of deputations from distant villages with offers of submission, his effort to prevent inter-tribal massacres, and his successful enforcement of fines and penalties on those villages which had been guilty of raiding in disobedience to his orders²⁷. In the subsequent year, the Angami Nagas especially the big village of Khonoma and Mozuma, in one way or the other, opposed to admit the rule of British administration in their land as it had closed down the chapter of their exploitations on other villages and into the plains. There upon, Khonoma, Mozuma and some other Angami villages hatched a conspiracy to stage a final insurrection against the British Government, even Chakhesang village join the movement. Measures were also adopted to force other reluctant villages to join. A large number of firearms were smuggled into

Foreign Department political October 1877, *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 468.

²⁶ “In November 1878, Mr. Damant removed the Headquarters of the Naga Hill District from Samagudting to Kohima and established himself there with his party, in two stockades”. Sir James Johnstone, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*; Reprinted by (Manas Publications, Delhi 1987), 146.

the hills from Manipur and Assam. In 1877, the village of Thisami was punished for refusing to join Mozuma in the insurrection²⁸. In 1879, the warriors attacked the post of Piphema, which was rebelled by the guards. Elaborate preparations were prepared by the Angami Naga confederacy to shackle the British hold in their land.

On 28th June, Damant, wrote to the Chief Commissioner conveying his wish to avoid all possible collision with Khonoma during the rains both on account of extreme difficulty of keeping open communication and obtaining supplies at this time of the year, and the certainty that large portion of forces might be protracted by fever and dysentery if they are kept for long in such weather. He therefore suggested winter as the best time of the year to attack Khonoma village.

However, the Chief Commissioner or Government had given no sanction to any such movements on the part of the Deputy Commissioner, and indeed orders were on the point of issuing to check any action against the Naga tribes at the present time²⁹.

On October 13th 1879, Mr. Damant went on a visit to Khonoma with an escort of 87 men. He had gone there to inquire into the late troubles of Khonoma with other villages but while entering the village gate, his escort was taken by

²⁷ Mackenzie, *Assam proceedings*, March 1881, 133.

²⁸ In May Mr. Damant reported that the village of Khonoma was acquiring arms and ammunition, and it subsequently appeared that the same information was given about the same time to the Political Agent at Manipur. *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁹ Record and indices of the, *Nagaland State archives*, 2nd edition. Sl. No: 101.

surprise and assaulted. Mr. Damant was killed; out of 87 people, only 50 men (19 being wounded) could escape to Kohima, 37 being killed³⁰.

The news of the disaster reached Kohima the same afternoon and preparations were commenced in expectation of an immediate attack from the Nagas. The whole force at Kohima consisted of about 100 police, 32 of whom were recruits, and 80 military. Mr. Cawley (District Superintendent of Police) controlled the civil charge of the garrison. Khonoma warriors rushed immediately to Kohima and tried to besiege the station. Cawley wrote to Johnstone 28th October 1879 for reinforcement. On the night of 24th, a Naga who spoke Hindustani came from behind one of the barricades. He said to the British that they had come and occupied their land, cut their trees, Bamboos and grass, wanted revenue from them and made them furnish coolies. His speech ended with a query - "what will happen now?"

The next morning some friendly Gaonburas of Kohima Khels came to the garrison and gave them information that the enemies wanted to let them go away if they like. They were inform that the whole country was rising to annihilate them, that the villages of Viswema, Chedama, Jakhama, Khonoma, Jotsoma and Chatonoma Khel of Kohima were determined to combine against them but that they might be spared if they surrender. At that time, there were at

³⁰ From Chief Commissioner, Assam, Darjeeling to Foreign Secretary Shimla. The message read as: - Have just heard by telegram from Sub-Divisional Officer, Golaghat, as follows: - Damant killed by Mozoma Nagas on 14th. His guard 80 disperse Reid Commanding Detachment of 43 Native Infantry expects attack daily. Further message shows Damant death to have been at Khonoma not Mozomo. Message begins, Damant's death confirmed. Went to Khonoma with 80 men to siege ammunition. Suddenly shots fired by Nagas, Damant first killed, bullet through head all men with him murdered. Guard below attacked only few escaped. Reported loss political officer, one jamadar, one Havildar, one Naik and 47 constables and sepoy. Attitude of Khonoma has all along been questionable, but Damant evidently expected peaceful submission; Records and Indices of the *Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 101.

least 4000 men surrounding the garrison³¹. Great bravery was shown by the garrison, when the station was stormed at, renovating all the defence lines, many women with their families secure shelter inside the shades. For 12 days long, the station remained shut out from the outside world and the families had to go half-starve as all the food-stuffs were exhausting gradually. It is said that the warriors had acquired 500 guns for its storming. The warriors intercepted messengers engaged to convey the message to other Government Headquarters on their way, but fortunately, messengers who carried the news to Wokha got through. The news received, Mr. Hinde (Extra Assistant Commissioner) from Wokha rushed to Kohima with a contingent taking 40 sepoy, his whole available force and 22 police, and reached Kohima on the 19th. He managed, by marching through hostile villages at night, and by coming through the village of Kohima instead of by the regular road, to bring in his small but welcomed reinforcement without the loss of a man³². Messengers were also sent to Samaguting but it never arrived. The Nagas made hostile demonstrations against Kohima on the 16th and 17th, but did not commence any serious attack till the 21st. On 24th the Nagas, having heard apparently that help was coming from Manipur, they commented to offer terms to the garrison, which was surrounded by them. As discussed earlier, the Nagas offered the garrison a safe conduct to Samaguting and the defenders, who were very sorely pressed for want of food were glad of the offer, which the negotiation gave them, but it became clear that their enemies were not acting in good faith, and, had they accepted the terms, they would all have been massacred. It was with the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Johnstone, Political Agent of

³¹ FPP, February 1880, *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 1st Edition, Published by (Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Nagaland, 2007) Sl. No. 330.

Manipur on October 26th, with the force equipped largely with the Manipuri levies, the Cachar police and the 34th Native Infantry that the station was relieved and the warriors dispelled. The aggressive Chopunuma khel of Kohima was punished and fined.

During this skirmishes, the Kohima garrison had obtained a great deal of assistance from their friendly Angamis who managed to despatch the message to the other nearby headquarters about the fate of the station. The Nagas who sided with them provided information about the strength of the aggressive Nagas and their camps. The Manipur raja that helped Colonel Johnstone by providing troops was awarded the title of K.C.S.I. by the Government³³. An elaborate programme to crush the uprisings was chalked out. Brigadier General Nation commencing in Assam was given a free hand to cope with the situation, equipped with the detachments of the 42nd and 43rd Assam Light Infantry, 44th Sylhet Light Infantry, the Manipuri Levies and the Military Police. The first line of action was directed towards cutting the aggressive villages off Khonoma. On the 14th and the 15th November, Colonel Nuthall suppressed the village of Sachima and on the 16th, Major Evans with the 43rd Native Infantry joined the scene.

It was at first proposed to send only a wing of the 44th Regiment under Major Walker, to punish Khonoma and avenge the death of the Political Officer (Damant), but later on it was decided that the whole of the 44th Regiment should be moved accompanied by two mountain guns which was essentially required to undertake such a strong fortified village. They decided to attack Khonoma on

³² Maitland, *Report on the Naga Hill Expeditions; Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 109.

³³ Sir James Johnstone; *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 179.

22nd November 1879. The resistance made by the enemy was of a most determined nature, and showed how the Nagas can fight behind well-constructed defences even when artillery is brought to bear against them. The Nagas were driven with considerable loss except the upper works of the village. When darkness close in operations were suspended and during the night the Nagas evacuated the place and retreated to the Chaka fort where they made their next pace of operations. The loss on enemy side was 20 men. Thus eventually Khonoma village was captured by morning as the Nagas retreated to the Chaka fort. This fort was located at a higher elevation from the main village and difficult to capture by mere use of force. The General decided not to follow the enemy into this position they had taken up in the Burreil Mountains fearing a great loss of men if they had followed, so they waited for reinforcement. His main motive in this operation was to starve the Nagas by undertaking economic blockades without attacking the Chaka fort as the Nagas were surrounded from all sites. He also established a temporary military post at Khonoma and Sechuma village to strengthen his plans. During the following months, Nagas operated against supply convoys, traffic and outposts and carried out three valiant raids into Chumukedima. In March 1880, the army was directed to crush finally the aggressive warriors whose camp was at the Chaka fort, but before they were reduced, Khonoma men tendered their allegiance to the Government on the 27th March. Thus, Khonoma was finally subdued³⁴.

³⁴ Deputy Adjutant General to Military Secretary, Telegram 30th March 1880. The Khonoma Nagas have yielded to our blockade have surrendered arms and evacuated their forts and have accepted the terms offered by the political Officers. "I have today taken possession of their fort, 7000 feet high and have occupied them with a detachment 44th Regiment. I hope to break up the Field Force very shortly". Foreign Department political – *A March FPP February 1880; Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 264.

All firearms were surrendered and all Government property or its value was restored. Village sites and fields of Khonoma were confiscated, sites were not allowed to be reoccupied, their fields were given to other villages to be cultivated, and Khonoma men were dispersed out of the village. One khel Semoma and another khel phesama were fined Rs. 200/- and Rs.500/- respectively. Besides other casualties only two out of the six English officers, Lieutenant Forbes and Major Cook were killed during the assault.

Along with Khonoma, other villages which were involved; Jotsoma, Sachama, Merema, Saphama, Chetonoma khel, Phesema, Phuchama, Kigwema, Jakhama, Veswema, Cheswejuma, Lakema, Phiphema. Of these villages Phephima, Merema, Sachama and Puchama were all attacked and destroyed before the attack was commenced on Kohima. The rest of the villages were also attacked after the siege of Khonoma and inflicted heavy loss to the enemy and destroyed many grains. The village of Saphama headed by the brothers, Saloji and Sigilie had taken active parts against the British and had disposed a lot of ammunition plundered from the Piphima stockade to the inhabitants of Khonoma. This village was therefore attacked and destroyed by a party under the command of Major Evans. Colonel Johnstone destroyed the part of the village of Kohima belonging to Chitonoma Khel. The village of Lakema which had not taken any direct part in the outbreak was punished by a fine of Rs. 200/- . It was in this village that a party of frontier police who were collecting coolies were set upon by Khonoma men and murdered. The operations against Jotsoma were successfully carried out on 27th November 1879. On 1st January 1880, Cheswejuma was burned without any resistance. On 7th January Captain Williamson marched to Viswema and Kekrima and remained there for two days

to exact a fine of 600 mounds of fine of rice and 1200 coolies as a punishment. Similarly, a fine of 300 mounds of rice and 600 coolies, and 400 mounds of rice and 600 coolies were imposed on Jakhama and Kigwema village respectively³⁵.

After the operations were closed, the Political Officer reported that the punishment inflicted by the troops had been far more severe in its results than was at first supposed. The dispossessed villagers of Khonoma and other communities had not only been deprived of their homes, but, by the confiscation of their settled cultivation, they had, during the whole of the past year, being reduced to the condition of houseless wanderers, dependent to a great extent on the charity of their neighbours, and living in temporary huts in the jungles. The result was great sickness and mortality among them, and a severe strain upon the resources of those who had to supply them with food. The object aimed at in the policy of Government was to induce the dispossessed clans to settle elsewhere, either

³⁵ Williamson to Secretary Chief Commissioner Assam, 21st April 1880: Khonoma, the principal offender, has not only been destroyed but the village site and all the village lands have been confiscated, and declared the property of the State, and the orders has been published that the village site shall never be rebuild on, and as a sign that such is the unalterable determination of Government I have with the permission of the Chief Commissioner, arranged for the erection of a monument, of considerable size and a very permanent character, which is to be rebuild in the highest part of the Khonoma village. The confiscation of the village lands is a dire punishment, the full effect of which cannot be understood by persons who have not seen the admirably ingenious terrace cultivation of the Angami Nagas whose system of irrigation would elicit praise from any engineer. The Khonoma terrace fields are of very great extent, and I do not think I am overestimating their value when I put them down at 4, 00,000 (Four Lakhs of Rupees). The khonoma men and their Jotsoms allies, and to some extent, the Mozuma men had long dominated over minor Angami villages, and also over the kutch Nagas and kuki communities to the west even in our North Cachar territory taking tribute from them, and living in free Quarters whenever they pleased. This system is now completely at an end, for the ascendancy of these villages can never exist again while we occupy our present position at Kohima. The smaller communities will, I have no doubt fully appreciate the advantage that have followed, and will follow, our occupation of the country and they will view with satisfaction the very severe punishment that has been inflicted on Khonoma, at whose hands they have endured much. We had attained the objects we had in view: Khonoma has been destroyed; the country lying in the valley of the Zubza and East ward to the Kopamedza range has been subjugated; disarmament carried out to a large extent already, and revenue arrangements for the future entered into; and , in many instances, offending villages have been driven to new sites, and are no longer occupied their impregnable positions on commanding hill tops; fortifications have been dismantled, though, owing to the country

bodily in Manipur, where land and asylum were offered to them, or on fresh land in the Naga Hills, which was pointed out to them by the Political Officer. However, this was disappointing, as they could not be persuaded willingly to settle elsewhere, and from the nature of the case wholesale coercion was impossible. No other Nagas were willing to take up the confiscated lands fearing probably future retribution; and the dispossessed clans, except in occasional instances, had, for the most part, being such shelter and livelihood as they could obtain from the villages in the neighbourhood of their old homes. After this Mr. Elliott, who succeeded Sir S.C. Bailey as Chief Commissioner visited Kohima in March 1881.

Thus, the attitude of the tribes during the year 1880-81 was one partly of exhaustion and partly of suspense. The indirect results of the war were far from grievous to them than the actual hostilities; and those on whom the blow had fallen hoped by quiet and peaceable behaviour, to earn some relaxation in the stringency of the conditions to which they were bound. Accordingly, throughout the year, there was little or no grain, no outbreak, and no necessity to employ force. There were mainly disquieting rumours, it is true most of which originated in Manipur; but this gradually passed away, and no evil followed. Kohima was again declared the most suitable head quarters station³⁶.

INCORPORATION OF AO NAGA COUNTRY:

Hatigurias, usually known as the Ao tribe, belonged to mainly two linguistic groups namely, Chongli and Mongsen, which neighbours with Lotha on the north and the Sibsagar District on the south. It occupies the country, which is

and soil, this has not been practicable in every instances; Records and Indices of the *Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 227.

drained by the Jhanzi, the Desoi and by the stream, which flows in the Dikhu on its left bank. The Ao country is situated in North-West part of Nagaland and lies between 25.6 degree and 27.4 degree latitude North of the Equator and between 93.20 degree East and 95.15 degree East longitude. They occupy forty-six villages, excluding Longsa which is the only village situated on the right bank of the Dikhu. Out of these, twenty-one are Chungli entirely, nineteen are Mongsen entirely and both the groups inhabit the other six villages³⁷. There are yet another two dialects i.e., Changki and Sangpur that comes under the Ao region. Sangpur dialect was spoken by the Sangpur khel of Longsa, but slowly it has been practically obsolete and maybe disregarded. J. P. Mills said he met an old man who was reputed to know the dialect, but he could only mumble a few words. The whole Sangpur khel now speaks Chongli though they maintain their own traditions³⁸.

³⁶Mackenzie, *Assam proceedings*, March 1881, 141.

³⁷ Mar Atsongchanger; *The Historical Memoranda of the Nagas and their Neighbours*; Published by (Naga people Movement for Human Rights, Guwahati (Assam) on November 30, 1995), 19.

³⁸ J.P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*; Published by (Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London 1926), 2.



The Aos first came into contact with the British when, in January 1844, Colonel Brodie, the Deputy commissioner of the Sibsagar District made a tour between the Dikhu river and the Doyang river. He entered the hills via Namsang, Kamsing, and Noagaon. After Brodie, Edward Winter Clerk, an American Baptist Missionary visited them. The Ao country was occupied without much opposition as they themselves wanted to come under the British administration³⁹.

While determining the land adjoining Sibsagar, which was found advisable to be included in that district the British, were left with doubt as to whether any of the Sema villages should be included in the area annexed and secondly, whether the Ao village of Longsa should be included. Longsa, is a large village, containing at least 600 houses. The gaonburas of the village even stated

³⁹ Tajenyuba Ao, *A History of Anglo-Naga Affairs 1832 to 1913*, Published by (Tribune press, Guwahati, 9.8.1958), 78-79.

that they are willing to pay revenue. No extra expenditure need be incurred on account of guards or outposts, as the only quarter from which its dependent villages, Yehim, Chesami, has recently made so humble submission, that Porteous expect no further trouble from it. The Chichung River would, in case Longsa were annexed, from the new frontier to the east of it⁴⁰. A Porteous thinks that at least the small group of village west of the Teshi River, viz., Mangrung (including Satemi), Nangtang, and Phinsing should be included in the territory taken over. These villages, the British thinks, will give no trouble, and their inclusion in the British territory would only smooth the progress of intercourse, and generally promote the extension of their influence over the other Sema villages further south. Moreover, Mangrung and Nangtang lie so closed to the line, which leads to the road to Nankam, and that it would be unwise to leave them outside British territory. A Porteous supported his view by saying that the best line of the road from Wokha to Nankam may be through Koio and Nangyang to the Doyang, and thence via Nangtang and Mangrung. A Porteous, therefore strongly recommend that these villages should be included in the newly sub-division⁴¹.

There is another group of Sema village of much greater importance than those mentioned above, which the British thinks, should assume complete control over by incorporation in the regularly settled district. This is the group of six villages lying within the two branches of the Desha River along the ridge from Lumokomi to Lopphehi. These villages form a powerful community of over 1,000 houses, and lie close to the line, which the future road follows from

⁴⁰ S.K. Barpujari; *The Nagas, The Evolution of their history and administration (1832-1939)*, Published by (Spectrum Publication, Guwahati: Delhi, 2003), 119.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*,118.

Nankam to Ungma. Their outlook towards government varies from one another where one shows complete hostility, which was the attitude of Chichami when last visited in June 1887, and the other of comparative submissiveness, such as was exhibited by Lmitsami and Lopphehi. Porteous said that if they had the requisite force available, he could have built an outpost in the Ao country, which would certainly give a sense of security along the Nankam- Ungma road, which is the main line of communication with Kohima⁴².

CONQUEST OF MANGMETONG:

In July 1884, Mr. McCabe, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, with a force of 50 sepoy of Naga Military Police and 40 sepoy of the 44th Assam Light Infantry under Lieutenant Tiernan, took an expedition against the Mangmetong village under Ao district, for killing a man of Lakhuti village. The village was strongly fortified but the inhabitants fled away on the approach of the troops with firearms. Mangmetong was burned down without much opposition. Lieutenant Tiernan and a few sepoy were injured by panjis, while passing through the defence⁴³. However, later when the oath was taken, the truth became known. It was the Lakhuti men (Tingpamo and Seretung) who attacked the Mangmetong men (Taochang and Yemtang), in their desire for head hunting, where Tingpamo and Yemtang was killed. McCabe called up the raja of Lakhuti, who confessed to the scene. He said they pay revenue and Mangmetong do not,

⁴² Ibid.,119.

⁴³ Sir Robert Reid; *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, Reprinted by (Eastern Publishing House Delhi 1983), 125.

and that the death of Hatigoria did not matter. Taochang was set free whereas Seretung was sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment⁴⁴.

The Hatigorias of Nungtung murdered a man of Koio, a Lotha village which was under the British protection. Mr. McCabe marched against the village; the offenders were not given up, whereupon the village was burnt to the ground.

The Ao country was the immediate neighbour of the plains of Sibsagar. They had carried trade with the Assam Raj, and even prior to the British occupation of the country, men like Mr. Clark's native Assamese preachers considered travelling perfectly safe. Porteous, thus said, "now that the country has been taken over and will be regularly administered by a European officer, a system of revenue collection by mauzadars should present no difficulties"⁴⁵

After A. Porteous, left the Ao country by the end of January, Mr. Davis took in charge in counting houses as many villages as possible, and enquiring whether a tax of Rs. 2 was regarded as too heavy. However, with the support by Mr. Clark, he concluded that the Aos can well afford to pay the full tax of Rs. 2 per house. Mr. Davis further gave out the gross sum, which each village visited would have to pay, and no complaints were made on the score of its being excessive. Porteous thus concluded that Rs. 2 should be the rate house-tax throughout the new territory for a year or two. However, an exception was made in the case of some villages, such as the Sema villages, which have till then used no money.

⁴⁴ Tajenyuba Ao, *A History of Anglo-Naga Affairs 1832 to 1913*, Published by (Tribune press, Guwahati, 9.8.1958), 73.

⁴⁵ S.K. Barpujari, *The Nagas: Evolution of their History and Administration, 1832-1939*, Published by (Spectrum Publications, Guwahati: Delhi, 2003), 118.

With regard to the amount of the revenue to be collected, Mr. Davis raises the points that, it would be unfair to proceed at once to collect revenue of Rs. 2, as they have occupied the country only by the 1st of January. A revenue collected at the close of any financial year is revenue for the year preceding, and that, they cannot proceed to collect more than eight annas per house, representing a quarter of a year's revenue, on account of the financial year just closing. Up to date, no expense beyond the ordinary expenditure incidental to the cold-weather promenade has been incurred. Porteous thinks that, it would be worthwhile to collect the quarter of a year's revenue, which is still in due but left the decision on Chief Commissioner's hand. He said that the sum collected would be small, but the experience gained out of this would be useful for next cold weather, when the revenue will be at the full rate⁴⁶.

Mr. McCabe estimated the number of houses in different villages and the revenue turned out to have been too high, by about two-fifth, if the figures given were of revenue-paying-houses and by one-fifth if only the gross number of houses of all classes without allowances for old men, widows etc. An allowance of at least one-fifth on this account was found necessary throughout the settled district. Porteous said that, taking the average of most villages, Mr. McCabe's report on the last promenade should be reduced by about two-fifths in order to arrive at the actual number of revenue-paying houses. He thinks that including Longsa and the Sema villages west of the Teshi River, the actual number of revenue-paying houses will not exceed 6,000, and the revenue collected should be subjected to the charges for collection because of commission paid to gaonburas. He said that if the system of allowing commission to gaonburas be retained at all,

⁴⁶ Ibid.,120-121.

it would be a mistake to return any larger amount of 12 ½ percent, i.e., two annas in rupee. Porteous, thus recommended that a paid mauzadars i.e., the head-clerk of the Wokha office, would be a better option for collecting the revenues.

Porteous however has a doubt with the system of paid mauzadars. He said that the Angamis are probably not ripe for a change from the system of gaonburas to that of paid mauzadars, but the latter system has to all intents and purposes been twice tried in wokha, viz, in 1886-87, and at present, with this difference, that the paid mauzadars has kept no nominal lists. He, however, receives all the money paid in, just as mauzadars would have to do and travels freely about in the villages unescorted seeing to its realization. However, Porteous concluded that, now as the country has been taken over and will be regularly administered by a European officer, a system of revenue collection by mauzadars should not be difficult.

Porteous, as per his late expedition, preferred a place near Ungma for the new sub-divisional headquarters and if practicable, at the point where the Khenza ridge joins on to the Nankam-Mongsemndi range. He said that except for the lack of water supply in the month of March and April, he considered it to be the best site in the whole of the Ao country. Reverend Mr. Clark on the other hand preferred the site of a new station at Waromung, if there are no hostile tribes across the Dikhu to deal with, and no powerful Ao villages requiring to be kept in order on their side of that river. Porteous received information from Mr. Davis that there has been a fresh raid across the Dikhu by villages North-east of Yajim and Chihu, three persons of Susu being killed while returning from Naogaon, and that Susu and Mongsemndi have both been extorting blackmail from the Mazung villages.

Thus, he thinks that, the headquarters should be in a position through which the country can be best controlled. All the large villages of the tribe are near Mokokchung, i.e., within a day's journey, whereas there is hardly a single village which can be really called large within the same distance of Waromung .Finally, the Government has decided that the Ao country is to be under the administration of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, Waromung would be an altogether unsuitable site for the sub-divisional head-quarters. Jami, also suggested by Mr. Clark, is in itself is a good site for station, but it lies off any main route, and is therefore unsuitable⁴⁷. Assuming that the Sub-divisional headquarters will be fixed near Ungma or Mokokchung, two roads are of primary importance i.e., one under Nankam across the Doyang to connect with the Kohima-Wokha-Golaghat road, and the second to connect the new sub-division with the plains of Sibsagar. The alignment of the first named road depends wholly upon the point selected. Porteous said, once settled, the new road has to be commenced at once, and the work no doubt should have to continue even during the rainy season.

After all the propositions for the roads to be constructed, Porteous strongly recommend the appointment at once, on temporary measure, an assistant-engineer to have charge of Public Works in the new sub-division, and prefer Mr. Mitchell as he possesses every qualification for the post.

Now as the site for the headquarters has been settled, it was necessary to make proper provision for the administration of the new sub-division. To assimilate the law in Mokokchung and of the Naga Hills District it would seem to be necessary-

⁴⁷ Ibid., 123.

- i) To bring the Frontier Tracts Regulation into force there.
- ii) To bar the application of the enactments of which the application has been barred in the rest of the district and, if necessary, to extend Bengal Act V of 1876.
- iii) To extend the rules for the administration of justice and police.

The regulation was extended to Mokokchung under section 5 of the Scheduled Districts Acts, which is in force throughout the Chief Commissionership of Assam including the Naga Hills, and Chief Commissioner of Assam was authorized by the Governor-General in Council to issue the necessary notification.

The Chief Commissioner was made to consider any further step necessary to legalize the revenue administration of the new sub-division, which will favour the Government of India. In addition, the Governor-General in Council who have approved this proposal arranged for the settlement and administration of Mokokchung⁴⁸.

Summary of reasons for choosing the site near Mokokchung:

1. Reasonable proximity to headquarters at Kohima
2. Command of the frontier ridge of the Ao country with direct communication by the Kheza ridge with the rest of the Ao villages, without necessity of dropping into any valley.
3. Convenience of position with a view for probable future extensions of the sub-division into Sema country.

⁴⁸ FPP (External A), Feb. 1890; *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 2nd Sl. No. 166.

4. Situated midway between three large villages Ungma 600, Khezma 300, Mokokchung 300 houses, none more distant than 2 ½ miles, and consequent facilities for procuring supplies and coolies labour.

5. Suitability of site in height and lie of ground for establishing a station⁴⁹.

F.C. Daukes, in his letter No. 1543 P., dated 29th April 1890, wrote a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, To the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department confirming the incorporation of the Ao country to the British district and the proposal for further administration. He also informed that the notification constituting the sub-division and its inclusion in the Naga Hills district was to be published in the Assam Gazette dated the first March 1890, notifying the extension of the new sub-division, the rules for the Administration of Justice and Police under Section 6(c) of Act xiv of 1874. The Frontier Tracts Regulation which contains within itself a power of extension would appear from the ruling laid down in letter from the Government of India No. 604 H.D/J.D, dated the 5th May 1884, to the Bengal Government that it should be extended under this power rather than under the extraordinary power conferred by Section 5 of Act xiv of 1874⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Sir Robert Reid; *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 123.

⁵⁰ The operation of the following Acts has been barred in the rest of the Naga Hills district, viz.-i) Act VII. Of 1870 (Court-fees); (Gazette of India Notification NO.991E, dated 26th April 1884.ii) Act III. Of 1877 (Registration), under Section 3(b), Act XIV. Of 1874; (Gazette of India Notification No 2065, dated 16th April 1878.iii) Act I. of 1879, Act IV. Of 1882, Act X. of 1882, under Section 2, Regulation II of 1880, while the enactments noted in the margin have been extended to that district by name and should, therefore, apparently be extended also to the newly formed Mokokchung sub-division. (Act VI. Of 1879, Assam Gazette dated 10th July 1880, part II. Page-340, under section I of Act VI, of 1879. Regulation III of 1818; Act XXXIV. OF 1859; Act III of 1858 (Assam Gazette dated 5th February 1887, part II page 46, under Section 3(a) of Act XIV of 1874. Section 223-228, Act XIV. Of 1882, Assam Gazette dated 24th November 1888, part II, page 474, under Section 5 of Act XIV of 1874.)Extension of certain Enactment to the Ao Naga Country; *Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*, 1st Edition, Sl. No: 179.

Thus, with this a draft notification for the inclusion of this additional tract in the existing district and for its formation into a new Sub-division with head quarters at Mokokchung was issued. This notification has been approved by the Government of India and was published in the Assam Gazette.⁵¹ A Deputy Commissioner with his headquarters at Kohima was in charge of the whole District. He has a Sub-divisional Officer under him with his headquarters at Mokokchung, 87 miles from Kohima. Mokokchung Sub-division contains Semas, Lothas, Aos, Konyaks, Changs and one village of Sangtam. The duties of the Deputy Commissioners and his Sub-divisional Officer are to assess and collect taxes, settle disputes and look after the well-being of the area in general. The house tax is collected and brought by the headmen who receive 12 ½ % as commission⁵².

⁵¹ G R Irwin to the Chief Commissioner of Assam; Fort William, the 28th January, 1890; Published by Kohima Archives 1991; FPP (External A), Feb 1890; Sl. No. 166.

⁵² J.P. Mills; *The Ao Nagas*, 404-405.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE NAGA HILLS WITH AN ACCOUNT OF TOUR IN THE NAGA HILLS

Introduction:

The early 19th century in Naga history, marks the end of military phase of colonial rule and the establishment of 'Areas of Political control' towards the subsequent years. Alexander Mackenzie wrote comprehensively in 1884, "History of the relations of the Government with the Hill tribes of the North-East frontier of Bengal", which covered the Historical times from 1832 to 1883. Sir Robert Reid, the Governor of Assam from 1937-1942 picked up where Alexander Mackenzie had left. After Mackenzie, Sir Edward Gait also brought out a History of Assam 1905.

In the year 1881, Naga Hills became a British District and active British administration was therein established.⁵³ This for sometime helped in protecting the settled British districts of Nowgong and Sibsagar against the raiding Nagas. However, with the lapse of time, there again arose the problem of maintaining peace and security in the British administered areas. Thus, the question of British administered areas within the Hills and the problem of solving the interior or excluded areas came about. In this manner, many Deputy Commissioners and

⁵³ Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam 1883-1941*, Reprinted by (Eastern Publishing House Delhi 1983), 99.

Sub-divisional Officers toured throughout the entire administered areas and some of the un-administered areas on different occasions. These tours became the only source of knowing Naga traditional polity and socio-economic and cultural aspects prevalent in the Naga Hills during those time. The British officers who carried out these tours were adequately equipped with all possible techniques and means to bring about solution to the issues of the proximity of the time. These copies of tours were notified in the gazetteer of India and thus became an important source in knowing the 'Naga History' during the Colonial rule.

During the period 1881-1885, many tours were made. Mr. C.A. Elliott, Chief Commissioner of Assam made a tour throughout the Naga Hills in the cold weather of 1880-81. On 2nd May 1880, he submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the administration of the district, in which he took a hopeful view of the future in the Naga Hills and insisted on the advantages accruing from free intercourse between the British officers and the Naga tribes. He stated that, overall the Angami Naga problem was in a fair way to find a solution⁵⁴.

Mr. R. B. McCabe, I.C.S., the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, submitted his Annual Report on administration of the Naga Hills district for the year 1882-83. In it, he pointed out that no political disturbances and no headhunting had marked that year, though one raid was planned by a British village against another village across the border, but was stopped by the timely intervention and punishment to the offender. The authority of the British Government over the District was further consolidated by the establishment of

⁵⁴ A. Mackenzie, *The Northeast Frontier of India*, Reprinted in India by (Mittal Publications, New Delhi 1979), 142-43.

certain outpost at Kohima, Khonoma and Wokha and the post along the border of Golaghat, to maintain a strong hold over the established Districts and check further raids and killings. Two strong outposts were also established at Viswema and Kigwema in the Angami area, to put a stop to inter-tribal quarrel that was going on between them, but were withdrawn when the case was solved. All measures had excellent effect on the minds of the Nagas⁵⁵.

During the preceding year, Mr. McCabe again raised the question of British policy in the Naga Hills, which he addressed to the Chief Commissioner on the 10th June 1884, wherein he gave an option of two possible policies:

- (a) Non-interference with the Trans Frontier people.
- (b) Annexation or Forward policy.

Of the two, he preferred annexation carried out in a gradual way. He also explained his own policies based on four general principles:

- (a) To insist on strict obedience within his own jurisdiction.
- (b) To punish villages within his jurisdiction for all raids committed against Trans-frontier villages.
- (c) To punish Trans-Frontier villages for raids against British-Frontier villages.
- (d) To mediate in disputes between villages adjacent to the Frontier⁵⁶.

On August 1884, the same question was raised by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Elliott, to the Government of India regarding the relations of the British Government with the Naga tribes adjacent to the boundary of the Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Naga Hills District. He was concerned about the

⁵⁵ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Administrative report of the Naga Hills district 1882-83*, 2nd Edition, Published by (Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland 1991), S1 No: 12.

⁵⁶ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 102.

increase of outrages among those tribes, of the inter-tribal attacks within the British border and the feuds outside, but in the immediate vicinity, of administered area and of assaults upon British subjects crossing the frontier. He also pointed out the serious effects of all that upon the security of the people living within British territory. He therefore advocated the forward policy, to be introduced along the Naga Frontier. At the same time, British authority was to be enforced more directly than before through the operation of certain measures of which he had whole knowledge.

However, on 20th October 1884, the Government of India ask the Chief Commissioner to refrain from this policy. In their opinion, the more vigorous prosecution of the old methods (Non-interference) should be first tried. They did not approve of the proposal for a comprehensive promenade, but instead preferred to adhere to the existing policy i.e.,

(a) Infraction of British border and ill-treatment of British subjects beyond it should be punished, but,

(b) Inter-feuds and murders committed outside the frontier should be disregarded.

In addition, approval was given to an arrangement by which the political control of the Nagas East of the Lotha country up to a boundary to be subsequently settled under British jurisdiction was vested under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills.⁵⁷

ACCOUNT OF TOURS MADE IN THE NAGA HILLS:

Tour made by McCabe in the year 1884 and 1885.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 103.

Mr. McCabe, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills along with Colonel Clarke, Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur, was assigned to make two little expeditions on strictly friendly terms among the Naga villages on the border, but not in the case of Nangtang who were accused of the murder of British subjects. About the tours to be undertaken for extending political influence, the officers concerned were warned to go nowhere unless their friendly reception was first assured. For Mr. McCabe, he was assigned to make the tour through the East Angami country and another through the Ao villages, east of Wokha. Colonel Clarke's expedition was to extend to the villages on the Sibsagar Frontier. After these two expeditions, McCabe was asked to give a report along with a tracing of the map attached. This policy was purely intended to further promulgate the British influence over the Hill people although the real motive seems to divert⁵⁸.

Accordingly, on 11th January 1885, R. B. McCabe, Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills from Kohima accompanied Mr. Elliott marched towards the Manipur frontier. He parted with him at Jhunama (called by the Manipuris Mao) on 23rd, December. This tour being approved by the Chief Commissioner, planned to check the Eastern boundary of the Naga Hills district⁵⁹. To the East of the boundary no direct control was maintained but they were held to be under the political control of the Naga Hills Districts. In 1884, the Manipur authorities made some pretensions to levy tribute from some of these villages and in one instance Melomi village paid a sum of Rs.300 to them. It was

⁵⁸ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, To The Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, dated 21st December 1884*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 182.

brought to McCabe's notice during his tour and he immediately addressed the political agent of Manipur on the subject. He was informed that the Manipur authorities did took the amount and forwarded him Rs.300, requesting McCabe to return the money to the headmen of Melomi. Therefore, McCabe decided to march via Razami, Thecholumi-Khizobami and Losemi to Lozaphehomi, where he could call in the Melomi men, and later return via Kheromi and Purabami to the Nummuh Spur on the Eastern frontier of the Naga Hills District.

On 24th December, McCabe headed for the Trans-Frontier village of Razami. On the way, they reached the Manipur Naga village of Megwema, where the headmen requested McCabe to take them under British protection and relieve them from the harassment of Manipur sepoy. They narrated that a month or two ago, a raid was made on their village by Sopfumas (inhabiting the villages around Mao Thana), where seven men were killed. A few days afterwards, a large body of Manipuri sepoy arrived and fined them Rs.380 without making any investigation into the subject of the raid. They also pathetically added, "We have no one in our village who can speak the Manipuri language, and our ignorance is always imputed to us as a crime." McCabe told them, as they were beyond the jurisdiction he could not take; any action instead advised them to report it to the Political Agent of Manipur directly, for any complaint against either Manipuris or neighbouring Naga villages. On reaching Razami village, the inhabitants gave them a hearty welcome and promised to provide him with escorts and supplies as long as they remained in the village. It was also brought to his notice that several

⁵⁹ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 697, dated Kohima, 11th January 1885, From R.B. McCabe, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam in Shillong" 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 182.

neighbouring villages wished to come and pay their Salams (token of respect mostly used by the Ao Nagas).

On the 25th, December, McCabe received deputation from the villages of Thizami, new Ratami, Mekribami and Gaziphimi, the latter two being within the jurisdiction of Manipur. He explained to them about the policy of the British Government and told them that they considered the smallest community equally entitled to protection with the largest and that any oppression exercised by a large village against a small one would be seriously noticed. The villagers expressed their willingness to yield implicit obedience to the orders and requested him to take house-tax from them. The villagers knew that, once McCabe accepts revenue from them, they would never be left a prey to the Manipurians. The headmen of Razami brought in several bags of Rupees for McCabe but he refused it. Later they requested him to write his name on a large Monolith, which they subsequently erected in the centre of the village. Razami contains about 400 houses, many of them roofed with shingles. These houses are larger and more substantially build than those of the Western Angamis.

On 26th, December, McCabe requested the Razami headmen to supply him with thirty-five coolies to carry his baggage to Thecholumi. This was the first time wherein the British had marched into the Naga Hills with a trust to obtain carriage from village to village and the success or failure of this attempt was to understand the real attitude of the tribes towards the Government. Twenty coolies appeared and when McCabe asked for the remaining fifteen, the headmen requested to stop another day saying they would pay all expenses, but as he had a long march to do, he took ten police sepoy and marched into the village and inform them that orders were meant to be obeyed. In less than five minutes over

seventy coolies turned out. Later after some march, they build their camp near Thecolumi village. The Thecolumi headmen stated that one of their men had recently been murdered a short distance from the village and they had traced the footprints of the supposed assassins to the Mesolojumi fields. They requested McCabe to enquire into the matter. Thus, McCabe ordered them to accompany him the next day to Khizobami, where he would summon the Mesolojumi men and investigate the subject in dispute.

The village of Khizobami contains 450 large houses, and was the most powerful community on that side. The headmen of Mesolojumi and Yasabama also came and they denied the charges made by the Thecholumi concerning the murder case. The Thecholumi wanted the Mesolojumi and Yasabami to take a solemn oath with an effect that they had neither committed the murder nor received the assassin into their village. The oath was taken with all due formalities and the dispute was settled by Naga ways of settling a dispute, per their own customary law. McCabe however points out, had he not posed as arbitrator between the disputants the result would have been different. The Mesolojumi men would have declined to give any reply to Thecholumi and the latter, looking on that refusal as a semi-confession of guilt, would have watched their opportunity and murdered a man of Mesolojumi and in a few months open war would have taken place between these villages.

On 28th December, after obtaining carriage, they marched through the village of Swemi and reached Losemi. McCabe settled a long-standing dispute between Losemi and Pholami and dispatched messengers to Melomi to call in the headmen to meet him at Lozaphehomi. Next day, they marched to Lozaphehomi. In the evening McCabe succeeded in settling a dispute between Lozaphehomi and

Mesolojumi, the party in fault at once paying the compensation he had fixed. McCabe halted for another day and received deputation from Tessami, Melomi and Phekrokejima. With great difficulty, McCabe's messengers convinced the Melomi to come in, as they feared that they might experience the same treatment, which they received at the hands of the Manipuris. He was also told that, 100 Manipuri sepoy came to their village, looted them of clothes and other articles and carried off several men as hostages for the pending amount of Rs.300. This proceeding was reported to McCabe by the Manipur authorities as a willing tender of revenue and a desire for the protection of the Manipur Darbar. When the amount of Rs.300 was returned to them, they were mute with astonishment and later expressed their surprised. McCabe said, with this act, he was able to win their trust and make them more to submit their disputes to the colonial arbitration.

On 31st December, McCabe started on his returned journey to Kohima. They marched through the village of Phekrokejima, containing about 500 houses. On the road, he noticed a warrior's grave decorated with 15 wood-grave effigies of men, one of a tiger, and one of a cow, the tiger resembling an armadillo more than anything else. In front of the grave were planted 80 small stones about one foot in height, when he asked the meaning of the effigies and stones, he was informed that the deceased had taken 15 heads and had cohabited with 80 different women, so his grave bore a faithful record of what modern civilization would term his vices. On the way, McCabe also noticed that the village of Kheomi is divided into three parts, separated by large and well-watered terraces. The headman was willing to offered revenue and requested McCabe's arbitration in a dispute they had with the large village of Purabami. As he indented to camp

at the latter village on the following day, he told the headmen that the parties concerned in the dispute would have to accompany him.

On 1st January, they marched to Purabami through the villages of Pholami and Sakrebami. At Pholami an old woman seized McCabe by the legs and burst into tears, expressing her gratitude for assisting her the previous year in recovering over Rs.100 worth of property, which had been looted by the village of Chipforzumi. Later, McCabe proceeded to Sekrebami, where he settled a feud between that village and Khizobami. He reached Purabami and decided to settle the dispute between Purabami and Kheomi. During the past two years, Purabami had on three occasions requested McCabe's assistance in requiring property forcibly taken from them by villages within the Naga Hills District and every time he had helped them by returning them their property or its equivalent in money and punished the guilty parties. In September last, Kheomi complained against Purabami. When McCabe asked for them, Purabami failed to come in, making frivolous excuses so McCabe sent those words that, as they would not come, he would on the first opportunity go to them. After hearing the evidence on both sides, he ordered Purabami to pay Kheomi Rs 40 compensation and fined them Rs. 100 for neglect of his summons, both amounts were paid at once. Next day, McCabe marched across the Nummuh spur and camp at Khulabagwe within the Naga Hills Districts. On 3rd, he proceeded to Kezomi and on 4th returned to Kohima.

McCabe accompanied with an escort of 30 Frontier Police, had accomplished the first expedition from December 23rd 1884 to 3rd January 1885⁶⁰. He said that the tour had been a very pleasant one, where he met with a very

cordial reception from the villages on his line of march and was satisfied with the fact that any European officer with a small escort may move through this portion of the Naga Hills with perfect safety, but he also mentioned about the difficulty that he faced regarding the supplies and carriage. McCabe was much pleased that the influence exercised on the Angami village, within the immediate jurisdiction, had also affected the Trans frontier Villages. For years they had greatly feared the Khonoma and Kohima men and now they see that these powerful communities have been obliged to refrain from indiscriminate plunder and murder, they also felt insecure to continue their barbarous customs. He was happy that the blood feuds are becoming rare and special care was taken to inform the headman that due punishments will be given to any village that raided on another or disobey his summons to appear at Kohima⁶¹.

McCabe started his 2nd expedition from Wokha on the 11th January 1885 with Mr. L. St. J. Brodrick, Subdivisional Officer, Wokha, Dr. S. Borah, Civil Surgeon and Captain Plowden, Commandant and 100 non-commissioned Officers and men of the Frontier Police. The objects of the expedition were:

- (a) To punish the Sema village of Nungtang (Litami) for the murder of a British subject.
- (b) To bring home to the Ao tribe the fact that it is politically subordinate to the British Government.

⁶⁰ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 104.

⁶¹ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives "No. 697, dated Kohima, 11th January 1885; From R.B. McCabe, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam in Shillong" 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 182.

(c) To determine a point on the Borodubia (Changki) Waromong range, which mark the limit for the political control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District in the direction of the Frontier of Sibsagar.

They punished Nungtang and then turned aside from their original route to visit the Sema village of Lophemi (Lumami). The Ao village of Nankam (Lungkam) had complained against them and this village was connected with the offending village of Nungtang. Secondly, they visited the Ao village of Longsa to the South on a complaint from Borodubia. To Longsa McCabe went via Ungma, the biggest village of the Ao tribe. In both cases, submission was obtained without difficulty. Thence proceeding via Mokokchung, he met the Deputy Commissioner, Sibsagar (Colonel Clarke), on the 30th January⁶².

Mr. McCabe concluded that they should make an annual promenade, during the cold weather and inflict punishment on those villages, which had disobeyed the order during the rains. He also think it wise to establish an outpost in the heart of the Ao country and exercise the same political control over the neighbouring tribes as was done with the Angamis and Lothas⁶³.

Tour made by E. Stacy, Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, July 1885

On 17th July 1885, E. Stacy forwarded a copy of a Resolution No. 1067, dated the 2nd July 1885, which was recorded by the Officiating Chief Commissioner in review of the Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills

⁶² Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 104-105.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 105.

District for 1884-85, requesting the Government of India to publish it in Assam Gazette. He also said the Annual Resolutions recorded on these reports from the Naga Hills have been dealt with in the manner prescribed in the correspondence ending with Foreign Department letter noted in file No. 1765, dated August 1876.

The resolution on the other two hills districts, the Garo Hills and the Khasi and Jainta Hills, are published in the Assam Gazette as soon as they were written. Similarly, the annual resolution on the administration of all the plains districts appears in the Gazette for the information of all the Officers of Government in the province. Mr. Ward, Political Agent ventured that the time has come when the annual review of the Naga Hills administration should be treated in the same fashion. The revenues were imposed and collected with the same care and accuracy as in any other district of the province and the title of the officer, who administers it, is no longer Political Officer but Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills. Mr. Ward, in the later part of the paragraph 9 of his letter No. 923, dated 11th June 1885, pointed out, that the civil administration of the Naga Hills has practically being assimilated to that of other districts of the province. It is no longer, in his opinion, necessary to maintain any distinction between the annual summaries of its administration and those of the administration of other districts. Stacy therefore, suggested, "For the favourable consideration of the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner of Assam should be allowed to complete the yearly series of administrative reviews published in the Assam Gazette by adding the review of the Naga Hills administrations to their number"⁶⁴. In the preceding month, G. S. Forbes, Junior

⁶⁴ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Administrative Report 1884-85; No. 1192, dated Shillong, 17th July 1885; From: E. Stacy, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of*

Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department wrote to the Officiating Chief- Commissioner of Assam. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of the letter No. 1192, dated the 17th of July 1885 and to say that the Government of India had no objection to the publication in the Assam Gazette of your resolution on the annual administration of the Naga Hills District for 1884-85. The Governor General in Council is further pleased, in the circumstances represented by you, to sanction your proposals for the publication of the Chief Commissioner's resolutions in further without previous reference to the government of India"⁶⁵.

Report of crimes committed by the Nagas in 1885

The Nagas living beyond the frontier tract of Naga Hills killed two British subjects during 1884-85. In May 1884 while travelling in Hatiguria country, a Lotha Naga of koi under British district was killed by Nungtang men (Ao village). In January 1885, as the murderers were not given up, McCabe burned the village, which had also been guilty of a series of offences of the same kind. In July, the Raja of Lakhuti (Lotha village) complained that his nephew while in company with another Lhota was murdered by the Hatigurias (Ao Naga) of Nungtang. Upon inquiry it appeared that, the Lotha had been the aggressors and that the deceased had mortally wounded one of the two Hatigurias who were marching with them, the wounded man before falling down however killed his

Assam, To H. M. Durand, Esq., C.S.I. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 13.

⁶⁵ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Administrative Report 1884-85; No. 1343-E., dated, Shimla 26th August 1885; From G.S. Forbes, Esq., Junior Under- Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, To The Officiating Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sl. No. 13.*

assailant. Mr McCabe's thus sentenced the surviving Lhota to seven years imprisonment and fined the Raja of Lakhuti for his false statement.

McCabe who also acts as a magistrate and police officer said, "Speaking generally I may state that there is no such thing as organized crime in these hills, and the number of offences against the person and against property is usually small". Rioting being the most common offences occurs mainly at a time of harvest and other festival. In another phrase, he states that, "a life for a life is the essence of an Angami's creed and nothing but the fear of sure punishment prevents the prosecution of numberless blood-feuds, not merely between separate villages but also between members of the same khel united by ties consanguinity".

In May 1884, nine calves were stolen from the sepoy's stationed at Kohima and through Naga spies and agencies of the headman, the accused were arrested. Two men were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 198 fines were imposed to less guilty offenders. In another case, four Nagas were convicted of illegal purchase of gunpowder from Manipur and they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from six months to one year. A sum of Rs. 90 was imposed to five Nagas who had also purchased small quantities of gunpowder from the offenders.

A riot took place between Keruma and Cheswema villages; the dispute was about a debt, which happened six years back and still unsettled. Fines were imposed on each village and sentenced the ringleaders to imprisonment. Another incident was a petty dispute between the upper and lower khels of Cheswejuma,

but when the headman of upper khel refused to appear at Kohima as summoned by McCabe, he was fined Rs. 200 for disobeying the order.

Vihutsumah khel being separated from Senoma and Rekroma was determined to settle their Inter-khel quarrel by fight, armed with spears and shields. In the fight, two men were killed, so Mr. McCabe pulled down their houses and moved them to a valley below Mozuma. The principal offenders were outlawed. Inter-khel fight also took place in Jakhama where they freely used sticks and stones. McCabe's fined Rs. 600 and ordered them coolies for a road construction free of cost from Jakhama to the Manipur road.

In another incident, two Lothas of Chengaki village were murdered by the Semas Nagas of Chehemi and Latisami villages on 9th March 1885. Next day when two Semas of Phellumi while coming to Chengaki were attacked by 5 men of Changaki, the relatives of the Lothas killed. One Sema was murdered but the other managed to escape. The accused were arrested and sentenced to ten years rigorous imprisonment.

The selling of Angami and Lotha boys and girls to the Kukis was in large practice. During 1884-85, two boys and one girl, sold some six years back were released, but they became so attached to their masters that they refuse to go to their parent's houses. The Kukis treat them as members of the household⁶⁶.

Tour of Mr. Davis Assistant Commissioner Naga Hills in the year 1888

In the year 1888, Mr. Davis, Assistant Commissioner of the Naga Hills, made a tour through the Eastern Angami portion of the area of political control.

⁶⁶ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Foreign Department, Political A. External 1885 – Nos 36-38, SL -183.*

These areas and Khezami tribes were completely under the British control. Mr. Davis not only influenced them but proposal were set up to levy revenue from these villages in return for British protection with the approval of Mr. Denis Fitzpatrick (Chief Commissioner). About the acceptance of revenue from the villages within the area of the political control, Fitzpatrick agreed that it would be desirable to levy revenue from these villages. However, the letter No. 672 dated the 29th March 1888, said that the revenue should be taken if it is voluntarily offered by the people and Mr. Davis' diary does not indicate that the villagers have voluntarily offered to pay revenue. Therefore, Mr. Fitzpatrick was concerned whether Mr. Davis taught the subject to the villagers and if so in what way the suggestion was received and their readiness to pay.

Davis also interpreted a case between Jessami (a Manipuri village) and Zemime (a village east of the boundary of the political control) where he exceeded the limits of interference marked out by the Government of India. Fitzpatrick said that the action of Mr Davis in the matter of the irrigation dispute between Lozaphehomi and Jessami should be inquired. In the first place Jessami being a Manipur village, Davis should not have done more than make a provisional order to raise any immediate risk of quarrelling without previous reference to the political agent and whether his order was right on the merits of the case. As he understands the case as:

A is the owner of the land in which a stream rises and has used it to irrigate 100 acres of land, allowing the rest of the water to flow downward. B (inferior riparian owner), has used the downward water to irrigate his land. A now wishes to irrigate 100 acres more of his land and doing so will deprive B of the water he has enjoyed. Mr. Davis has decided that A is entitled to do this, as he

owns the land, which contained the source of the stream. If it is in accordance with the custom of the country and the ideas of the people, than the Chief Commissioner has nothing to say against it. Here the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam said that they should also understand the less privilege people's problem. In addition, unless Mr Davis' decision is supported with some local custom, the Chief Commissioner was not ready to approve his act⁶⁷.

Tour Diary of A. Porteous, Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills in April and May 1890

During April and May 1890, A. Porteous, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills made a tour throughout the British district i.e., via Nichuguard (which is near Dimapur), Barpathar (situated in a boundary between Assam and Naga Hills), Wokha Tea-garden (British administered area), and then Wokha to Mokokchung, returning through the Sema country in the Political Area to Kohima. He forwarded the same to the Secretary, Chief Commissioner of Assam.

On April 18th, he started from Kohima to Nichuguard. On the way, near Pherimapani, a colony of Gurkhalis was settled. A Gurkhali Brahman, who founded the settlement, was trying for some years to get assistance from the Government, to let the Ghurkhalis settle down there, but without success. Therefore, he founded it himself where twelve cultivators have settled and built their own houses as permanent settlers of that place. On April 19th, Porteous

⁶⁷ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "*Mr Davis Tour through the Eastern Angami portion of the area of the political control: From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, To the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills; dated Shillong, June 1888*" 1st Edition Published by (Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland 2007) SL. No. 12.

marched from Nichuguard to Dimapur and fixed a site for the new civil police out post buildings at Dimapur.

As Mr. Pritchard (Public Works Department Supervisor) has informed that cholera was raging in Golaghat and neighbourhood, Porteous decided to proceed to Mokokchung by Wokha tea-garden and Wokha, instead of Morani road. He halted for a day at Barpathar and on Thursday i.e. 24th April, preceded towards Wokha tea garden, which is 14th mile from Barpathar. Mr. Walter Butler, brother of Captain Butler, Deputy Commissioner of this district, who was mortally wounded by the lothas Nagas of Pangti on Christmas day, 1875 and died a few days later, was the proprietor of the garden but has left the country so Mr. Robertson was put in-charge in managing the garden. Porteous also planned to build a rest house outside the garden. Cholera, although severe all around had not reached the garden so there was no difficulty in getting coolies. There was a cart-road as far as the garden and forms a sort of base for the line of communication with Wokha. A considerable quantity of cotton is brought down to Doyang River by some of the Lotha villages in boats, which they themselves work, but the greater portion comes down by the Wokha road and the other hill paths.

On Saturday, April 26th, the party marched early from Wokha tea garden to Bhandari. On the roadside, at the foot of the hills on the Merapani, 4 kacharis have started a little village, and made a small clearing in the forest where they have some wet cultivation and intended on remaining there permanently, but Porteous doubted that the land might be under the reserved land. On their way, they also came across the Bagti valley, which was once occupied by Assamese refugees in the time of the Burmese troubles and traces of their cultivation were still evident. Now it was the Lothas who cultivate it by the jhum process.

Porteous think it would make a magnificent irrigated rice field if the Lothas take that form of cultivation.

At Sanigaong village, the villagers complained against the taking of “phalta” Gurkhalis, who impress them as coolies, and don’t pay for the rice they take while travelling on that road. Therefore, to stop this Porteous told the headmen of the village that they were only obliged to furnish coolies and supplies to men on duty, and told them to complain promptly at Wokha subdivision. He said, to stop any outrages a civil police outpost either at Sanigaong or Bhandari, would be an advantage, as the military police at Wokha was reduced to a corresponding extent.

Most of the villagers near Wokha have opted for Porteous proposal wherein instead of toiling into Kohima 70 or 80 miles, with their quota of rice (about ten seers per house) for the police, the villagers pay an extra rupee each of revenue which makes the police happy as they can have their choice of rice and at the same time relieving the Lothas of distant villages of all demand to supply rice.

From Sanigaong they rode to Wokha village, on 28th April, to give the coolies an easier march next day to Nangtang, instead of going down to the station. The Wokha villages that were exempted from carrying rice into Kohima in consideration of their furnishing at Rs. 2 per mound requested to raise the rate per mounds as the garrison at Wokha, which was fixed at 45 rifles, increased to about 100 men as the commandant has sent a large batch of recruits to undergo their preliminary training. The recruitment has put a strain on the resources of Wokha, and Porteous wanted the request to be granted if the Wokha garrison is increased to such strength. The two villages near Wokha i.e. Hemptsa and Llimi,

were exempted from going to Kohima and were made to supply rice at the two-rate when called on for Wokha garrison. Complaints were also made against the police jemadar who made the coolies to fetch up stores from Golaghat, and paying at the rate of Rs.1-8 per man for the journey of 56 miles with a 30-seer load, which was less than the rate fixed by Porteous sometime ago. So orders were made to be issued that coolies are not to be impressed to go further than Wokha tea garden, and Rs. 2 was made the rate for the load of 30 seers.

On April 29th, they marched from Wokha Village to Mangrung, along the new bridle path between Wokha and Mokokchung, which Porteous commented was good and comfortable. When they came across the Doyang River, Porteous thought of constructing an iron bridge both for local considerations and for good communication in the rains from Golaghat to Kohima, by which the forest can be avoided. Before reaching Mangrung, they camped near the Nangtang village, which neighbours with two Sema villages that were burned on different occasions, for murders of men of the neighbouring villages.

They marched towards Mokokchung on 30th April. Porteous said the new bridle path was excellent and one of the best roads in the District level, free from the rough stony stretches, which make many of their bridle paths bad. He was cautious while crossing this road as they have annexed the Ao country recently and also there were many neighbouring large independent Sema villages. Owing to the general settling down of the Sema tribe in the control area since his last tour in April 1889 and again in October 1889, when several villages were severely dealt with and also due to the good relations established by Mr. Davis, the then Sub Divisional Officer of Mokokchung with the Lopphehi (Sema

village) group of villages. The in-corporation of three Sema villages in the new sub-divisions, viz., Mangrung, Nangtang and Phinsing, has also led to better relations between Government and the villages still outside the District.

While crossing the Ao village of Ungma, they came across an old cemetery of the village, which Mr. Davis managed demolished without offending the inhabitants. The Mokokchung station has been most satisfactorily worked out by Mr. Davis, assisted by Mr. Mitchell, Assistant Engineer. The fort was a perfect model of its kind, with deep ditch and high earth walls well covered with a thick coat of doob grass. The sources of water supply, was good and they have levelled the circular road round the hill, on one side of which the station is placed. Mr. Davis has built himself a “kutchra” bungalow and another one has been built for the public work department subordinate to be stationed there. Married men’s quarters have also been built for the police outside the fort. Porteous thought a sub divisional quarter and rest house was needed there. A school was also opened at Ungma. Porteous inspected the sub treasury at Mokokchung, which was reported separately.

Porteous also sent Kupu, a Sema Dobhasha to Chichama (a village of the Llophemi group), to call in the goanboras to enquire the death of one Chichami man. He was killed beyond the frontier by the men of Sangtam (a village across the Dikhu), which is two days from Mokokchung and decide whether it would be necessary to visit the Sangtam and punish it. The messengers returned the next day, bringing with them the headman of new Chichama. It appeared from his statement that the man of his village who was killed had joined a raiding party from the independent village of Yehim and was killed in the course of it. Therefore, Porteous decided not to take any action against the Sangtam village.

At Mokokchung, he inspected the Sub-divisional office, which was in a satisfactory order. The gaonboras of the Mazung village of Noksen (the village whose savage retaliation on Mongsemdi in 1888 for the punishment inflicted by Mr. McCabe in the spring of that year, led to the Mazung expedition and annexation of the Ao country), came into Mokokchung to visit the Sub Divisional Officer and informed him that the threatening of Yampi village, which furnished Porteous' guide in the last expedition was false. The Trans-Dikhu tribes were in a state wherein a moderate show of force on an annual promenade would be thoroughly effectual in suppressing inter-village feuds and murders, which was the same case with the Semas. Therefore, Porteous thought it to be wise to include within the political control the whole area between the Yangnu and Dikhu, as feuds are pretty certain to arise on the British border, which might involve some British villages as well. There have also been several occasions on which appeals for assistance was requested to Mr. Davis from across the border and if the Government continued with the policy of non-intervention, it could be misunderstood and attributed to weakness.

On 3rd May, they marched to Nankan with Mr. Davis and Mr. Mitchell. Nankan is one of the largest villages in the Naga Hills, from where a wide view of the Assam is commanded and towering over everything in its vicinity the side of Patkai. It is situated in one of the best position among Naga villages. Bridle-paths to connect the village, on either side of the village and if they plan to make new roads, Porteous thought, Nankam will be an alternative halting place for the police or travellers marching between Wokha and Mokokchung, or vice versa. Koio village, on the Wokha side of the Doyang, would then be an intermediate stage between Nankam and Wokha, dividing the whole march from Mokokchung

into three stages. Nankam was one of the chief Ao villages who were extracting tribute freely throughout the tribe but later they became loyal to the Government.

From Nankam they marched towards Limitsami on 4th May. Porteous parted his way with Mr. Davis and Mr. Mitchell and started his tour among the Semas. For this tour, he ordered an escort of 30 police from Mokokchung who were asked to meet him at Lopphehi. The force duly met him and he then proceeded to Limitsami and camped there. Porteous said these two villages are both friendly and might be taken over at any time. He said this was the first time that he is attempting a Sema tour without the aid of a single coolie hoping to obtain them from the Semas themselves.

The next march was towards Lukobomi, which is 6 miles from Limitsami. A espy's brass lota was stolen one night and Porteous demanded the chief Rikamo to return it back. The chief returned it and a fine was imposed on the village, the price of the rice taken prior to the Brass lota's occurrence. Meanwhile a case of forcible seizure of a Mithun for a small debt was brought to Porteous' notice by Yekeshe gaonbura of the small village of Sitemi. The complainant being Yekeshe himself and the accused was a man of Apitomi. Both villages lie close to Limitsami, so the party proceeded their and settled the case by ordering three cows to be given to the complainant in lieu of the stolen Mithan. As security for the performance of the order, Porteous took a valuable necklace from the Apitomi headman. The party also visited Lumikomi, a small Sema village, to enquire into the alleged burning of a great part of Latesami village a few weeks ago by a man of Lumokomi. The accused was a mere boy, who had a previous quarrel about a woman with the Latesami complainant. The accused swore that the charge was false, as did the Lumokomi Gaonbura for his

village. In addition, the burning took place at night so it would have been impossible to identify the offender. Hence, due to the lack of proof, the case was dismissed. Porteous commented that the cases brought to him were settled in a satisfactory way and a sign of progress among the wild people was seen.

Passing again through Sitemi and Apitomi, the party proceeded via Chichami to Lukobomi. On reaching Lukopomi, a deputation from Sitemi visited Porteous in the afternoon to say, that the fine of 3 cows had been paid, on which the Apitomo chief's necklace was restored. Next day, they went towards Emilomi, 10 miles from Lukobomi. Taking Lukopomi coolies, Porteous marched over the top of the hill and marked 6477 feet in the map. They reached Emilomi in the afternoon and the villagers were friendlier with Porteous as compared with his last two visits.

On the 7th May, they moved towards Lisimi, which is a village in two hamlets, containing about 150 houses. The party was well received by the villagers. Porteous had intended to visit the Trans-frontier village of new Yesami, which was across the political control boundary, and if possible, to settle feud between that village and the village of the chief Hatu marked Kukishe on the map. Previous year when Porteous was at Yemshenaghani (Tizu valley), the brother of chief Hatu paid a visit on behalf of Hatu, who besides much bloodshed of neighbours (outside of the control) and has the habit of sending insulting message to the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima from time to time, and feared his day of reckoning had come. Hatu's brother was well received and Porteous even accepted some of his presents and send him back with a message to his brother to behave better in future. After this in the early part of the cold weather news reached that the brother of Hatu, who had visited Porteous, was killed by

some man of Yesami. Hatu, on this took courage to come into Kohima to complain. However, he was told that they are not entitled to protection as the Tizu valley was outside the political control area but Porteous promised to see what could be done to settle the matter at the time of the annual Sema tour. Hatu came to visit Porteous again for the same reason. Therefore, Porteous sent his chief dobhashi Kubu to hear what Yesami had to say and to bring the gaonboras if possible. Kubu returned late at night, but without the Yesami headmen. They were afraid to come in, but they acknowledge the killing of Hatu's brother and said it was only done in retaliation for a previous murder by a man of Hatu's village on one of their people. As Porteous had no authority from Government to interfere in villages beyond the "Control Area", and as no orders have ever been promulgated among these villages forbidding village warfare and threatening punishment for disobedience, he could not do anything and told Hatu the same. He went away apparently very dissatisfied and puzzled as to why there is one law for the Doyang village and another for the Tizu valley. Porteous said the Tizu valley, which is wholly Sema, should be included within the area of control. Porteous also visited the new Lisimi village and marked 6583 feet in the map.

On 9th May, the party proceeded towards Kalhopu village, through Kukiepunaghami village. Both of them were punished before for murders and have been quite ever since. Porteous recovered from Sukomi village, three cows as value of dhan looted by the village from the fields of Ghakia's village, when Ghakia's man were all away carrying the baggage of Porteous in his previous tour.

On 10th May, they marched through Nyeketho's and Ghakia's village to Gosotumi village. At Kalhopu's village, Porteous noticed the village to be excessively dirty and the inhabitants were submissive towards the sepoys.

From May 11th, they moved from Gosotumi to Kukiepunaghami and later proceeded towards Zulhama, which is an Angami village of about 80 houses lying at an elevation of nearly 6000 feet. Some few families have separated from the main village and settled at a lower elevation, to be nearer their irrigated fields. The same has happened with several other Angami villages like the Terocheswema, Satmazuma and Kotsoma in this neighbourhood. However, Sema villages on the other hand prefer to seek new colonies at the higher ridges to obtain the advantages of jutting in their hitherto untouched forest. With the increase feeling of security on account of extension of Government's influence over the region have resulted in the consequent cessation of village warfare in these regions.

Next, they proceeded towards Satazuma village that lies on the very crest of the water parting between the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy basins, at an elevation of over 6000 feet. From Satazuma they visited Ungoma, a Sema village, to settle a dispute regarding a land between it and Kizimatuma, the latter a revenue paying Angami village. The case had been instituted at Kohima, but could not be settled without local inquiry. On 15th May, they rested at Ungoma and visited the disputed land. Both sides took the oath that they had previously occupied the land. Therefore, Porteous finally decided the matter by a compromise and fixed a small stream called the Sakhamavor as the future boundary between the lands of the two villages. Rent was to be paid for that year in the shape of a pig to Kizimatuma by Ungoma for a portion of the land

adjudged to Kizimatuma, which Ungoma had under crop. This decision gave satisfaction to both the parties. From Tenejuma, on 17th May, they proceeded towards Kohima, which marks the end of his tour.

In this tour, not a single case of murder was brought under Porteous notice as having occurred within the political control area, nor were punitive measures called for against any village outside for raids within the protected area. The change in the demeanour of the tribe since the first promenade through the country, which he made in 1887, was remarkable. He said, as he passed through the whole country with a small escort, he was well received and did not have any trouble in procuring coolies and supplies. He concluded that if the annual tours are repeated in the future than the head taking in the Dayong valley may be considered outdated.

Tour made by A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, for September 1891

On 10th September 1891, A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills accompanied by Captain Macintyre, marched from Kohima to Chichama, where complaints were made about the excessive amount of coolie work which the village has had to do. Chichama lies on the Wokha road and since Nerhema have had cholera, i.e., for some three months, the Chichama people had to give coolies for all sepoy going to or coming from Wokha and Lozema. Therefore, Davis issued orders to relieve them of all coolie work from there to Kohima. On the way, the party went to Tophema to enquire a case where the Tophema men were said to have beaten a sepoy who went there to turn out coolies. However, the havilar who had sent the matter to Kohima had exaggerated

the report. In addition, as both sides were to be blamed Davis did not inflict any punishment and instead settled some disputes about land and returned to Kohima.

Again, on 18th September, he made a tour through the Eastern Angami villages in the Political Control area. He marched towards Kegwema, which is 10 ½ miles from Kohima. The object of his tour was to get back the guns, which some villages like Phesama, Kegwema, Jakhama, and Viswema had bought, from the sepoys and others. Two of his Khonoma spy has also brought the names of 28 men in Phesama, Kegwema, and Jakhama, who were in possession of Manipuri guns. He also visited Viswema and settled a case of land disputes.

On the 20th, Davis marched to Kidima, where the Tami khel have allowed the murderer, Mosenyi to build a new house in their village where he was living with his two sons. Mosenyi, in a fit of rage cut down his son's wife with an axe on December 1890. He at once absconded and for a considerable time his whereabouts could not be ascertained. Later, he returned to Kidima and had been hiding there with his two sons, but owing to the presence of cholera in the village, Davis was not able to catch him. The village was repeatedly ordered to capture Mosenyi, which they have neglected. Therefore, Davis held two headmen of the Tami Khel as political prisoners until he is captured. Later Mosenyi came to Kohima and surrendered himself.

Next day he marched towards Kekrima, who were reported to have about 20 unlicensed guns in their possession, which were purchased from Viswema, Jakhama, or Kegwema (originally bought from the sepoys). The Kezanuma khel of Kekrima have been harbouring Vitzore of Jakhama, an escaped convict. Therefore, unless they bring Vitzore within a day, Mr. Davis would fine the khel

Rs. 200. His next visit was Tekhubama (Kalunasami), which was a Kezhama village with about 100 houses. This village complained that Kekrima have transgressed an order passed many years ago by Mr. Mc Cabe, by which the possession of certain land was given to Tekhubama. Davis said will look upon the matter once he returns to Kohima.

On 23rd they marched towards Mesolojuma (Kezhama village), which has about 120 houses within the Political Control area. The next day, they marched to Khizobami, which is the largest village of the Kezhama tribe, and contains between 300 and 400 houses. This portion of the district is considered as an integral part of the district (Lhota country). They enjoy the same degree of protection as any of the revenue-paying people within the regular district boundary. A revenue rate of Rs. 2 was planned to be extracted from this village. Here, two guns were produced which were said to have been bought from men belonging to villages within the revenue-paying boundary. The guns were both Manipuri Enfield rifles.

On 26th the party moved towards Pholami, which is an Angami village of about 150 houses. Three Manipuri guns purchased from men belonging to villages within the revenue-paying boundary were produced before Davis. Next day they stayed there and settled some minor cases. Later they marched towards Purobami and on 29th they reached Chaduma, which is situated at a height of about 7,500 feet. Davis said that except Khonoma and Mozema, nearly every Angami village lying within the District boundary and Lotha village as far as Lakhuti can be seen from the Chaduma range. He disposed three cases against the Angamis for selling guns to the villages within the Political Control area. This village also denied having any guns in their possession.

On the 30th September, Captain Macintyre returned to Kohima and Davis proceeded towards Kekrima, which is about 6 miles. The Chaduma headmen took oaths on behalf of their respective khels that they don't possessed any unlicensed guns. Davis also warned the village that he will come heavily on them if they are lying. Next day, Kekrima produced five guns, which were confiscated, and the prices paid for them being returned to the purchasers on being recovered from the sellers.

On 1st of October, Davis marched to Viswema and ordered them to bring the guns. Five licensed guns were produced by the Dzerama khel but the other khels denied having any and at the same time were reluctant to take an oath on the subject. Next day they marched towards Kegwema, which is about 6 miles. The headman of the Kirhazhuma khel of Viswema came forward and offered to swear that his Khel had no guns. A circle of rope was made and he stepped into it to swear. He got on well until he came to the part where he had to curse himself and the whole of the men of his khel in various terms in the event of his oath being a false one. At that point, his courage gave way and he stepped out of the rope circle and confessed his inability to swear. At Kigwema, Davis recovered Rs. 154, the price of two guns sold by Kegwema to Kekrima. Both the guns were bought from sepoy. The Meralitsuma khel of Kegwema were out in the jungle due to three cases of smallpox ten days ago. Davis planned to send Dr. Ahmed the next day to check whether the disease was really smallpox. Davis ended his tour and returned to Kohima on the 3rd of October⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 1177R dated Kohima 7th October 1891. Memo by, A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam" 1st Edition, Sl. No 433.

Tour of A.W. Davis on October 1891

On October 10, 1891, A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills along with Lieutenant Colonel went to Khonoma, to settle the boundary line on the Khonoma Hill above, which they were prohibited to build their houses when they were allowed to come on their hills after the end of the Khonoma war. Next day, they roughly settled the boundary line with the water channel on the South and the Government road on the side of the hill. In the afternoon, they inspected the Khonoma School and on the 12th, they returned to Kohima.

Again, on October 16th, they went to tour Nichuguard and the Katcha Naga Country via Piphima, which is 16 miles from Kohima. They inspected the Piphima guard and found the fort in good order. Next few days they toured Nichuguard and its neighbours and on 20th, they proceeded towards Raluma, which is 14 miles from Diphupani. On 21st, they marched towards Chama, which is a small and very poor village. The Gaonbura made a complain about the excessive amount of coolie work which they have to do, where coolies from the village being often called on to carry loads from the Chama camp to Khonoma (two marches). Mr. Davis solved the issue at once and ordered, coolies for the intermediate stage in future should be collected from Khonoma and they were not to be worked between Lemhama and RezepHEMA. Chama like Raluma, suffer greatly from tigers, and he promised the village a gun on his return to Kohima.

Next day they marched to Lakema, where Mr. Davis noticed that village to have very little rice left due to epidemic of cholera that year. The gaonbura complained that the Kukis were looting the Katcha Nagas. The whole of the Katcha Naga villages were repeatedly told not to give anything demanded by

wandering Kukis and Angamis. However, so firm is their belief in the fact that the British stay in the hills is only a temporary one thus they always pay nearly all demands from Kukis or Angamis. This village was accompanied by a threat of what will happen to them in the event of non-compliance as soon as the “Tephima” (British) quit the country. All they required was a native tahsildar at Henima, who would have plenty of time for touring about the country and would be able to keep a tighter hold on the Kukis, who have increased up to 5,478 souls living in 1,196 houses in 57 villages, when censuses. The Jalukema village have sold four out of the five guns they had licenses and at the same time, many Kuki having licenses have not renewed their guns.

Next day they marched to Jussama, who have complained about Coolie work but Davis did not look into this matter as they were helped both by Tapama and Bapugwema. On 25th, they marched towards Henima, passing through Sarrama, who, at the time of the disturbances in Manipur took opportunity to raid the Manipur Naga village of Kidima with the idea as that they were helping the British, but their real motive was to take few heads. Davis planned to take action against them for this raid including the cases of the raids on Inchima and Duluema as soon as all the villages concerned are caught. He also solved the Kuki and Naga cases, as well as inspected the Henima School.

Sarrama and Henima raided Kidima and Duluema in Manipur territory at the time of the disturbances in Manipur. Other three raids were also committed by Chonchang, Silim, Henima and many other small Kuki villages on Inchima, by Sarrama and a few Kukis on Kidima in Manipur and raid by Henima on Duluema. All the four raids were made at the same time when Kukis raided Atteng under the leadership of Tongchong (head of the Thado tribe). The raid was

inquired and the various Kuki villages concerned were fined Rs.1000 and 40 Muskets by order of the Chief Political Officer, Manipur.

With the rumours that the Manipuri Kukis and Nagas were intending to attack on the Henima guard, the whole country around Henima on both side of the frontier was very disturbed and the Kukis, who sided the British, thinking that they were doing something good for the British, raided the village of Inchima or Makhui, a village which was known to have cut off and killed sepoy's retreating from Manipur by the Kohima road. The Nagas were also told that no raids on Manipuri subjects would be punished, as the sahibs and Manipuris were at war for which the raids by Henima and Sarrama occurred. The Kukis concerned in the Atteng raid were punished by fine and Davis planned to sentence the ringleaders in the Henima and Sarrama raids to imprisonment. Davis has accordingly fined Henima and Sarrama at the rate of Rs. 6/- per house. The Kuki headman concerned in the Inchima or Makhui raid also turned up to enquire the charges against them. Pakoop and the son of the Silim headman admitted to their share in the Inchima raid for which Pakoop was fined Rs. 450/- and Silim Rs. 300/- respectively. The Henima people were also made to build a bungalow at Henima in exchange for the fine of Rs. 350.

On 1st November, they reached Dupema, where the census of women were found to be very much fewer in number than the men. This might be due to the fact of their not having entirely abandoned the custom once practiced by the whole of the Katcha Naga tribe of killing female children born at the time when any hard work, such as harvesting, was on. The reason being that after the birth of a female child the mother is forbidden in Katcha Naga custom from going out to work for one month. Female children were therefore killed in order to allow the

mother to go to work. Other villages besides Dupema that were low in the number of women were Tapama, Phuima, and Bopugwema. Davis warned the Dupema, Bopugwema, Tapama and Phuima headmen on the subject.

On 3rd they reached Kenduma, there both Kukis and Katcha Nagas live side by side. The Katcha Nagas were in bad shape whereas the Kuki village (Buljang) was flourishing. At Tapama village, Davis spoke to the gaonburas on the subject of infanticides. They were naturally righteous and offended but he doubted that they still practice or might have recently abandoned the horrible custom.

In Phuima, he found that neither Lemhama nor Jalukema had gone down to work at Nichuguard so both the villages were fined Rs. 100 each. Davis spoke to the headmen of Phuima and taxed them for their custom of killing female children. They however denied doing so and said they had not practiced the custom for the last ten or twelve years, however women at Phuima numbered only 70 as against 119 men. Owing to the death of women in that village, there were men of 40 years of age who have not been able to get wives. Some men have taken wives from other villages, where women were more numerous, but most of those who have done so had bad luck, their wives having died or run away again.

On 5th they went to Lakema through Berrima, where very few girls above three years of age were there. Below three, boys and girls were fairly equal in number, which would appear to point to the fact that the custom of infanticide in the case of female children has been abandoned within the last two or three years. Davis planned to census this village and the other three villages mentioned

above for the next five or six years. On 6th, they proceeded to Nakama and then to Kenoma. On 8th November, they marched towards Khonoma and returned to Kohima⁶⁹.

Tour made by A.W. Davis for 27th, 28th, and 29th November 1891.

As usual, Davis made a tour from 27th November 1891, from Kohima to Kezoma a distance of 11 miles, to enquire into the case of murder of a woman and two children of Kezoma, which occurred on the 25th, and was reported only on the 26th. The murder was committed in the thick jungle on the East side between Kezoma and Sakhabama about four miles North of Kezoma. The murderers were assumed to be four members of the Eastern Angami division of tribes. Kigwema village was suspected for this murder because the tracks from the place of the murder have been followed up to within 1 ½ miles of Kigwema village. It was probably committed as a sacrifice to the deity, in order to try to stop the epidemic of smallpox prevailing in the Meralitsuma and Makuma khels of Kigwema. A similar murder was committed many years back by Jakhama (a village next to Kigwema), during smallpox epidemic, and it is said, as a result of the sacrifice, smallpox at once ceased.

On 28th, Mr. Davis marched to Kigwema, 15 miles from Kezoma, to track down the murderers. Half of the Kigwema people were scattered in the jungle on account of smallpox and other Nagas avoided visiting this village for some time. Therefore, for the same reason, Mr. Davis decided to withdraw the case for the time being. However, if it is proved that the murderers belong to

⁶⁹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “Memo No. 1394R., dated Kohima, 20th November 1891; from A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam” 1st Edition, Sl. No. 433.

Kigwema village and if their khel men will not give them up then the khel to which they belong should be burnt as a warning to others. They returned to Kohima on 29th November⁷⁰.

Tour of A.W. Davis for January and February 1892.

On January 26th 1892, Mr. Davis went to the Khonoma village with General Channer, to examine the Khonoma hill with reference to the proposed re-occupation of the site of the Nagas. On 1st February, he marched towards Nichuguard to check the work on the new cart road and to find out the amount of stores at Nichuguard. He marched via Kohima to Kegwema, to punish Kegwema for the murder of three persons of Kezoma village (vide diary for 27th and 28th November 1891). There was no doubt that the murders were committed by four men belonging to the Kamima and Kipfoma khels of Kegwema. Mr. Davis gave the two guilty khels two days to surrender the victims and their heads by the morning i.e. 11th February, failing which; he would burn the whole of the houses of the two khels. He did not fine them any money as the young men of many villages would willingly pay up a heavy fine, and by doing so, they would be accorded the privileges of taking heads and thus become eligible to wear the ornaments worn by the successful warrior. However, as his orders were not complied, the upper two khels were burnt and no opposition was offered after which he headed towards Mao and returned back to Kegwema and to Kohima on 13th February.

⁷⁰ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 216R, dated CAMP YAJIM, 18th April 1892; Memo by, A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary to Chief Commissioner of Assam, with reference to his telegram No. 1300p, dated the 30th March 1892, just received" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 433.

Another tour was made by him on 17th February starting from Themokidima. This village gave about twelve mounds of rice monthly to feed the sepoy and dakwallas stationed there. The next day they reached Lozema, Davis said the fort and buildings are in good order but he received a complaint made by the headmen that they were paid too little for thatching grass, supplied for the repairs of the fort buildings. On enquiry he found out that, they were getting more instead per bundle for grass. On 19th February, they marched towards Cherima, passing through Teruphema. Both Teruphema and Cherima are Sema villages in the Wokha sub-division. They later reached Kite and then to Nungatung which was a large Lhota village. This village used to be on bad term with the Trans-Doyang Sema village of Chelokesami, but the feud had been abandoned and the two villages trade freely with each other. From there they reached Chingaki and reached Gorungajan via Nugtang, Nungkam, Pangti, Sanigaon and Bhandari.

Gorongajan is close to the Wokha tea estates, 7 miles from Golaghat. The Manager of the Wokha garden, Mr. Butler, said that he estimated the cotton brought down by this route at about 1,000 to 1,200 mounds annually. On 6th March, they proceeded towards Golaghat, to meet the Chief Commissioner. After which they crossed Borpathar, Noajan, Bokajan, Nichuguard and on 12th, the party reached Kohima⁷¹.

Tour of A.W. Davis for May 1892.

On May 6th 1892, A.W. Davis accompanied by Captain Little, Commandant of the Naga Hill Police, Lieutenant Chatterton, Adjutant, 42nd

⁷¹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 2156 dated Kohima, the 18th March 1892 Memo. By A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 433.

Gurkha Regiment and Mr. Rollo, the Executive Engineer marched from Kohima to Khonoma, to take over the post from the military. He intended to abandon the Khonoma hill and built a new fort for the police guard on a point of Chakra Hill, overlooking the old fort. However, there was no suitable site for a fortified post. Mr. Davis thus decided with the agreement of Captain Little to retain the top of the Khonoma Hill, as the strength of the garrison was reduced from 100 to 25 men. The next day, Mr. Rollo surveyed the boundary line above where no house, except one for the Government interpreter would be built. Davis also explained to the Jemadar of Military Police and to the Khonoma headmen, the various alterations that would have to be made in the existing fort. The Khonoma men were to give 120 coolies a day until these alterations are carried out.

With the exception of the Kitotsuma division of the Semoma Khel, the rest of the Nagas of Khonoma were allowed to build their house on the ancient site of the Village. The Kitotsuma Khel have to remain in their new site across the valley until they give up Kemhakre, an absconder from justice, whom the Government have been harbouring for the last two years on account of burglaries committed in Kohima station.

On 8th May, Mr. Davis and Mr. Rollo went to Kohima, via the old Khonoma path, to Zubza River, and along the cart road to Kohima. On the 11th, Davis left Kohima for Khonoma with an escort of 25 men and a native officer of the Military Police, to capture Kemhakre. Kemhakre was a man of the worst character and the head of the local gang of burglars who was so active in 1890 and part of 1891 and had been concerned in nearly every cases of housebreaking taken placed at Kohima within the last seven years. He was also suspected of being concerned in the murder of the Public Work Department coolie, murdered

near Pherima in the beginning of 1891. His house at Khonoma before was surrounded in 1890, but owing to mismanagement on the part of the Sub-Inspector in charge of the party, he made his escape. A large amount of stolen property was found in his house. Since then he has been always on his guard and until the 11th, the Government had been unable to get any information as to his movements.

On the 12th, Davis reached the hut where Kemhakre was living and surrounded the hut and told Kemhakre to surrender himself, but was told that he was not at home. Later, he ordered Kemhakre's wife to open the door so that they could search the house. This she did and while inside the house, Kemhakre himself appeared at the door of the inner room of the house. Davis ordered to give himself up, but he went back in the inner room, saying that he would put his clothes on and come out. After ten minutes, he reappeared with a spear in each hands and having executed a war dance, shouted out that he would not give himself up, but would die where he was. For the next hour and a half, Davis tried to console Kemhakre to put down his spears and give himself up. Davis was reluctant to shoot him but he was also concerned about the risk of having one of his men killed in an attempt to capture a fully armed and desperate man. Later Kemhakre asked Davis to come inside the house so that they can talk, but Davis knew that it would be madness to have done so. Finally, after failing to induce him, Davis went up to the terrace above the house, made a hole in the thatch and asked him to put down his spears, or he would be shoot. In reply, Kemhakre attacked with his spear through the roof, which was a near escape for Davis. Realizing then that it was hopeless to persuade Kemhakre to give himself up, Davis shot him through the roof. Davis tried to disable him by hitting him in the

legs, however, the light being bad for aiming, went higher than intended. He was shot after 2:30 a.m. and died about 9 a.m. A native doctor arrived from Kohima, but only half hour after his death. Davis thought Kemhakre would give himself up quietly, which was wrong, so for that he recreated his action⁷².

Tour of A.W. Davis for July 1892.

On the 16th of July, A.W. Davis, made a tour through the Sema Political Control via Cheswejuma, about 22 miles from Kohima. The Government roads under Kohima village were much damaged by the cows of Puchatsuma khel of Kohima, so the khel was asked to repair it at their own expense.

On the 17th, he continued his tour from Cheswejuma to Ungoma. There he disposed a case of assault at Cheswejuma and two land disputes at Ungoma. At Ungoma, the village was in a bad shape and it was considerably difficult for Mr. Davis to collect 25 seers of rice, which he required for the sepoy and servants. The next day he marched to Ketsama, a small Angami village of 60 houses. The village was in good order when Davis visited.

On the 19th, he marched to Hebvome (Hebaluma), a pure Sema village but the people mostly wore Angami kilt. His next march was towards Chesalimi, not visited before. Davis ordered the village to be ready with rice, fowls and cows on his arrival but they made no effort to collect any rice until he confined the two headmen and shot some pigs. He also settled a case between one of the Lozema gaonburas and the headman of Chesalimi Phutimi. His next tour was from

⁷² Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 333R dated Kohima, the 18th May 1892; Memo. By A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam" 1st Edition Sl. No. 433.

Chesalimi to Kakenagami, a total distance of 10 miles. This part of the Sema country was in an exceptionally quiet state with very few complaints. From there he proceeded towards Ghakia's village.

On the 23rd, he continued from Ghakia's village to Emilomi where he faced a case against Emilomi for disobeying orders twice issued to them. Letsami, one of the three Emilomi villages, was ordered to pay to Sukomi two cows as rent for one year for land belonging to Sukomi, which was then being cultivated by Letsami. The Letsami men were told to give up the land to Sukomi after the harvest of 1891, and the order was again repeated in December 1891, warning Letsami that if they disregarded the order, they would be fined 10 cattle. However, in defiance of the order, Letsami, aided by the two other Emilomi villages, i.e., Lhukye's village and Hikesha's village had forcibly taken possession of the land after Sukomi had it ready for sowing and had themselves sown paddy on it. On the arrival of Mr. Davis at Emilomi, he summoned the headmen of Emilomi, and ordered them to collect a fine of 20 cattle, or Rs. 200, for disobeying his orders. He also ordered that the year's crop should be reaped by Sukomi, who were henceforth to be put in possession of the land. He was joined the next day by Mr. Woods, Assistant Commissioner, who came from Mokokchung, via Phinsing, Latesami and Keromechumi.

On 25th July, they moved towards Lukobomi, where Mr. Davis was met by the headmen of Seromi, whom he had sent to inquire about the conduct of their people, against whom Longsa had made a complaint to the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mokokchung. After inquiring he found out that the Longsa men had exaggerated the case, nothing really, serious had happened so he dismissed the Seromi gaonburas, with a warning not to quarrel with Longsa. In addition, when

one of the Longsa headmen came in, Davis explained to him that the Seromi men alone were not to blame in the recent quarrel between the villages so he cannot do anything on the matter. Next day they marched to Sopphehi, which is of 6 miles. Davis had planned to open a bridle track through the Sema country from the 5th mile on the Mokokchung-Wokha road to Cheswejuma. He pointed out to the Public Work Department Sub-Overseer from Mokokchung, should follow from Sopphehi to Emilomi.

On 27th July, they marched to Nunkam. Davis received the fine of Rs. 100 from the Limitsami village as they failed to turn out 30 coolies to assist Sopphehi to carry the baggage.

Tour of A.W. Davis for September 1892.

On 10th September 1892, A.W. Davis again toured through the Sema Political Control area. During this tour, he travelled over the whole of the Sema country from Ungoma to Sopphehi. This portion of the Sema country was in a condition of complete internal tranquillity. Davis also requested the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to inform him about the receive orders on the subject of the proposed extension of the political control area advocated in his letters No. 1366, dated the 24th March 1891 and No. 1068, dated the 22nd January 1892, so that he can discuss it with the Chief Commissioner during his visit to Kohima in March 1892⁷³.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for February 1893.

⁷³ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 608, dated Kohima, 10th September 1892; From A.W. Davis, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam” 1st Edition Sl. No. 433.

Captain A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, submitted his tour diary from 14th to 16th and 21st to 25th January 1893 along with the travelling allowance bill to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. He was accompanied by Mr. Clancey, Executive Engineer. They marched towards Khonoma where the people came three or four times requesting Woods to settle some disputes regarding the re-occupation of their old sites. Last time, Mr. Davis gave an order that the Merrima khel were not to build anywhere above the water channel, as they dirty the place. However, they requested Woods to grant them to stay there and said will not dirty the place. However, before giving any final order on subject he decided to console Davis. Gates were however allowed to be erected in various khels, as there was no threat from a military point of view. Jemadar Belbong, who was in charge of the guard, has also captured two Merrima murderers. Next day, they marched towards Kohima and on the way, he fined the Jotsoma village Rs. 50 for not supplying the full complement of coolies to take the baggage's to Khonoma on the 14th.

On 21st January, Mr. Woods and Mr. Clancey, accompanied by Mr. Walsh, Assistant Engineer of Nichuguard-Manipur road, marched to Kegwema and found the road construction unfinished. They also inspected the guard and the village, and passed final orders in the Kezoma murder case. The Kamima and Kipfoma khels of Kegwema were forbidden to cultivate their water fields (tekhule) for that year and told them that they will be allowed to cultivate the coming year depending on their subsequent good behaviour. They were also not allowed to re-occupy their sites from which they were turned off years ago for rioting. Some houses were allowed to remain on the old site inside the fort ditch and Mr. Woods have taken a census of these houses so that anyone building a

house on that site without permission will be punished. Woods was unable to count the village for revenue, as the khel, which were allowed by Mr. Davis to re-occupy their old site were newly re-building and moving their houses.

On 23rd January, they proceeded to Viswema and counted the village, and found 499 revenue-paying houses. He fined the Kirazoma khel Rs. 50 for disobeying the order and cutting grass on Jakhama land. Woods also settled several disputes between Viswema and other villages. On 25th January, the party ended their tour by heading back to Kohima⁷⁴.

Tour of A.E. Woods for February 1893.

On 8th February 1893, Captain A.E. Woods made a tour to Khonoma, about 11 ½ miles from Kohima, and found the guard all correct under the command of Jemadar Katiram. About the Merhama khel, he ordered them not to build on the slopes of the Tsekha (chakra) hill.

On 9th, he marched to Paona where he found out that even though a rest house was build unfortunately only a hut or two had been erected. It turned out that the villages round (Kacha Nagas) were not supplying coolies, as they were discontent by the fact that the Angamis, their neighbours, were getting 8 annas per day for coolie work and they were getting only 4 annas for doing exactly the same work. He gave orders to the gaonburas of Kenoma, Nakama, Raluma, and Chama to supply a certain number of coolies daily for the next six weeks. He also fined Kenoma Rs. 100 for not supplying the collies he had ordered for work on

⁷⁴ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No.966 dated Kohima, the 2nd February 1893; From – Captain A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills., To – The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam; No.141 for/1160P, dated Shillong, 24th February 1893; Copy forwarded to the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, By order of the Chief Commissioner of Assam” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

road, as Kenoma being the largest of all Kacha Naga villages, had set a bad example by not supplying coolies.

On 11th February, he marched to Lakema. The question of coolies along there was difficult as there were only a few villages on or near the road, which were all very small ones. The next day, he summoned the gaonburas of Lakema and Jalukema to arrange the supply coolies to work on the road. He also made an inspection on all guns and gun licenses in the village, as well as those of Jalukema and Lemhema.

His next march was towards Jussama and on the way, he changed coolies at Berrima and made an inspection on the village. The two murderers Itipo and Hejimin lived in this village. Some twenty houses were burnt about two months ago and the owners lost all their property and dhan. Consequently, they petitioned him to let them off by paying revenue that year, which he did. They reached Jussama by afternoon.

On 14th, he marched towards Henima and changed coolies at Sarama. They inspected the guard, fort, and schoolhouse and found all correct. As the formation of small villages increased, there was difficulty in collecting revenues and coolies so Woods gave an order that any Kukis coming across from Manipur and wanting to settle there must all squat in one place and from a big village. The Nagas were also constantly complaining about Kukis squatting on their lands "jumping" the best places. Therefore, the formation of big villages would stop these and enable the British to get supplies and coolies when wanted.

Few complaints have also been made by the Nagas that they were being robbed while trading in Manipur territory. Woods sent them to the political agent,

Manipur and enquiry about it. He also settled some disputes about the Kuki and Naga cases. The Piama gaonburas were also called upon to enquire their involvement in harbouring the convict Ipito and the other man of Berrima, who were captured in their village by Jemadar Belbong. Mr. Davis some months ago have fined Phiama Rs.100 for harbouring the convict (Ipito and Hijimin), but they again allowed both men into their village and at the same time allowed them to build houses there. The gaonburas houses were quite close, a couple of doors off from the convicts, but they told Belbong that the men were not living in their village and they did not know where they were. After sometime, they (the goanburas) reluctantly pointed out Itipo and Hejimin's houses. Woods sentenced both the goanburas six months imprisonment at Tezpur and also fined the village Rs.200. He has warned all gaonburas that they are personally responsible if knowingly they allow any persons of convict t harboured in their village. Subadar Inayat Ali, who has been in command of the fort for about a year has nearly collected all the revenue for that year. Woods have also collected nearly all the outstanding gun licenses on that side and took them to Kohima for renewal.

On 18th, the party marched to Jussama and on the way; they visited a Kuki village of Silimi. Pakhup, the Raja of that village, was a respectable and imposing person. They proceeded to Lakema the next day with a distance 19 miles. Subadar Inayat Ali reported that he had sent a havildar to count the village and found six houses in excess of previous year. The gaonburas were asked to pay the revenue at Henima, but instead they took it into Kohima, where it was not known about the excess. Next day Woods recounted the number of houses and found 15 houses in excess. He ordered the gaonburas to pay the money at once into Kohima. They wanted to pay on the spot or to pay the Subadar of Henima,

which was refused by Woods as before when they were asked to go to Henima but they took the money to Kohima. On 21st February, they returned back to Kohima⁷⁵.

In this tour made by Mr. Woods, we can see the increasing influence of the British Government on the Naga Hills. The British could get the coolies when required from the Nagas and without question, the Nagas offered their services. All issues and disputes big or small were amicably settled by the officer in-charge or if not escalating to the center in Kohima for necessary actions.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for March 1893.

Captain A.E. Woods made another tour to Suchema camp and returned on 6th of March. He started his tour on 2nd March 1893 and reached the camp, which is about 8 miles. Captain Hunter Weston, R.E., and his company of Bengal Sappers and Miners were encamped there. He also met Mr. Nightingale, Superintending Engineer, and Mr. Watts. The Sappers were very busy on the bridges. On request, Woods arranged for Captain Weston, fifty men from Khonoma, Jotsoma and Mezoma for four days. He had arranged some 1,500 coolies to take the pioneers from Khuzama to Zubza, but later received a Telegram, which said that the coolies were not wanted.

On the 6th, he rode out to Cheswema, which is on the Wokha road. The gaonburas of this village have come to Kohima before and asked Woods to count their village for revenue, as many people have died since last year and they

⁷⁵ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 227, dated Shillong, 5th April 1893, Memo by order of The Chief Commissioner of Assam, To the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills for record in his office; Tour made by Albert E. Woods, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

cannot pay the same amount of revenue. He counted all the houses and found that there were 37 revenue-paying houses less than the previous year of 39 houses. The villagers also petitioned against some Gurkhali buffalo-keepers who live on their land. They say that their buffaloes are sick and were afraid of it spreading amongst the village cattle. However, when he ordered the Gurkhalis to remove their buffaloes some distance from the village, the Gurkhalis swore that none of the buffaloes was sick.

Woods also toured to Cheswejuma and Yarabama in connection with the construction of a new road and touring through the Eastern Angami. He started his tour from Cheswejuma on 7th March and was accompanied by Mr. Clancey, Executive Engineer. At the Zulla River, the masonry abutments for Iron Bridge were built and planned to get it ready by the time the ironwork arrives. Later they camped at Cheswejuma on the site of the new bungalow. Next day, Mr. Clancey went to trace a bit of the new bridle path and Woods remained behind to count the village. He counted both villages of Cheswejuma and Yarabama and found 180 revenue-paying houses. He also sent out dobashis to call in thirty Chajubama coolies and thirty Yarabama coolies to work the next day for cutting the road.

On the 9th, the Chajubama and Yarabama coolies came and started cutting the bridle path from the camp. Thenejuma, Khulabasa, and Rongazumi also came in with some cases. One khel of Chipfozumi was burnt few days back, when all men were out of the village and only one or two houses escaped. Fortunately, they have just paid in their revenue. Next day, 30 men of Chajubama, 30 of Rongazumi, and 40 of Yarabama came to work. One thousand two hundred and sixty paces or about 1,050 yard, of the bridle path have been cut. That day, the Thevopetsimi gaonburas brought in their revenue.

On the 11th March, 30 coolies of Rongazumi came for work as Chajubama and Yarabama had their dhan sowing “genna”. Woods settled some few land cases between Ungoma (Sema) and Satajumi (Basama). Next day, Chajubama gave 30 coolies, Yarabama 50 and Rongazumi 30 coolies. Mr. Anely about the Mokokchung side reported that the road had finished within a few miles of Emilomi. Woods settled a couple of cases brought up by men of Tehephima village. In the afternoon, the gaonburas of Tsekami village came in and reported that the men of Sorhema village had taken seven heads from their village and wounded eight men. Both these villages were outside the Political control area, but they said they were not under Manipur in any way. The Tsekami men said, Mr. Porteous visited their village in 1890 and gave them a chit, telling them not to pay revenue to Manipur or to any village. After that, some Manipur sepoy came and tried to raise revenue from them, but they refused to give it saying they were under the “Burra Saheb” of the Naga Hills. The sepoy took the chit away. Woods send a message to Kohima for Mr. Porteous’ diary and check if he mentioned anything about the village. However, the village was not marked in map and they lay across the Lanier somewhere North of Putsimi. Tsekami claims British protection, on account of refusing to pay revenue to Sorhema and though they saved their pockets, they lost their heads, at least seven of them.

The Ungoma (Sema village), supplied 40 coolies and also 70 from Yarabama and Chajubama. Woods planned to go to Chajubama and arrange some more villagers for work and planned to complete the road as far as Yarabama (between seven or eight miles from Ungoma) before the rain. Thecholumi came with a case but was not able to settle it as only one side of the party came. Next

day, at Thevopetsimi, 80 men came, so altogether there was over 160 working on the road. Mr. Clancey returned to Kohima that day.

On 15th, Woods asked the superintending Engineer to send a man who could do a little hill road tracing, as it was impossible for him to spare the time to superintend or teach a man. The Kezoma goanburas came in and reported that Lhaju Naga of Kezoma met Sekrese of the Kamima Khel of Kegwema (one of the four men who murdered the three Kezoma people) on the Naga path leading from Kezoma to Kekrima. He (Lhaju) called on Sekrese to surrender but Sekrese instead of surrendering, tried to spear him, so Lhaju having no option speared Sekrese and killed him. Lhaju was the husband of the murdered woman and father of the baby. Some time ago, Lhaju came and asked permission to try to capture the murderers. He was given permission and was told that if any of the murderers attempted his life, he could use his spear, which apparently he had done with good effect. Two of the murderers are still missing and the third was in Thana. The Kipfoma and Kamima Khels have been harbouring the murderers. Therefore, Woods warned the goanburas that if he gets any proof of this, their khels will be completely dispersed and scattered.

Two of the headmen of Notizami village, named Krutsa and Kiritu, also came and complained that the villages of Melomi, Lopomi, Vikaiye, and Kotesemi tried to get revenue from them and when they refused to pay, Melomi took two heads and Tsekami village took one. Notizami is situated in the South-West of Primi and on the side of the Tizu River. Melomi is one of the naked villages; Kotesemi is an Angami village; Lopomi lie across the Tizu River somewhere near Jessami and Vikaiye on the direction of Temimi.

The Tsekami men played the same game with other smaller villages as Sorhema did with them (vide diary, 12th march, Tsekami-Sorhema). The Notizami men brought in a Temimi man with them who knew Angami, to act as interpreter. The Notizami people are quite a different race from any of the near villages in the control. Woods hoped to visit Melomi, Vikaiye, and Kotesemi next month and enquire the charges against them. From an old diary of Mr. Davis, it shows that Sorhema is either in Manipur territory or under Manipur control. Therefore, the Tsekami head-taking case has to be reported to the Political Agent. Vrimi also complained few days back that Melomi had taken some heads from their villages, because they refused to pay revenue. They also stated that the Kohima "Burra Saheb" had told them not to pay revenue to anyone.

He also counted the houses in Chajubama village and that of the old village of Chajubama Bagwema. This village (Rongejumi-Basama) paid revenue for the last eight or nine years but Chajubama-Bagwema, the old village situated across a nalla (drainage), had never paid revenue for some unknown reason. Woods proposed that the Chief Commissioner should take revenue from Chajubama-Bagwema the coming year as they enjoys the same privilege of sending coolies constantly to Nichuguard and at the same time they were willing to pay revenue. They have 70 houses and Rongejumi-Basama 92 (Revenue-paying), but the latter village has up to date only been paying revenue for 30 houses. Therefore, he informed the gaonburas that the coming year they must pay on the full number of houses. Thevopitsimi is another village, which only pays nominal revenue, and Woods planned to re-assess it before next year. In the afternoon Woods went out to the road, which was almost finished up to this village, the road being about five to six miles from Cheswejuma. He settled a

number of cases, mostly quarrels about water channels. He settled several more cases and gave the sub-overseer a list of villages, which have to supply coolies for the road. He also left five sepoy to help the sub-overseer to turn out the coolies and also to superintend the labour on the road.

At Khulabagwema, he got news about a gun purchased by Nitso and some men of his Khel. Nitso refused to produce the gun, so Woods sent for a couple of sepoy from Kohima to come and arrest him and the gaonbura of his Khel, as he did not have any sepoy with him. On 19th March, they marched to Chipfozumi where one of their khel was completely burned and about 90 or 100 houses were destroyed with nearly all their contents. It occurred when the people were all out in their fields. The people petitioned to let them off coolie worked and also to excuse them from paying revenue next year. Woods have granted both their petitions, as their loss had been very heavy and it would be impossible for them to build their houses until next cold weather, after the harvest. Next day, they marched to Tekhubama, which is one of the seven Khezema villages, but most of the men have started to speak Angami.

On 21st March, he marched to Nazama, on the way he counted the houses of Nokroma village. The gaonburas came to Kohima and asked Woods to count the houses, as many people had died since last year. However, to their surprise, six houses were in excess and were told to pay Rs. 12 more into Kohima. The gaonburas of a Manipur Naga village came in to settle some cases for them, which Woods refused but referred them to the Political Agent of Manipur.

On 22nd, Woods marched to Kezakenoma, as he received information about an unlicensed gun being in possession of a man of Nizama village. He sent for the man and ordered him to produce the gun. He however denied having any gun and then without any warning he bolted. There were two more unlicensed guns in Thapejuma and two in the new village between Thapejuma and Cheroma. Another man, when being called up to be questioned, also made a clean bolt of it. Woods said the two people who had sold these guns are men of Kidima village. He counted all the houses in Kezakenoma and found a slight increase.

On 23rd, he proceeded to Kidima and counted the village, and found 143 revenue-paying houses, which was a slight increase as compared to previous year. Before leaving Kidima, he settled a number of cases. Next day, he marched to Viswema to collect the revenue from the Pavoma and Kivajumi khels, and told the gaonburas to take it to Kohima.

On 25th March, he rode to Kigwema, which is about 6 miles. One gun from Thapejuma was brought to Woods who was sent in by one of the men who bolted. Kigwema also sent in the revenue. Next day, he re-counted the Kigwema village, as the revenue, which they had collected the previous day, was found less and on counting he found a slight increase in revenue from the village. He rode back to Kohima and on the way; he commented that there was a considerable progress made in the road between Kohima and Kigwema⁷⁶.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for April 1893.

⁷⁶ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "*Tour diary of A.E. Woods, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; Memo No. 335, date Shillong, 13th May 1893; Copy forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills for record in his office, By, H. Corkey Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam*" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

On 7th April, A.E. Woods, made another tour to Khuzama and returned back on the 9th of April. The tour was made based on the complaint made by the headmen of Kezakenoma against the Mao Thana villagers, who had come and chased some of their men right up to the village and that it was only when the Kezakenoma men turned out in force that the Mao Thana men retired. They said that if this was not stopped then there would be bloodshed. Woods contacted the Political Agent and informed that he will be visiting Mao Thana and asked his permission to settle the case. He also sent in dobashas to call in the gaonburas of the seven villages.

The next day, all the gaonburas came and it appeared that some ten Kezakenoma men went over to the village of Mekribama (in Manipur territory), and tried to recover a debt from a man of that village. The man refused to pay, so they caught him and brought him to another Manipur village called Megwima and left him there. In the meantime, Mekribama sent news to the Mao Thana villages and asked them to come and help them against Kezakenoma. Four Thana villages combined and sent some 20 to 30 men each, all these men along with some Mekribama men went to Kezakenoma. Thus Woods fined each of the Kezakenoma men Rs.10 and warned them that the next time they committed any act like this in Manipur territory, he should sent them down to Tezpur. He also fined the five Manipur villages Rs. 50 each and at the same time warned them that in future, any attempt to come into this district and create a disturbance would be more seriously dealt with and later he rode back to Kohima.

He made another tour to Mokokchung, reaching Nerhama on 16th of April and proceeded towards Themokidima. One khel of Nerhama delayed in giving coolies so they were fined Rs. 100. There was a lot of sickness in

Themokidima, both amongst the people and cattle so he decided to send the hospital assistant from Wokha to visit the village.

On 18th April, he marched to Wokha, Jemadar Jamaluddin, who was in charge of the Wokha guard, reported that a sepoy who was out with other sepoy's collecting rice at a Lotha village called Chedi about a day's march from Wokha was mauled by a tiger on the night of the 16th. The sepoy was carried to Wokha, hours later before Woods arrival. Next day, he marched to Nangton, about 13 miles distance. The bridge at the Doyang was on progress and Jadubindu Chatterji, then overseer in charge, hoped to finish it in another month.

On 20th April, they marched to Nankam, which was the highest village in the subdivision where, from the road there was a climb of about 1,500 feet to the village. Mr. Muspratt, Sub-divisional Officer, joined Mr. Woods at Nankam. He heard a case against Nankam people for looting some Lhota Nagas, who visited the village. He also got the full information about the Urongkong men cutting up eight men of the naked village of Yangia. A number of Urongkong men went to raid the village of Yangia and managed to catch nine men from their fields. They (the Urongkong men) killed eight of the Yangia men and the ninth man managed to escape. It is said that the Urongkong men did this in revenge for Yangia having supplied Woods with coolies and also they thought that the Yangia men assisted the British in burning their village. However, Woods could not do anything until the cold weather when the Urongkong people will be punished for the outrage and submitted a separate report on this.

On 24th, they marched to Mokokchung to enquire some charges brought against the five Ao Dobashas, who accompanied Woods across the Dikhu in

December. These Dobashas were charged with having extorted money from the coolies and also from some villages through which they passed. The Dobashas acknowledged having received some small sums of money from some villages but said that the Gaonburas gave them the money willingly and that it is customary to do so. The Gaonburas of the Miri villages corroborated this and said that they had given the money willingly. Therefore, the dobashas were set free but Woods cut their names as he had warned them before the start that they were to be very careful and do nothing which might bring a bad name to them across the Dikhu. Later he marched back to Kohima via Nankam, Nangton, Wokha, Themokidima and Nerhama⁷⁷.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for June 1893.

On June 1893, Captain A. E. Woods, I.C.S., then Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, made another tour to Mokokchung and back to enquire into the Urongkong murder case. He started on 3rd June and reached Mokokchung via Wokha on 8th. He Sent out Dobashas to call in the Urongkong men and give evidence about the alleged killing of three of their people by Susu Nagas the previous year in December. Meanwhile Mr. Muspratt received orders that he was transferred to Dibrugarh on relief by Mr. Shuttleworth. Woods also inspected the Mokokchung treasury and settled some miscellaneous cases.

On June 12th, he rode to Mongsemdi, with Mr. Muspratt, Sub Divisional officer. Woods called all the Susu gaonburas and the witnesses in the murder case. Regarding the Urongkong case, Woods sentenced each of the seven Susu

⁷⁷ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “*Tour diary of A.E. Woods, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; Copy forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills for record*”

men to five years rigorous imprisonment. The prisoners will remain in Mokokchung pending confirmation of sentences. He also inspected the guard and fort. On the 16th, he rode back to Mokokchung with Mr. Muspratt.

On 18th, they marched to Nankam and later to Nangtang. The Nangtang Gaonburas report a case of head taking from the Sema side. Yechi, a Miri village, took 22 heads from the Sema village Shutim, but as both these villages are beyond the political control so no action were taken.

They reached Wokha on 20th June, which are 18th miles from Nangtang. Jemadar Jamaluddin reported that he cannot get any more rice as most of the villages don't have any more dhan and the people were living on roots.

On June 21st, they reached Themokidima and next day, they marched to Nerhema. The Lozema Jemadar met Woods on the way and reported that the group of Sema villages near Lozema could not supply the rice called for as they had no Dhan. The Jemadar have sent a havaldar and a couple of men to personally inspect the dhan houses and confirmed the Nagas statements. On 23rd June, they rode back to Kohima⁷⁸.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for October 1893.

On 6th October 1893, Captain A.E Woods, went down to the Dzujha river (Distance 7 miles) and returned back with Mr Light, Executive Engineer, No.1 Division, Nichuguard, Manipur road, to settle some matters about the

in his office, By, H. Corkey, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam; A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 96-75-8.6.93" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

⁷⁸ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archive, "No. G51, dated Shillong 7th July A.S.P.O.(Judicial) 183-40-26-7-93; Copy forwarded to, The Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills

amount of land, which would be taken up for the road. Woods also toured Golaghat via Nichuguard and returned back to Kohima via Wokha. He reached Khonoma on 16th October and settled some cases. He also got information that there are many unlicensed guns amongst the Kacha Nagas, but said it would be gone before he even reaches there. From there he toured the Assam side and ended his tour at Sanigaon⁷⁹.

Tour made by A.E. Woods for February 1894.

On 1st February 1894, A.E. Woods, made another tour from Lozaphehemi to Melomi, a distance about 12 miles. The road passes below the Manipuri village of Jessami. Melomi was outside the political control, but has been visited before both by Mr Porteous and Mr Davis. Melomi, Temimi, and Sohemi were said to have originally come from the Mazungjami side. Two fresh heads were stuck on bamboos and on inquiry; it appears that they were, Primi men bagged only a short time ago. Primi had come and complained about it, so Woods send for the Primi men to try to settle their quarrel. Next day, as the Primi did not come, he advised Melom to give up head taking. Somra (Soehemi) was a large village or rather a collection of villages, who strikes terror in the hearts of the small villages around there. Melomi can hold its own, but Primi always loses a head or two. All these villages said, they would be perfectly happy and would be able to live peaceably if only Somra stopped raiding.

On 3rd February, he marched towards Temimi, which is a small village of about 40 to 50 houses belonging to the same tribe as Melomi. On the 4th, they

for record in his office, By, H. Corkey, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

reached Sohemi, who also belonged to Melomi tribe. On the way, the party passed through the Angami village of Kotesemi who informed Woods that the Primi and Temimi people although almost identical in appearance belonged to different tribes and speak different languages. The Sohemi gaonburas say that they originally came from Mazungjami.

On 6th February 1894, they marched towards Khetsapvomi, a Sema village who have adopted the dress and customs of their East Angami neighbours. Woods settled some petty cases and next day, he marched towards Kusakunomi. The road passes through the village of Khezami (Sema village). There Woods have about six land cases with 6 different villages concerned. These villagers were beyond the Political Control, but they all come in Kohima to have their cases settled. He settled a case between a man of Zogazumi and this village. He went up to the valley some 5 miles where the disputed land was. The first case was a case between the villages of Kuzakunemi, Khezami and Tehephima and the village of Chipokidemi. The land in dispute was a piece of low touch lying land called Rachezho, situated on the left bank of the river. Tehephima had no claim at all on the land, as Mr. Davis issued orders that they were not to cultivate on the right bank of the river (vide diary of 14th Dec. 1890). Originally, Kuzakunemi and Khezami belonged to the same village and their stories were that they gave all the land now in possession of Chipokidemi to that village, with the exception of the one dispute. They were able to substantiate their claims, so Woods decided that the land belonged to Kuzakunemi and Khezami. The other cases was a claim put in by the same two villages to two fields; one Keredizho (jhum field) and the

⁷⁹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “A.S.P.O (Judicial) No.375; Tour made by A.E. Woods Deputy Commissioner, Naga hills” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

other name Ketizha, a water field. It appears that all the land in the possession of Tehephima and Mahatoma originally belonged to Kuzakunemi and Khezami, but only in name, as on account of its lying rather distant from their village and they were afraid to cultivate it, as the Mezimi people were always coming the Tizu valley and cutting them up. Some Angamis from Zogazumi and others offered to build a village on this land and act a sort of advanced post for Kuzakunemi and Khezami. These villages readily agreed to this and gave them the land, being very glad to get another village to act as a buffer between them and their enemies, the Mezimis. Now that time has altered and they do not live in daily fear of their lives, they are undoubtedly trying to get back the land, which they gave away so willingly years ago. Kuzakunemi and Khezami were apparently trying to get it back but Woods settled the case by letting Tehephima and Mahatoma in possession of the fields.

On 9th, they marched from Kuzakunemi to Metzalimi, a distance of about 8 miles. He passed through Khezami and settled an assault case there. Metzalimi is also a Sema village, but the people dress like Angamis. Next day they marched towards Zulhami and settled a case between the Angami village of Zagazumi and the village of Metzalimi. Zagazumi was ordered not to cultivate any land on the Metzalimi side of a stream called Kezaru.

On 11th February, the party marched towards Imphemi (Sema village), a distance of about 6 miles. Before Woods started for Imphemi, he went along the new bridle path, about 5 miles and inspected the construction of the road towards Emilomi. He later reached Imphemi that has about 50 houses. Next day, they marched to Lozama and counted the village, and found 346 revenue-paying houses. He also inspected the guard and the fort, and found it in good order. He

settled some cases in the village and later marched towards Chichama. He came through the villages of Gariphimi and Tophema, where there were 165 revenue-paying houses in the former and 193 in the latter village.

On 14th February, he marched to Kohima, a distance of about 21 miles. He counted Nerhema and Chichama villages on the way and found 187 in the former and 248 in the latter, also 22 houses in the small village of Nachama, which is an offspring of Chichama. Next day, Woods accompanied by Mr. Clancey, executive Engineer, marched to Cheswejuma. The stonework was ready for the Bridge across the Zullu River and in another month or it will be completed for the bridge across the Sijju River. Lime has discovered near the side of the Sijju Bridge, so Woods and Mr. Clancey inspected the place where the lime was found, and discovered that lime can be collected in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of Kohima.

On 27th February, he marched to Chajubama and found 144 revenue-paying houses. He also ordered Chajubama to supply 100 coolies for work on the cart road. Next day, he marched to Zogazumi, via Thevopetsimi, and found 113 revenue-paying houses. He settled some cases between Thevopetsimi and Satajumi. On arrival at Zagazumi, Woods met a havildar and four men who had been sent out for the Lozama guard to enquire into the case of the Lozama men who was missing and was supposed to have been murdered by Satajumi men. He decided to camp at Satajumi the next day and enquire into the case⁸⁰.

Tour made by Lieutenant Colonel H. St. P. Maxwell, for March 1895.

⁸⁰ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives from "A.A. HOWELL, Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills A.S.P.O. (judicial) No. 517-40-31-304 (No.10 of 1895)" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

Lieutenant Colonel H. St. P. MAXWELL, Political Agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State, on 3rd March, proceeded from Kairong to Makhan and to Khuzama. He selected a site for a goodown there with the sanction of the Chief Commissioner.

On 7th March, he halted at Kohima, with the Deputy Commissioner and examined several sites for the Manipur goodown. Later they selected a site next to Messrs. Dass & Co. He first saw Kohima in 1877, when Colonel Keatinge, Chief Commissioner, selected the spot for a station and again during the expedition of 1879-80. Next day they marched to Khuzama and back to Makhan on the 9th of March⁸¹.

Tour made by A.W. Davis for January and February 1897.

A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills made a tour during the month of January and February 1897. He started his tour on 9th January from Kohima to Kigwema and went to visit Jakhama. On 11th, they visited Viswema and returned to Kigwema the same day and back to Kohima on the next day.

Later on 10th February, they marched from Kohima to Satazuma, which is about 34 miles. Davis met Jamadar Tai Ram and an escort of 30 military police who had preceded him from Kohima. He inquired into a case of riot that occurred in the Sema Political Control area the previous month. The cause was a dispute of

⁸¹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 1006, dated Manipur, the 16th March 1895; Memo by H. St .P Maxwell, Lieutenant-Colonel, The 15th March 1895, Political agent in Manipur and Superintendent of the State, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. (Diaries Nos 1-2 of 1897)” 1st Edition Sl. No. 438.

land between Zimethu's village on the one hand and Shehepu's in the Tizu valley. Spears were used on both sides where Zimethu's party lost two and Shehepu's six. Zimethu's people, Davis think were wrong, as they tried to cultivate certain land, which has always been jhumed by Shehepu's people, and he decided to visit Shehepu's people. Next day he marched to Killonasa and on the way, he noticed that the Zulhama bungalow was almost finished, but he punished the village for giving trouble in supplying building materials. He also met the Sub overseer near Killonasa. The bungalow there was nearly completed. They plan to build the next bungalow at Satekha village. From Killonasa, they crossed the Tizu valley via Kuivi village.

On 12th, the party marched towards Rikezhu's village. Rikezhu was the son of Sakhai, whose raids on the small Angami villages in the Tizu valley were put to stop in 1887. Since then, he and his sons have always been loyal to the Government, and always brought in their disputes to Kohima, though their villages lie outside the Political Control area.

On 13th, they proceed towards Shehepu's village, which was burned by their own inhabitants and all the grain had been cleared away. The approaches to the village were heavily panjied, but not a soul was visible. He sent for the headman of Sotomi, a village close to Shehepu's who aided Shehepu's people during the recent riot, but the headman sent back a message to say he was ill. Representatives from Tokyehemi and Inato's village came in with presents of fowls who were asked to try to get in some of Shehepu's people, but were unsuccessful.

Next day, Davis took 20 men and the Jemadar, and went to Sotomi. He managed to get hold of the headman who returned with him to Shehepu's village. The headman later admitted that four cows belonging to Shehepu's people were in his village, so Davis ordered him to bring them over along with two pigs that were presented to Davis. On inquiry, he also found out that only one man of Sotomi had been engaged in the riot and he was killed. The Sotomi people were evidently apprehensive of punishment as they had cleared their houses of mats and dhan pounders etc. and only men were present in the village. On his return to Shehepu's, Ghukia, chief of a village within the Political Control area came to meet him. He informed Davis that Jumethu's people and their headman Goviku had left their village and cleared out their property. Goviku absolutely refused to come in. He was the person to blame for the riot and if he does not come in Davis said he will not be allowed to have a village.

Some of the following list of villages in the Tizu valley, beginning on the right bank at the point where the Tizu and Tita join and going up stream, which has never been surveyed are: Sakhai, Rikezhu, Kyeyu, Yemeshe, Kukiye, Shehepu, Sotomi, Hikeshe, Yesami, Phutimi, Yesami, Yehemi; and going down the left bank Satemi (3), Litsimi, Yekashe, Lhovishe, Tokyehemi, Tokyehemi, Phutimi, Inato and Lhoshiapu. These villages all belong to the Sema tribe, and contain in all from 1800 to 2000 houses.

Davis received altogether eight cows out of Shehepu's village as a fine. He later proceeded to Ghukia's village, which was one of the halting places on the Sema Political road, and he himself is one of the most influential Sema chiefs. On the way, Davis inspected the piece of land where the fight took place. It is admitted by all to belong to Shehepu, but was jhumed by Zimethu's people. He

also met the Zimethu's headman who was summoned three days prior to come in. However, failing to report the village was prepared for burning and accordingly the empty huts were burned. Davis also would not allow Shehepu's people to rebuild their village until their headman pays a fine of 25 cattle or Rs. 250. Kalhopu's people who assisted Shehepu's people in the riot were also told to pay a fine of 15 cattle or Rs. 150. Later he settled several land disputes and had a long talk with Ghukia, who wants Davis to allow his son to form a new village in place of Zimethu's village, which was allowed.

Davis along with the road Sub-overseer went to look for a site for a light suspension bridge over the Keleki River on the Sema Political road and found one. As the road was practically completed, Davis planned to return to Kohima next day, taking 10 of his escorts and sending the rest back via Lozema. He also tried one Lisumi man for the murder of a boy near Kukiapu's village, but released him for lack of evidence. He returned to Kohima via Killonasa and Cheswejuma.⁸²

On 17th March 1897, Davis also toured the Eastern Angami Political Control starting from Kohima to Satazuma, which is about 34 miles distance. He planned to visit the area via Viswema and the Kezhama group of villages, but news of a serious riot between Zagazuma and Satazuma made him come straight out to Satazuma. From there they plan to go to Khezami, Kyeku's village (Tizu valley) and Melomi by an unexplored route through Yetsami, returning from Melomi through the Southern portion of the Control area.

⁸² Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "*Tour made by A.W. Davis, A.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 577-40-27-3-97*" 1st Edition Sl. No. 433.

At Satazuma, a case between Satazuma and Zagazuma was brought to him where the Zagazuma were wrong so he fined them Rs.300. The dispute was about a deer, which was hunted by Satazuma and killed by Zagazuma. Two men from Temimi came in and asked for red cloths. Later Davis took them with him as they are of the same tribe as Yatsimi and speak the same language. He sent Sakha's son to call in the headman of Yatsimi to meet him at Sakhai's village. Thatchumi had a great reputation as a head-taking village and exacts tribute from its neighbour.

On 19th March, they marched to Metzalimi; the Zagazuma people brought their fines the same day. He later marched towards Khezakenomi and Davis have several land cases to settle in which the parties were Chipokitemi versus Terhephema.

In the Sohemi-Khuzami case, the Sohemi men took a solemn oath that the land south of the Tizu, a small affluent of the Tizu, had never been sold by them to Khuzami and accordingly confirmed the possession of it. The Khuzami people, who have been using the water of a stream passing through that land for some time, retained the right to use the water.

In the Chipokitemi-Khuzami case, a Chipokitemi man complained that Khuzami would not allow him to cultivate a piece of jhum land, which he had purchased for 6 annas from Kaku of Khuzami. However, as he had done nothing on the land and at the same time, his possession of it nullified the boundary laid down by Captain Woods, orders were given to refund the amount back.

In the case of Khezakenomi versus Terhephema, the Khuzakunomi people claimed the right to half of the water of a certain channel. The

Terhephema people denied the right and took a solemn oath that they had purchased the entire right to the water from Zagazuma many years ago.

The Chipokitemi-Terhephema case was complaint by Chipokitemi that a man of Terhephema had carried off a “zu” barrel, which the Chipokitemi had cut from the right bank of the Tizu. He ordered the Zu barrel to be returned to the right owner.

On 21st March, they marched to Sakhai’s village; Sakhai the old chief of the village was blind and does not exercise the influence he once did. Still he was able to settle a case that has confused Davis and to the satisfaction of both parties.

Next day, they marched to Kyeku’s village, but when Davis arrived, the village was already deserted though many men were still hanging about the outskirts, all armed with spear and shield. When Davis went there the previous month, he settled a dispute between Sakhai and Kyeku’s people as to the ownership of certain jhum land, where he favoured Sakhai’s people. Later when he was on his way to Kohima, he received information that Kyeku’s people had chased and severely wounded a woman of Sakhai’s son’s village, whom they had found working on the disputed land. They also assaulted and wounded an old man, and chased several women, including the headman’s wife, whose clothes they pulled off and went away with. For this Davis on his tour to the Northern Angami villages, decided to punish them for their disobedience of orders. The headman of Kyeku’s village sent a message that he would not come in if Davis halted there for a month. Thus, Davis sent out parties to find some of the village cattle’s so as to realize a fine, which was successful. On hearing, however, that some of the cattle had been taken to Sheveke’s village, about 3 miles from there,

Davis went there and got hold of a mithun and two cows, one of which proved to be the identical animal driven off from Sakhai's village by the Kyeku people a couple of months ago. The cattle's were worth Rs. 100 and this, together with the pigs already killed by the coolies, Davis thought was a sufficient punishment. In addition, as the people still refuse to come in, Davis got two more cows.

On 25th March, they went to Inato's village, which is situated on a fine site at an elevation of about 5,500 feet. Davis was well received by the headman, Nukui, a brother of Inato. Inato, who was a man of great influence, died about 5 years ago, but the village was still known by his name. He settled a land dispute between Nukui and the villages of Tokyehemi and Sotoyemi and ordered the two latter villagers not to interfere with the cultivation of the land by Inato's people as it was admitted by both sides that the land had previously been cultivated by both Inato and his father Kukishe.

The headman of Kyeku's village, Hikeye, sent a message through Kukia that he will pay the fine if their village is spared from being burned. A fine of Rs. 100 was ordered and Kukia and Ghukia were left to collect the money. They arrived with the money and Hikeye came with them, but could not muster courage and remained outside the village. Later Davis received news from Sakhai's people that Sakhai's son, Kohuai, had been assaulted by some man of Kyeku's and Jekye's villages on his way home and was severely wounded in the head. As witness, they produced two bloodstained lumps of cotton, which he had been wearing. However, in the absence of Kohuai himself, Davis could not judge how serious the matter was and decided to settle the matter some other time.

On 26th March 1897, they marched towards Yatsimi, which is situated on the Ao plain and has about 160 houses. These people belonged to the tribe called by the Semas as Yatsami and by the Angamis as Tekhuma. The tribe called themselves Isachanure and the Yatsami people called themselves Yamphere. The villages of these tribe are Kukyemi, Old Yatsami high up in the Tita valley and New Yatsami a couple of miles North of this, also Temimi, Primi, Phozami, Pachimi, Karami, and Chengami(5 hamlets) and two of the Sangtam group, East of Mokokchung and wear the same small black loin cloth.

Next day, he marched towards Chegami (Nazare), which is about 12 Miles from Yatsimi. The marched opened up some entirely new ground and Davis was able to locate roughly the following villages: Kisheture or Hurumi and the whole of the six villages of the Chengami group, i.e., Yantere, Nazare, Kitere, Langkure, Latsare, Kiteyare, also a new off-shoot from Yatsemi. The Chengaki valleys are different from other Nagas and their condition was also not good. On reaching Yantere, the party realised that they were being followed by a crowd of Tizu valley Semas, but a couple of shoots placed near them frightened them away.

On 28th March, they marched to Yatsimi, where news of the brutal murder of two Lozema traders at Ghovishe's village wherein requested Davis to go back to Yatsimi, from where he can reach Ghovishe's village in one march. The men who brought in the news of the murder brought in with them a prisoner, whom they asserted, was the actual murder of the two traders. On being questioned, he stated that Ejike, son of Ghovishe, and himself each killed one of the man, he (prisoner) being instigated by Ejike. The two men, one of whom, Mesalhu, was headman of the middle khel of Lozema, had gone from Inato's

village to Ghovishe's to barter beads for fowls. They were murdered that night as they lay asleep in Ghovishe's house. The prisoner said he killed Mesalhu by cutting him over the forehead and the Ejike speared Tuyi, the other man. However, on hearing the noise, Ghovishe came out of the inner part of the house and arrested him, letting his own son to escape and making the prisoner an escape goat, as the prisoner was from another village and practically a slave in the chief's house. As it was impossible to go on leaving the murder of two men of a revenue-paying village unpunished, Davis had to give up the Thetchumi expedition and return at once to Yatsimi and later from Ghovishe's village to Lozema.

Next day, the party marched towards Ghovishe's village, which is about 10 Miles. Davis along with a party of 20 men went round by the Yatsimi Bridge over the Tita to view the bodies of the murdered men, which had been brought down there and left by Ghovishe's men. Davis examined the corpses and said Mesalhu had a very severe cut over the left eye and temple, inflicted by a dao, it was instantaneously fatal, he also had a spear wound in the side, which shows that two men were probable concerned in murdering him. Tuyi's body had five spear-wounds in it, one over the heart, two in belly (the bowels were protruding) and two in the legs. To complete the ghastly appearance of the corpse the nose and chin had been gnawed off by rats.

After viewing the bodies, the party continued their march towards Ghovishe's village, but on reaching, they found the place deserted. Outside Ghovishe's house, stained with blood, was lying the dhan-pounder on which the two men were sleeping when they were murdered. From a statement made by the prisoner, it appears that the whole village decided to kill the two Lozima men

under the impression that they were Government dubashas who had lost their way. The men were well entertained by Ghovishe, given food and drink, and then deliberately murdered while asleep. But as no one from Ghovishe's village appeared so Davis before heading towards Litsimi, which is about 9 Miles, Davis burned Ghovishe's village and all his granaries (many of which had been emptied of grain) and also plan to visit the village again.

Litsimi (Sema village) had about 120 houses and was a prosperous village. The men were all in the village but the women had fled. Davis thought that there will be no difficulty about coolies the next day but as a precaution, he kept Hoshiapu's men with him. Hoshiapu himself has given assistance, both with rice's and coolies. The Satami gaonburas came and want Davis to stop Serami from fighting with them to which Davis promised to do what he can. Both villages are outside the Political Control area, but Serami has been often visited and will obey any order that maybe given to them⁸³.

**TOUR MADE BY CAPTAIN A.E. WOODS FOR MAY 1898 –
DECEMBER 1899:**

**1 Tour Diary of Captain A. E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner of Naga
Hills for the month of May 1898**

On 21st May 1898, Captain A. E. Woods, then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills made a tour from Kohima to Jakhama, 10 miles. He inspected the

⁸³ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 276 Foreign /108-10 P, dated Shillong May 1897, Tour made by A.W. Davis, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 60-40-13.5.97" 1st Edition Sl. No 433.

village of Kigwema and allowed the two khels to re-occupy their old sites but warned them that any misconduct in the future would lead to their being turn off their sites forever.

On 23rd May, he marched towards Khuzama and looked for a site beyond Khuzama for Cholera camps, in case the disease reach there and also plan to sent out the Assistant Surgeon to stay at Khuzama for a time and station two Civil Constables who would be able to assist him. They stopped at Visewema on the way back, as the Assistant Commissioner had a case there. Woods sent to call in some men of Migwema (Manipur village), who have a case against Kidima. Next day, he halted at Jakhama where three men with unlicensed guns in Kigwema were summoned to produce the guns in Kohima. The Kidima turned up for the previous day case file but not the Megwema people. Thus, on 25th May, he returned back to Kohima, which is about 10 miles⁸⁴.

2 Diary of the A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of February 1899

A.E. Woods, made another tour throughout the Political area in the year 1899. He started his tour on 15th February, from Kohima to Zubza, a distance of about 11 miles. He met Mr. Bagshawe, Assistant Superintendent of Telegraphs, on his way to Kohima.

Next day, he marched towards Piphima and inspected the progress of the building Guard walls along the road. Between Piphima and Zubza the road was bad. He also posted a Civil Police guard of three men in the village, as the cart

⁸⁴ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 351 Foreign/ 2431-39 P, dated Shillong, 24th June 1898; A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 123-30-24-6-98; Copy forwarded to A.E. Woods, Captain,

men had a habit of leaving their dying bullocks on that road, where the Government has to bear the expense of burying them. Therefore, Davis issued strict orders to the police to look out and get the owners. On 17th they proceeded towards Zumha, 9 ½ miles.

Later on 18th, the party proceeded to Nichuguard, where a good numbers of men were working on the Kuki Bridge (Pathans, Punjabis, Muhammadans, and Kashmiris, as well as local men). He received a report that Tesephima trader had been at Nichuguard against the orders, so Woods decided to inquire the case on his way back to Kohima through the Sema country.

On 20th, the party marched to Dimapur where he inspected the fort and station and returned back to Nichuguard, accompanied by Mr Clancey, Executive Engineer. They also met Mr. Stiffle, a railway contractor, from Bokajan at the inspection bungalow, who said, there was a chance of the line being up to Dimapur that working season.

On 22nd, the party marched to Sitekima and later marched to Chepama (Sepharia). Nagas of these villages also go down to work on the railway, but don't make much money out of it and sometimes none. From there they moved towards Viphoma, where a number of old women requested Woods to let them off revenue, so he granted most of the request.

On 25th February, the party marched to Phikekrima, about 9 miles. All the villages on this side are small and they only keep the inter-village paths open. The Assistant Commissioner sent out the statement of a man who reported that

Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hill for record in the office, By order & c., for Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

his brother, a resident of Chekrema, was beaten by another man and died two days after the beating. Next day, Woods reached Chekrema and enquired into the Chekrema case. It appeared that two men of this village about 12 days ago had a quarrel about some land. Thapa is the name of one name and Kesukre was the other. Thapa, who was an elderly man, got excited and gave Kesukre, a shove. Kesukre fell over a log fence, but apparently had only a slight fall. The quarrel finish there and both men returned to their village. The next day Kesukre went to his fields to work as usual, but he became ill and had to return back. He eat nothing and complained of pains in his side and his left shoulder. On the fourth day, he died. Kesukre had met with an accident some years ago and in consequence was lame, but he had no illness of late and with the exception of the fall, it is hard to account for his dead. Therefore, Woods sent for the Assistant Surgeon to come and post-mortem the body. Some people of Keruma made the parties swear and settled the case, but Woods said he will settle the case on his return to Kohima.

On 27th, they marched to new Moilang (Lotha village), an offspring of Moilang, with 12 houses. Woods have forbidden the splitting up of villages before as, it causes revenue and coolies trouble. Next day, he marched to Moilang, which is a distance of about 6 miles⁸⁵.

3 Tour Diary of the A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of April 1899

⁸⁵ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 2306G dated Kohima, the 20th March 1899, Camo Sanigaon; The 2nd March 1899 Memo. By A.E. Woods, Captain, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O (Judicial) No.3-50-20-4-99” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

He made another tour on 17th April 1899 and started from Kohima to Khonoma, a distance of about 11 miles. The bridle path to Khonoma was bad. There was a big fire at Khonoma, few days ago where 196 houses were completely burned. It occurred when all the people were out in their fields and little or no property could be saved. They were living in temporary shelters and majority have had to take refuge with others. The headman came and requested to help them in their distress, so Woods gave them Rs. 2 for each house that were burned which will enable them to get some thatching-grass as Khonoma had no thatching-grass. Woods also excused Khonoma from all coolie work for the next 6 months. Later he inspected the fort and found everything in good order. One Khel of Kohima and some five or six other villages also suffered heavily and have up to date lost some 1,200 head of cattle caused by a disease.

On 18th, he marched to Paona and to Lakema. Nakama, a Kacha-Naga village, supplied coolies for Woods. The headman of the village of Ridima complained that they were getting more than their fair share of coolie work. Woods' original order was that Lakema was to supply when over 5 coolies were wanted and that Ridima was to supply when 5 or under were wanted. On enquiring he found that Lakema have been making Ridima supplies steadily, so, as a punishment, he ordered Ridima to be excused all coolie work for 6 months.

On 20th, they moved to Josama, about 19 miles. As the Zalukema coolies had to come in some three or four miles, so he changed coolies at Berrima. The Kukis came and met Woods on the road to pay their respects. He ordered them all to come to Henima. Jossama were doing their dhan-sowing genna, so they could not supply any rations. The jossama people have the usual complaints about

Kukis squatting on their land and cultivating the best places without leave or license.

On 21st, the party marched to Henima. A Kuki village (Silim) supplied the coolies for Woods. Some Manipuri Kacha-Nagas complained that the Kuki Ningthon had driven them out of their village and had seized all their property, so they have to come to settle down in Sarrama. Woods advised them to go to Manipur and lay their complaint but they said it was no use, as the Manipuri guards would never let them see the “sahib” without payment and they had no money. He reached Henima in the afternoon. Subedar Arjun Rai, a trustworthy officer, was in command of the outpost. Woods planned to halt there for some few days to get in the headmen of all the Kuki villages. He inspected the fort, Military Police lines, Hospital, etc, and found everything in good order. The headmen of most of the Kuki villages came and Woods gave them final orders with regard to forming large villages. He gave them a time till November to make villages of not less than 40 house, and if by the end there are any small villages, they will be destroyed. It appears that Kukis are very reluctant to go to any village where there is Kuki raja. The Kuki rajas make them pay revenue, as well as take commission on everything they sell e.g. Rs. 1 for mithun and Rs. 4 for pig, which was their custom from time immemorial.

Woods selected Henima to be a very good site for a guard except for the water supply in the cold weather was bad. By 30th April, Woods returned to Kohima via Josama, Lakema, and Paona⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ *Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 276G dated Kohima, 8th May 1899; Memo. By, A.E. Woods, Captain, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O (judicial) No 76-50-23-5-99” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.*

4 Diary of Captain A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of June 1899

On 16th June 1899, Woods made another tour from Kohima to Nerhema, via the Military Police Rifle range, about 11 or 12 miles. He rode to the rifle range and from there walked to Nerhema. He disposed off some cases and marched to Themokidima. On 18th he marched to Lozema and inspected the Military Police Guard (consisting of one Jemadar and 25 rifles), the fort, and barracks, married lines, and found everything in good order. He also disposed off some cases. One case of mushroom poisoning was reported there. Some Nagas gathered some mushrooms from the trunk of a tree and thinking they were of the edible kind, cooked them and shared their food with some other people who were working with them. Altogether 7 people ate the mushrooms and all became very ill the next day, vomiting. Three dead and the remaining were serious. Their people came and asked for medicine but Woods not having much knowledge about the treatment for mushroom poisoning could not do much.

On the 20th, he marched to Themokidima and inspected the village school, and found 8 boys attending and attendance were said to be very poor. The village was a large one of about 300 houses but the Nagas during those days don't appreciate education and they consider that their boys are far better employed in the fields than at school. From Themokidima, he marched to Kotesema, a distance of about 8 miles. The Kotesema people complained that they had to go down to work for the Public Work Department at the Doyang Bridge in May and that out of 65 men who went down, 64 became ill. Woods decided to issue orders stopping all impressed labour at the end of April. He also decided the Hospital

Assistant from Wokha to attend and report on the number of sick. Later he disposed off a case between Kotesema and Insuma about jhum land.

On 22nd, they marched to Wokha and ordered the Hospital Assistant to go out to Kotesema. He also inspected the fort, magazine, barracks and married lines and found all in good orders. A havildar and 8 rifles is the strength of the Wokha outpost.

On 24th, the party marched to Yekam and later moved to the Doyang Bridge, which was nearly completed. A suspension bridge was erected on the same site before, but during the rainy season, the river rose so high that it topped the bridge and carried it away. Therefore, they have risen some seven feet above the level of the former one. They returned to Wokha in the afternoon. The Hospital Assistant had returned from Kotesema and reported that 67 people were ill in the village with fever, dysentery, and diarrhoea. Therefore, Woods ordered the Hospital Assistant to give them plenty of medicine. Davis said the hospital at Wokha need repairment and in fact, a decent building was required.

On 26th, they marched to Kotesema, where he met Major Leonard, Commandant and Captain Wilson, 44th Gurkhas, on his way. The former was on inspection duty and the latter was going on three months privilege leave via Wokha. He excused the Kotesema village from all coolie work for six months due to bad road. From there, he marched to Themokidima. The headmen reported that diseases had appeared amongst their cattle and as they have about 1000 head of cattle in the village, Woods advice them to drive out all their cattle in the jungle

but doubted whether they will heed his advice. Kohima did the same for which only one khel suffered. He returned to Kohima via Chichama and Tissama⁸⁷.

5 Diary of Captain A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of July 1899

On 24th July 1899, Captain A.E. Woods, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, made another tour. He started from Kohima and reached Nerhema, a distance of about 17 miles. He planned to go to Mokokchung, then to Tamlu and return by the Sema political road. Next day he marched to Themokidima, there he met Major Leonard, Commandant at Themokidima and they travelled together to Tamlu.

On 26th July 1899, they moved to Kotesema and on reaching he was informed that the Wokha Hospital Assistant had visited them only once. They said out of 67 people, who were ill, 12 have died. Therefore, Woods decided call the Hospital Assistant for the explanation once he reached Wokha. Next day, he marched to Wokha and called the Hospital Assistant for an explanation for disobeying the order of not visiting the village again. He had no defence to make, so Woods decided to send the case up for the orders of the Principal Medical Officer and Sanitary Commissioner.

Woods also ordered hundred of pine trees from Kohima, which was to be planted at Wokha station. On account of the frequent delays in paying coolies for work done there, Woods issued orders that no labour will be supplied to the

⁸⁷ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 655G, dated, Kohima, the 11th July 1899; Memo. By A.E. Woods, Captain, The 1st July 1899, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 200-50-1-8-99” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

various departments unless the coolie's wages were deposited. On 29th, he left for Koio and later marched from Nangtang to Nankam.⁸⁸

6 Diary of Captain A.E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, from the 28th to the 30th September 1899

On 28th September 1899, he marched from Kohima to Zubza, about 11 miles. He rode down to Zubza or Lezha, (Lezha" in Angami means "big field"), and inspected the Civil Police guard and found it in good order. He also planned to start small gardens at each post. Later he renumbered all the guns belonging to the villages of Jotsoma, Khonoma, Keruphima, and Sachema⁸⁹.

7 Diary of Captain A. E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of October 1899

On 1st October 1899, he marched from Zubza to Kohima. He verified the treasury on arrival and signed the account. On 3rd, he headed for Jakhama where he disposed some cases and renumbered all the guns of the surrounding villages. On 6th, he marched to Mao Thana and inspected the Viswema outpost and found

⁸⁸ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 819G., dated Kohima, the 14th August 1899; Camp Mokokchung, The 2nd August 1899; Memo. By A.E. Woods, Captain, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O. (Judicial.) No 254-50-5-9-99" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

⁸⁹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "No. 1199G dated Kohima, the 9th October 1899 Camp Mao, The 7th October 1899; Memo by A.E. Woods, Captain Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No 368-50-31-10-99" 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

it all correct. On 24th October, he went to Jakhama where he met Mr. Clancey, Executive Engineer. He ended his tour and headed back towards Kohima⁹⁰.

8 Diary of Captain A. E. Woods, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima, for the month of November and December 1899

On 11th November 1899, he marched from Kohima to Zubza (11 miles) and to Piphima, and inspected the Zubza guard and found all correct. He said the road between Zubza and Piphima was worse than the road between Kohima and Zubza; eventually he wanted to notify the sanction of the Government for metalling the road between Dimapur and Kohima.

On 13th, he marched to Zubza and renumbered the guns of Mejiphima and Pherima villages. Work had begun on the Kuki Bridge and the Executive Engineer expects to get complete it the same year. He headed from Nichuguard to Dimapur, about 9 miles, and returned back the next day. He marched back to Kohima with the Inspector General of the police and headed for Sakhabama, on 30th November. The village is a small one, with 17 revenue-paying houses.⁹¹

On 2nd December, he marched to Cheswejuma and renumbered the houses for house-tax. He found a considerable decrease in the total number of house as well as an increase in the number of house on which house-tax was

⁹⁰ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 1348G., dated Kohima, the 13th November 1899; Tour made by A.E. Woods, Captain, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; Memo by The Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O (Judicial) No 437-40-1-12-99” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

⁹¹ Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 1451G dated Kohima, the 4th December 1899; Camp Sakhabama, 1st December 1899; Memo. by A.E. Woods, Captain, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O (Judicial) No 478-50-18-12-99” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.

remitted. There were a number of old men and old women with no property or work, so they were excused of house-tax. He also renumbered the guns of the village and the surrounding villages. Later he marched towards Chipfozuma and on the way he visited the village of Khulazuma, and settled some disputes. Khulazuma is said to have taken its name from a tree, which the Nagas called 'Khula'. The Chifozuma is suspected to be involved in the murder, which took place at the 'Sijju River' some four, or five years back but Woods could not do anything, as it was too late, instead he stopped their gun licenses.

He further headed towards Sijju River and camped on the bank of the river as he had to settle a land case between the villages of Thenejuma and Kezoma. The land in dispute was situated not far from there, so he decided to take the case up on his march back to Kohima. On the 7th, both the parties appeared in the morning and took Woods to the land in dispute, which was situated, on the hillside sloping down to the Sijju River. Thenejuma claimed the whole of one spur, on the ground that Mr. McCabe had given it to them years ago, when they brought a claim against Sakhabama. Mr. McCabe, according to his diary did give them the spur, but it was through a misunderstanding. In the case of Mr. McCabe, Thenejuma claimed altogether seven spurs and Kezoma was not present at the time, so there was no one to raise any objection when Mr. McCabe allowed Thenejuma to take the spur. Mr. McCabe was under the impression that the land originally belong to Thenejuma. The Thenejuma people at the same time did not inform Mr. McCabe that they had no claim to the land and that it belonged to Kezoma. It is only that year when they commenced to cut the jungle for their "jhum fields". Therefore, Woods made a boundary between them as it was admitted by both the sides that Thenejuma had a small piece of the

spur. He also ordered Thenejuma men, who have cleared the jungle, to pay rents for the fields, which they have cultivated. Later he headed for Kohima, which was a distance of about 16 miles. The Lieutenant General and staff arrived in Kohima on the 8th and left for Manipur on the 11th. Sir George Luck who stayed at Kohima for few days was very pleased with his stay.

On 16th, he marched from Kohima to Khonoma, a distance of 11 miles. A new rest house was build at Khonoma. He headed for Kenoma, which is the largest Kacha Naga village in the district with 237 houses. He also renumbered the guns and renewed their licenses.

On 19th, he marched towards Nakama and renumbered the village for house-tax and found a slight increase in the number of houses. Next day, he went to Chama, which is a small village with 26 houses. He sent some of his men to Raluma for 13 coolies for the next day march, as Chama village would not be able to provide more than 13 altogether and Woods needed 26 coolies.

On 21st December, he reached Lakema, and renumbered the small village of Ridima on his way and that of Lakema village. Later he proceeded towards Berrima and renumbered the houses. He also let off revenue in many cases as there were many old people in the village.

On 23rd December, he headed for Phiuma and renumbered the village. At Tapama, there were some 17 Kuki houses close to the village. Woods allowed them to remain there as they used to supply rice and coolies along with Tapama, Infact Woods have numbered them with Tapama, as one village. Tapama's village was burned the previous year right after they paid their revenue, so Woods let them off revenue for that year.

On 25th December, they camped at Tasangki River and later moved the camp on the Barak River. They marched to Injo, and on his way, he renumbered Dupema for house tax. Injo is a Kacha Naga village with a big Kuki village, named Chongjang alongside of it.

On 28th, they marched to Intuma and then back to Henima, about 12 miles. Woods decided to go to Henima by himself, as the march was a short one. He visited a Kacha Naga village (Intuma) on the way and numbered them for house-tax. He also passed through the Kuki villages of Bulnoi and Tilpi and reached Henima by evening. He inspected the fort, Hospital lines, etc, and found everything in good order. Woods also inspected the school. There were 8 Kuki boys in attendance. The Kacha Nagas do not prefer to send their boys to school. He also heard a number of cases, mostly amongst Kukis. He re-numbered the guns and later found out that the Kukis have a small extent purchase powder, on their licenses, which means that they get powder, elsewhere. Woods warned them that if they have not purchased powder the coming year, their guns would be confiscated. They informed Woods that the powder were made in a village called 'Dulen' in Manipur territory, which he planned to report it to the Political Agent of Manipur.

On 30th, they marched to Likot (Kuki village), which has 40 houses. Many years ago, there was a Naga village called Shamsha near this, but they were forced to scatter because of the frequent raiding of the Khonoma Nagas. Before the Khonoma expedition, Khonoma used to hold sway over nearly all this country and many small Kacha Naga villages had to move. Those who remained called in the Kukis to their aid from Manipur. The Kukis were given the best land. However, after Khonoma expedition, the Kacha Nagas no longer need protection

and they demanded their land back from the Kukis. Woods thinks that for past services rendered, the Kukis can have some claim to the land.

On 31st December 1899, they marched to Injaona (Kacha Naga village), which is situated on one of the spurs of the Hengdan hill. The village is marked as ‘Ngula or Gulua’ on the map. Woods counted and numbered the village for revenue⁹².

In this tour Woods visited the villages and inspected their post guard and forts. He also counted the number of houses for house-tax and the number of guns in possession of every village. Woods also tried to settle land disputes, petty quarrels amongst different villages. It may be noted that, the British rule had Infact covered the entire spectrum of the political, social or economic aspects in the Naga Hills. There primary object being to maintain peace and order in the administered areas as well as to check and counter the evils and atrocities that were happening in the Naga Hills. Taking into account the enormity of the time, no superior authority could have ventured to take such drastic steps to civilize this country.

⁹² Record and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, “No. 1663G dated Kohima the 15th January 1900; Memo by A.E. Woods Captain, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner of Assam A.S.P.O. (Judicial) No. 551-50-8-2-1900” 1st Edition Sl. No. 434.



Kohima town during the British era: Kohima village



Mokokchung Town: Lungwa village.



Konyak

Village: Khonoma village.



Medziphema village: ToupHEMA village.



Mon

town: Manyakshu Village.

CHAPTER III

STATE OF AFFAIRS FROM 1910-1933

Introduction:

After the incorporation of the British controlled areas in the Naga Hills, there were questions on how to maintain their policies towards the un-administered areas around the vicinity or the interior part of the Naga Hills. J.W. Webster, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam was concern of this issue and he forwarded as to whether the Government of India should check the perpetration of barbarities by the inhabitant of villages that lie across the Eastern Frontier of the Naga Hills District. The feuds and practice of headhunting had resulted in a loss of large number of lives under very cruel circumstances almost within the sight of the Frontier Posts. The Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills and the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung had notified the Government of India the deplorable conditions that were prevailing in the Trans-Frontier villages with which they have close communication. There was fear that reprisals will be made upon a village which lay in the path of the raiding party failing to block its passage. Many villages have appealed to the Sub Divisional Officer of Mokokchung for protection, but he was powerless to interfere. The Officers believe that the Government of India should

agree in the view of intervention to prevent the atrocities, if it does not add materially to the responsibility of the British Government⁹³.

TRANS-FRONTIER VILLAGES IN THE NAGA HILLS:

The history of the Naga Hills Frontier was briefly recapitulated in Mr. Monahan's letter number 517F or -5295P. Of 23rd November 1903, with which were submitted proposals for extending the area of the district. These proposals were approved by the Secretary, Government of India in letter number 291E.B. dated 26th January 1904 and the Lieutenant Governor of India. The villages, which have been annexed, made no word of protest. In March 1904, a large number of Sema chiefs met Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Chief Commissioner at Mokokchung, who showed the most friendly feelings and again, on the occasion of his visit to Kohima about 300 Sema chiefs came in to interview him, belonging not only to villages which had been annexed but to villages which lie across the new frontier. The Deputy Commissioner and the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung have always been exceedingly received in their tours through the annexed territory.

By 1890 raiding in the Trans-Dikhu and Trans-Tizu villages stopped owing to Government authority which has extended some distance over these tracts. Two Deputy Commissioners (Mr. Davis and Mr. Porteous) were strongly in favour of the establishment of a Trans-Frontier belt of 'Political Control' which was mentioned in the Government of India's letter No. 246E of 3rd February

⁹³ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "*From-J.E. Webster, ESQ., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Judicial Department, To-the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department Shillong, the 7th June 1906(Political department)*" 1st Edition, Published by (Directorate of Art and Culture (Archives Branch), Government of Nagaland 2007), Sl. No. 109.

1886, wherein in dealing with the Ao or Hathigoria villages of Mokokchung and with the majority of the Sema villages which lie on the side of the Tizu⁹⁴.

With regards to the extension of the authority of Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills district. The Lieutenant Governor advocated no considerable change of policy about establishing an area of 'political control' along and beyond the Eastern frontier of the district. He has little faith in casual 'promenades', or in isolated punitive expeditions and he believes that nothing short of a direct declaration of continuous intervention will put an end to the raiding of one village upon another. Questions were raised as to why the Lieutenant Governor in India would depart the policy of expansion outside the boundary of 'political control'. In short, the Naga country was not well known and the existing maps not being reliable. Moreover it was planned that, the area over which they have influence were defined by lists of villages not by geographical features. Beginning with the Southern extremity of the political control their intervention has reached the three villages of Melomi, Lepvomi and Primi, which were annexed under the orders of 1903. Two of these villages were underlined in Mr. Monahan's letter No.517F or -5295P OF 23rd November 1903, one as lying rather too far afield for annexation and the other as able to take care of itself. All these villages were far more anxious for protection but the Lieutenant Governor still hesitates to take them under.

Going northward, the area of British control included the Sema villages lying beyond the Tizu and Tita valley. The un-administered Semas have very

⁹⁴ Ibid.,109 "*Sir Bampfylde Fuller ventures to think that, the time has now come when the British Government may reasonably extend the sphere of its intervention in the interest of humanity. That their frontier policy on the Naga hills frontier would not improbably be one of gradual expansion as*

intimate connection with the Sema villages of political control (annexed in 1904). Further North, their control extends over the villages lying between the Dikhu and Yangnu rivers, which belong to or are already connected with the Mozang tribe, touching the Sibsagar district of British province in Assam. The villages, which lie across the Dikhu near the Sibsagar border (the principal of which is Tablung), have close connections with the plains and can be controlled much more easily from the Naga Hills subdivision of Mokokchung than from Sibsagar. The effectiveness of Trans-frontier policies depends in great measure upon communication, which also burdened the Government in its budget.

Sir J.B. Fuller believes that the great majority of the villages will accept willingly the supremacy of the British as it will bring material advantage to them. The British do not intend to interfere in petty quarrels but it would be the policy to repress raiding within the area of control and to protect villages within this area from being raided by those on the further side of them. The experience of the past has shown them, the protection of the British Government, once formally asserted, is respected by the tribe's men and with the exception of the attack on Mongsemdi (in the Ao country) which occurred in 1888, the former area of political control remained practically immune from outside aggression. The extension of influence also does not involve the force of Military Police nor increase the expenditure of Government, as taxation were accepted in return for protection and better life⁹⁵.

recognized by sir Dennis Fitzpatrick in 1888, but they cannot waste time listening to tales of barbarous murders, committed by men with whom British subjects are in close communication".

⁹⁵ Ibid.,109.

The following are some of the outrages noted by W.J. Reid Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills (1900 - 1907) and forwarded to the Secretary Chief Commissioner of Assam.

- (a) In January 1902, a land dispute between Lhoshiapu and Inato's village led to a fight in which five men on one side and three on the other were killed. Both villages are independent, situated between the Tizu and the Tita.
- (b) In 1902, the Trans-Dikhu village of Alisibo was raided and burned by a party from Tatai-Ungbong, and took fifteen heads. This was included in Mr. Williamson's report, total of thirty-six heads. Alisibo was burned again in March 1903, on which occasion Mr. Davis was at Mokokchung and saw the village on flames.
- (c) About November 1902, a boy of Kivekhu's, who had taken service with one Lago of Kuzkunuma, was accused by his master of theft and was, put to death. Both villages were then independent, but have since been incorporated in British territory.
- (d) On December 1902, some men of Khukia's and Inato's village found a man of Yatsimi fishing in the river and took his head. Khukia's village have since been annexed, but the other two were independent.
- (e) In January 1903, two men of Sevikhe's village and two of Lhoshiapu's village killed a man and a woman at Yatsimi. As Sevikhe's was a village inside the control area, the surrender of the two murderers was compelled and they were tried judicially and punished.
- (f) In February 1903, two men of Mongsendi while returning from the plains were attacked, severely wounded and robbed by men of Kongan. As this happened in

the West bank of the Diku, the Sub-divisional Officer was authorised to visit Kongan with an escort. He did and fined Kongan, Jaktung, and Tablung Rs. 100 each. These three villages lie along the Sibsagar frontier.

- (g) In March 1903, the chief of Kamahu came into Mokokchung in obedience to the summons of the Sub-Divisional Officer to report about some guns. On his way back he was waylaid and killed by men of Orangkong, although they were aware of the duty on which he had gone to Mokokchung, no punishment was inflicted on Orangkong. In April 1903, Sohemi raided new Nahatomi and took one head later both the villages were annexed.
- (h) In July 1903, Sotoyemi started to raid Yezashami, but were stopped by the headman of Inato's village. Yezashami then prepared to attack Sotoyemi, Yezami and Lochumi, but first asked the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung if they might do so. Mr. Williamson told Yezashami to wait and they obeyed his orders. The three villages who were threatened have since been annexed.
- (i) In November 1903, two men of the Ao village of Salunamang were murdered near Noksen, a Trans-Dikhu village. About the same time, some men from the Chnagpu khel of Mozungjami drove off three Mithuns from Longmisa land. These events led to the punitive expeditions against Mozungjami in January 1905.
- (j) In February 1904, the Aishan Kukis and Melomi raided and burn the independent village of Jatsami and took 13 heads.
- (k) In September 1905, three men of Aichisagami, a Sema village recently annexed, went to Yachumi to trade. They were attacked and one man was killed on the spot. One escaped by flight and the third owed his life to the intervention of one

of the headmen of Yachumi who also did not allow the body of the murdered man to be mutilated. The village of Yachumi formerly paid tribute to the Sema confederacy to which Seromi, Yahim and Aichisagami belonged and this payment ceased only when these three villages were incorporated in British territory.

- (1) In September 1905, a party from the Trans-Dikhu villages of Litam and Laksu went to Char and killed Changliba, one of the headmen of Char. They returned with all speed by the Longmisa path, carrying the head of Changliba. The Longmisa men turned out but only succeeded in arresting one Litam youth who was kept under detention at Mokokchung. Longmisa is an Ao village on the Dikhu and both Litam and Char had been warned that they must not cross British Territory in Pursuance of their feuds⁹⁶.

Trans-frontier Nagas also raided the administered areas, which also involves matters of disputes, headhunting and massacres within and outside the areas. To settle the issue, Lord Cranbrook, who was the Secretary of State in 1878 said, “the continuance in the immediate proximity of settled districts of a system of internecine warfare conducted principally against women and children cannot be tolerated”⁹⁷. At the same time, the relations of Trans-frontier villages among themselves were very bad, with each at feud and everyone seems to be either undergoing or taking part in raids. Every raid means loss of life and in the Kamahu case a village is attacked by a combined force strong enough to expel the

⁹⁶ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, “*File No.1057 G. dated Kohima, the 27th September 1905. From-W.J Reid, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills to the Secretary, To-the Chief Commissioner of Assam*” 1st Edition, Sl. No. 109.

⁹⁷ Sir Robert Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, Reprinted by (Eastern Publishing House Delhi 1983), 101.

inhabitants. Even professed friends join in it and the majority of the victims are women and little children. As is well known, the Naga warriors regard neither sex nor age. These atrocities happened within sight of British administered areas almost before the eyes of the District officers. At the same time, a village, which does not raid, were marked as one from which heads can safely be taken and have to suffer accordingly so that undoubtedly self-defence is frequently one motive in what appears as mere barbarity and lust of slaughter⁹⁸.

It was admitted that this state of affairs is deplorable and the two questions, which next arise, were whether it can any longer be tolerated and if not what remedy should be taken. Another point of view was the effect on the people of the district. As has been pointed out, the powerful Sema communities along the upper waters of the Tizu had nothing to gain by being annexed. They were strong enough to take care of themselves, to compel the payment of tribute from there weaker neighbours and to protect those who pay them tribute. During the eighteen months since they came under the British subjects, one village that was formerly under their protection has been raided and another that used to pay them tribute has killed one of their traders. However, they have refrained themselves from taking vengeance which was the proof of the weight, which direct orders carry in the hills.

The Tizu was only a mere geographical boundary between the administered and the un-administered areas that have close relations. Therefore, the British cannot expect to civilise the administered Semas, while their brothers across the river freely indulge themselves in savagery. Mission works among the

⁹⁸ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "*File No.1057 G. dated Kohima, the 27th September 1905. From-W.J Ried, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills to the Secretary, To-the Chief*

Aos has been carried on longer with more results than among any other tribe in the district. The number of schools was considerably increased shortly. Nevertheless still a certain village was shamed because the coolies who went with the British to Mozungjami had returned without any heads. W.J. Reid stated that as long as the Aos see and know what is happening across the Dikhu, they cannot hope to civilise them.

Back in 1884, Mr. McCabe, the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills (1881 - 1894) also commented that, if the Government desire honestly to civilise the tribes in the frontier, the only way was to gradually advance the out posts and bring the people into direct communication with Kohima. Again on 3rd August 1903, he said, "As a result of the Mozung expedition (1889) and Mr. Porteous subsequent tours to Trans-Dikhu villages, North of the Mozung area, the exposed frontier line of the subdivision was made safe, and intertribal warfare among the villages immediately across the border practically ceased". Mr. Davis the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills in his letter No. 584- G., dated the 6th July 1907 said "we shall have no real peace until we have absorbed the whole Hill area between this and the Chindwin"⁹⁹.

This state of affairs, Mr. Davis points out, lasted until 1892, when the trans-frontier villages, being unable to understand the non-interference policy began to show signs of unrest. That year he was allowed to make a tour through the villages across the Dikhu, as a preliminary to a formal extension of the political control system. The orders of Mr. Davis that inter-village raiding should cease were listened to and for some considerable time obeyed. However, after

Commissioner of Assam" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 109.

⁹⁹ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 139.

Mr. Davis left the Naga Hills, the idea of extending the political control system was dropped. "Promenades" across the frontier were continued until 1900, but the only object was to show themselves to the independent neighbours and prevent molesting their subjects. Reid for this reasons, requested to revive the system of promenades and supported his view by saying that there would be no opposition from the independent villages because its uselessness is known. He said that, if these promenades are taken, it would practically, if not entirely, put a stop to those offences against the lives and property of the British subjects which occasionally happen and this can be done by the prohibition of raiding, a prohibition which could easily be enforced. Reid commented to begin this from the nearest and most accessible villages, which would be told that they must not raid and in return give Government protection from them being raided. This measure would save hundreds of lives in a year, gradually pushing off from the settled territory to the independent tracts beyond, as against a rigid boundary on one side of which law and order reign while on the other every sort of barbarity carried out go unchecked.

Reid concluded by saying that, if they refused to concern themselves with what goes on across the frontier except to inflict punishment for acts of aggression, they have to face the necessity of occasional punitive expedition and look on while wholesale murders are done. At the same time, they cannot hope permanently to civilise their subjects so long as they see this and envy the liberty of the murders instead of sympathising with the victims. Therefore, to avoid all these barbarities he encouraged the idea of promenades among the un-administered areas, if possible annexation and supported his views by saying that

no additional expense would be required and requested the Government to consider his writings¹⁰⁰.

In the beginning of 1903 raids that have been brought to Government notice were:

- (a) 1902 and 1903, Trans-Dikhu Raids: Raids between Alisupo and Trans-Dikhu villages close to Mokokchung wherein 36 heads were reported to have taken. (File no.15G., dated the 11th April 1903); and raid between Char and Litam (Mokokchung wherein 22 heads all together were reported to have taken (File No. 293G. dated the 27th August 1903.
- (b) Trans-Tizu Raids 1904: Ghovishe's village raided on new Yatsimi wherein 63 heads were taken (File No.54G., dated the 2nd May 1905), Hoshipu's village raided on Lomitami wherein 17 heads were taken; Ghovishi's village raided on a Trans-Tita village wherein 7 heads were reported to have taken, Letsemi's village raided on Moromi wherein 4 heads were reported to have taken; and Nikwi's village raided on Twei-li wherein 17 heads were reported to have taken.
- (c) Trans-Dikhu 1904: Raided by Mazungjami village on Mangaki's wherein 10 heads were reported to have taken.
- (d) Trans-Tizu: Letsemi raid on Posoki's wherein 11 heads were taken. (File No.11G., dated the 3rd April 1905), and Ghovishe's village raided on Ysangami wherein 22 heads were taken (File No. 197G., dated the 30th June 1905 and 6th July 1905)

¹⁰⁰ Op.cid., 109.

(e) Trans-Dikhu: Raid by Tablung and Yajami village on Kamahu village wherein 197 heads were reported to have taken, and Raid by Yajim (File No.71G., dated Camp Tamlu, 25th April 1905) wherein 59 heads were supposed to have taken by this village.

This Annual Reports was submitted by Williamson Sub Divisional Officer of Mokokchung and stated that all these raids were committed 30 miles in length from the Sub-Division and this could have been prevented without any increase to the Military Police Battalion and without the expenditure of a single extra rupee had the Government listen to the advice of the Deputy Commissioner and the Sub-Divisional Officer¹⁰¹.

Towards the subsequent years, a Military expedition was undertaken under J. E Webster, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills (1912 – 1913), who made a tour throughout the Trans-Dikhu and wrote in his diaries the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of these villages. The annexed Trans-Dikhu was bounded on the West by the Dikhu River, on the South by the Yangnyu and Auyang rivers, on the East by the Shiniong and Tigham streams and on the North by the Taukok River and the Inner Line of the Sibsagar district. The names of the annexed villages and houses since 1910 were as follows:

Wanching or BorTablung with 256 house; Wakching or Jaktung with 262 house; Kongan with 110 house; Chingphoi with 64 house; Chingtong with 120 house; Shiong with 60 house; Punkung or Rargaon with 68 house; Tanhai with 55 house; Longkai or Kailong with 61house; Lonyu with 12 house;

¹⁰¹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No.211G. dated Camp Tamlu, the 11th July 1905. Memo. By- N. Williamson, Esq., Sub-divisional Officer, Mokokchung. Your memorandum No.

Hungphoi or Poilung with 74 house; Auting (Oting) or Naugaon with 59 house; Wongla or Lakma with 80 house; and Lunglam or Munigaon with 59 house. All these villages were un-administered in the trans-frontier belt¹⁰².

Within the annexed area, there were no rivers of importance, the principal being the Sichim between Chingtong and Chingphoi, the Yeshang and Yesha between Wanga and Lunglam and the Saffrai. All the villages referred to, except Hungphoi, were inhabited by people who call themselves Yamanyuha, and are known to their Ao neighbours as Miris (enemies) or Abors (savages) and are often called lengta or naked Nagas. These tribes have two main divisions, Thenkho or pale faces and Thendhu or dark faces. The latter are distinguished by the heavy tattooing round the eyes and the method of winding the back hair round a piece of wood. The pale faces are found in Wanching, Wakching, Chingtong, Tanhai, Punkung, and Kongan, and across the border in Chinglong, Chongvi, and villages of their southwest. Chingphoi and Shiong are mixed and the remaining villages Thendhu. Thendus and Thenkhos intermarry and admit a common ancestry. They are distinguished by the blackening of the teeth, the tight belts of cane or bark and their tattooing.

132G. Dated the 9th may 1905, with copy of Secretariat letter No. 1943J. dated the 3rd may 1905 1st Edition, SI No. 109.

¹⁰² Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts" 1st Edition, 469-1.



All the tribe blackens the teeth with an oxide of iron, which are prepared as follows: A green bamboo is cut and charred and then rubbed with the blade of a clean dao. The oxide forms on the dao and is then rubbed on to the teeth.



Both
sexes tattoo elaborately, men on the face and chest, and women on the chest and legs. The tattooing is done on boys after the period of apprenticeship in the morang and on girls before marriage.

Of their origin, they says that the northerly villages came from the Chinglong direction, i.e., from the South East. Some of them call Manyu Phuktung as their ancient home. The Hungphoi people are said to have descended from the Ahoms who have adopted the habits and customs of their neighbours and intermarry with them and the old chief of Wangla remembers Ahoms cultivating the fertile valleys below his village with ploughs and oxen, while even Wanching contains men with Ahoms names who form a separate clan in the village. The Mon chief himself claimed to be of the family of Chaupha, the Ahoms chief and to have relations in Sipah of the plains, but others say that it is only the Hungphoi people who are in that race. The dialect of Tamlu differs widely from that of Wanching and neither dialect is intelligible to a resident of Chui who knows no tongue but his own. However, all the dialects appear to have a general resemblance in form¹⁰³.

Most of the villages stand either on the top of hills or on ledges below a precipitous summit, overlooked by a morung, while the village itself is surrounded by a strong bamboo fence. The houses are much bigger than among other tribes being often from 50 to 70 feet long and from 25 to 30 feet wide. The chief's houses are larger still, that of the Chui chief being about 300 feet long by 40 wide and many are over 100 feet in length.

Close by the morang is the big war drum, a tree drum of 5 to 8 feet girth laid horizontally and hollowed out for 20 feet or more with an opening about a foot wide at the top. The ends fashion sometimes resemblance an animal head,

¹⁰³ Ibid., 2.

elephant, buffalo or hornbill. Here the human heads are brought after a successful raid and rhythmic beating with the back of daos or heavy wooden dumb bells produce a sound that carries to a great distance. Boys enter the morung when about 10 years old and spent a couple of years as village servants, carrying messages, clearing roads and making themselves generally useful. Then they begin to put on the airs and graces of adolescence and get tattooed and blossom out as village bucks or warriors, doing no work that they can get done by their juniors¹⁰⁴.



Morung in Wakching



Morung carvings.



Ang house



carvings

on Ang's hut.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 6-7.



Log Drum or War

Drum.

The people believe in supernatural beings to which they pray and offer sacrifice, a god of harvest, one of epidemic disease and others. They declare that no man knows what a god is or can imagine his form and that they make no images of their gods. The sun and moon they admit to be among the gods for they have a tale of how an orphan girl crying to her father the sun and her mother the moon, was carried up by them to the abode of the dead and shown her parents. However, this is only a myth obtained from their legends. These beliefs are of great resemblance with the Ao Nagas wherein they do worship the Sun, Moon, Star etc.

The Yamanyuha differ from other Naga tribes in having hereditary chiefs who form a class apart from their subjects, with whom they do not eat or drink and whose title is transmitted in the strictest order of heredity through the male line. Every independent village has its chief, Ang and Wang, perhaps two or more over different morung. One big family of chiefs represented in Chui, Lengha, Wanching, and Wakching, claims to have descend from Wangkhau of Chui, grandfather of the then chief. As a chief can marry only a chief's daughter, he has to find a wife outside his own family, they intermarry with Hang, Tang, Mon, Chauhak, etc. The study of these marriages is of importance and throws light on the relations between villages. Many chiefs have two wives, they call them "Ranis", from different villages and besides may take to themselves any

number of handmaidens from the village, but children by these later are rank as commoners. Marriages with a commoner involves lost of caste or status. Taiwong of Wakching is looked upon as having lost his place among the real chiefs, as has also Thuchai, chief of Longmian. The village is bound to cultivate his fields for him, repairs his house and gives him a share in the produce of a village hunt. He normally is the arbiter of peace and war, but his voice does not always prevail. Local disputes are settled by him, sitting in council with the elders “pan-shang” or morang-heads. In practice many chiefs leave the management of affairs to their advisors or minister. So in Tanhai, Punkung, and Kongan there are Assamese-speaking ‘gaonburas’ who answer questions and receive and execute orders, while the chiefs merely make their salaam and shamble back to their opium and women.

As a rule, war between two villages resembles a game of “1 spy”. Parties from either village seek opportunity of taking the head of some unsuspecting man, woman or child and if detected at once fly back to their own village and beat the war drum. Tales are told of savages assaults upon villages, but these must have been very rare and the village defences were so strong that the assailants would be unlikely to succeed except by surprise or treachery. The great object in all cases is to take heads and the extent to which head taking went on may be gathered from the number of skulls that hang before some of the houses. When peace is made the proper course is said to be to return the heads taken and make a present of a slave or two. As opponents of disciplined and well-armed troops, the Nagas are contemptible¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.,7-9.



Human Skulls trophy.

Throughout this frontier number of guns in possession was limited, produce mostly of very rude manufacture, with barrels made from old cast iron pipes of varying diameter. Statements regarding guns produced in villages show that they have been purchased from Yannyu, Yanha, Longting Lu, Longkam and Hang, all villages lying between the annexed tract and the Zaboka and Ninu series of villages to the north. Gunpowder is brought by these same villages and Pomau and bartered by the flask or charge for pig. During Chinglong expedition, 52 guns were captured, 25 in Totok village and the rest later. Besides guns the people have crossbows, but the arrows used were mostly of bamboo only and of little penetrating power. Their spears are light and handy and their daos very heavy and formidable. They used shields both of buffalo hide and of wicker.

One village may pay tribute to another either because it is compelled by force to do so, or needs protection from the third village, or simply because it recognized the paramount right of the chief of the village to which it pays. It has been maintained that, Wanching and Wakching villages, which were annexed, were receivers of tribute, all the others paid to one or both of the two former or to Mon, Chui, or Hang. Tribute was claimed even from Chongvi by Wanching and in an old account Chinglong is shown among the tributaries of Wanching.

Opium was so famous in this country and as a result of the opium habit men become lethargies and stupid at a very early age and most of the work in the village was done by the women and boys. Across the border, the men were less addicted to opium and seem to be better off. The people practices jhuming only. The valleys of the Teshang and Tigham were well adapted to wet rice cultivation, and ploughs was used in many parts, but the Northern villages do very little cultivation of any kind, depending largely on the sale of betel leaf in the plains¹⁰⁶.

EARLY RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH:

The villages near the Dikhu and the Saffrai have been in close touch with the plains for a very long time. Mention has been made before of the Ahoms refugees and the old chief at Wangla, remembers a Captain Saheb who came and induced them to return to their homes. In 1842, Captain Brodie toured between the Dikhu and the Bori Dihing and took engagements from the chiefs¹⁰⁷.

The Assam tea Company since the early days of its operations were paying subsidies or rent, to the Nagas of Punkung for tea land and timber, payments in which both Mon and Wakching take a share as paramount villages, while the history of the accusation by the same company of the right to mine for coal in Kongan is recorded in official papers. The whole country was surveyed topographically in the years 1873-76 and Ninu, where Lieutenant Holcombe was killed in 1874, only a few miles north of the British frontier. Kongan and Wakching were visited by Mr. McCabe in 1887 and the former village was burned as a punishment for the murder of a man of Lorian. In 1900, Captain A.E.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 10-11

¹⁰⁷ A. Mackenzie, *The Northeast Frontier of India*; Reprinted in India by (Mittal Publications, New Delhi 1979), 93.

Woods, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, with an escort under Captain Shakespeare, marched down from Mozungjami through Lakma (Wangla) to the plains. Owing to the reported mineral wealth of the country and the applications received for leave to prospect for coal and oil beyond the Dikhu, it became necessary to bring the coal-bearing hills under regular administration and Mr. Dundas, Sub-divisional Officer, Mokokchung, in February 1908 made a tour through the hills with a view to finding a suitable boundary. He met with no resistance, though his proceedings evidently was regarded with dislike and suspicion by the powerful villages of Mon and Chui, jealous of their influence. Mr. Dundas proposal regarding the new frontier was accepted per Notification No. 68P. With this on 1st February 1910, 14 villages between the Yangnyu and Saffrai rivers were added to the Naga Hills district. In the subsequent year Mr. J. Needham, who had succeeded Mr. Dundas at Mokokchung, made another tour, visiting Mon and Chui as well as the newly annexed villages, to explain to them the obligations imposed¹⁰⁸.

THE CHINGLONG EXPEDITION:

The history of the trouble with Chinglong starts from the year 1910, when inspite of the warnings, a party from Chinglong crossed the Auyang River and took the head of a Yangnu, Chingtong man (a village across the Dikhu but inside the annexed territory). In addition, another raid was further reported on 17th November 1910, by Longkai, an annexed territory on Mongne, which was outside the border.

¹⁰⁸ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469,12.

On the 2nd February 1911, Mr. Needham, Sub-divisional Officer, Mokokchung, with Captain Hamilton and an escort of 80 rifles of the Naga Hills Military Police, came to Chingtong to hold the enquiry. Four of the Chinglong men came in and he took their statements. He found that the raid had been provoked by the action of Chingtong. However, as the Chinglong headmen failed to obey his summons i.e. to come and visit him or even come in when he went to their village on 4th February 1911, as the four men who came to visit him were not chiefs. When Mr. Needham tried to enter Chinglong village, the villagers tried to resist him, so he fired and burned their village. On the following night, Chinglong got help from all the neighbouring villages and prepared to attack Mr. Needham's camp, but were stop from the attempt by the refusal of Chingtong to let them through.

The orders given to Mr. Needham were to visit the village only if the Chinglong people refused to attend an enquiry. Therefore, his conduct received the severe condemnation of Government. The Chief Secretary remarked it as the most improper behaviour showing a lack of discretion and disobedience of orders. An explanation was called for and with the approval of the Government Mr. Needham was transferred from the sub-division¹⁰⁹.

Nothing more occurred until the end of July 1912, when at the invitation of the Lau-oh morang of Chinglong, Yangpok and ten others of the Pantung morang of Wanching went to cut "sali" i.e. beetle leave, in the forest behind Chinglong. Arriving at the forest they divided themselves into two parties of 4 and 7 men and were cutting "sali". At that time, some 30 men of the Lau-oh morang, and Wuchang morang of Chinglong armed with a gun and accompanied

by many others and the Pauha morang appeared and fired at Yangpok. Yangpok dropped from his tree and bolted, escaping with a flesh wound caused by a spear thrown to him. Three men of the party were killed, but the remaining seven made their escape. The matter was reported to the Commissioner on the 31st July and it was suggested that the chiefs of Chinglong should be called in and that if the reparation demanded were not made, the village should be visited in November with an escort of 150 rifles¹¹⁰. Another cause of the Chinglong expedition was the raiding of Chingphoi territory on 4th January 1913 by Chinglong village and other villages. Thus sanction was given to punish the offenders¹¹¹.

The orders of the Chief Commissioner sanctioning the visit to Chinglong was received on 14th November 1912 and by that date the usual expeditionary force of the Naga Hills Military Police had been sent away to the North-East Frontier so that the escort required could not be raised. In addition, matters had been implicated by reports of a combination between Chinglong and the neighbouring villages to resist any advance and by the taking of the head of a man of Nian, which was under the British Territory by a party from Totok. In addition, when further violations came in to notice in the frontier, it was reported to the Deputy Commissioner on 30th November, who directed Mr. Shaw, the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mokokchung, to place a guard of 25 rifles from Tamlu in Chingphoi and dispatched another 50 rifles from Kohima in support. Mr. Shaw then formed 2 stockades, one of 2 rifles at Chingphoi and one of 50 rifles at

¹⁰⁹ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*.147.

¹¹⁰ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469. 12-13.

¹¹¹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No.894, dated Kohima, the 3rd May 1913; From Captain J. Hard castle, I.A., Assistant Commandant in charge, Military Police, Naga Hills Battalion, to

Wanching. On the 8th December Mr. Webster, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, met Lieutenant-Colonel Woods, Inspector General of Police, at Tamlu and after consultation they decided to wait for Major Bliss and his 200 rifles of the Naga Hills Military Police, for their return from the Mishmi Hills. Accordingly, after visiting the posts and transferring 15 rifles from Wanching to Chingphoi. A summons to Chinglong was sent through Chingan and Hanpoh of Wakching village, but the answer returned was negative, at the same time, the attitude of the Trans-frontier villages was so threatening. It became so alarming that the Chief Commissioner obtained from the Government of Bengal, the loan of 150 rifles of the Dacca Military Police under Captain H.G. Bally, Commandant and Lieutenant E.D. Dallas Smith, Assistant Commandant and sanctioned the dispatch of an expedition under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel G.H. Loch, C.I.E. Commandant of the Lushai Hills Battalion¹¹².

On 22nd January 1913, the British demanded for the surrender of those murderers guilty along with the reparations, but there was no response from the other side¹¹³. On 28th January, A Naga scouts from Chingphoi reported that the Chinglong men came down to the river in large numbers who told the Chingphoi villagers to tell the British to come quickly and die from their hands. Later they fired nine gunshots across the river and shaking their daos retreated to their village¹¹⁴.

the Inspector General of Police, Assam (through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills)" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 470.

¹¹² Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469. 13.

¹¹³ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 148.

¹¹⁴ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archives, "File No.894, dated Kohima, the 3rd May 1913; From Captain J. Hard castle, I.A., Assistant Commandant in charge, Military Police, Naga Hills

On the 30th of January, Lieutenant-Colonel Loch reached Tamlu and the next day the Dacca Military Police arrived. On the 2nd of February the force started for Chingphoi, where rations were collected and the 75 rifles of the Naga Hills Military Police were concentrated. Lieutenant-Colonel Loch on 5th February marched to Chinglong with a force of 136 rifles, Dacca Military Police, under Captain Bally and 60 rifles Naga Hills Military Police under Captain Hardcastle for the assault¹¹⁵.

The force-marched from Chingphoi on 5th February where they reached Aoyeng River at about 9 a.m. The advanced guard crossed the river and advanced to the old cultivation road leading to the main Chinglong-Nian road. Ten rifles under Jemadar Harka Singh Rai were detached to cover their left side. This party cut down two stone-shoots, which were prepared by Chinglong men to attack the British had they taken the direct road. Shortly after they advanced, they saw the first sight of the enemy who was identified by the glint of the sun on a dao. On reaching one spur, they saw a trench held by the enemy. Later Havildar Jitam who was leading the point with sepoy Maniraj, found the road panjied, a form of defence used by the Nagas. He was ordered to remove the panjies and at that time an arrow was fired at him. Shortly, two tracks leading to the top and to the left of a spur, overlooking the trench was discovered. Naik Goalparu went up while Havildar Jitam advanced up the other. Few shots were fired and the trench was evacuated and retired to their village. After the trench had been taken by the advanced guard, they proceeded further. However, it was seen that the trench was

Battalion, to the Inspector General of Police, Assam (through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills) 1st Edition, Sl. No. 470.

¹¹⁵ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts; 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469; Pg. 14.

actually a trap for the British with a stonewall on the two sides of it, behind which the enemy was hiding. After crossing the first trench, the advanced guard was fired at from both sides of the road, killing one sepoy of the Naga Hill Military Police. About 300 hundred yards ahead of this point, the track took a sharp turn towards the village where a strong stone and tree stockade had been built across it. However, the stockade was found empty when they went there. From there long-range fire was opened on Chinglong men who went running towards the morung. After the jungle was also burned leading towards the village, they reached the village where some men were still there. Ten rifles under Jemandar Harka Singh were sent to take the Morung. Several Chinglong men were seen retreating from the Chingtang road and were fired on killing some of them.

Report of the capture of Chinglong village was sent to the Officer Commanding force who informed Mr. Hardcastle that the Chinglong men had attacked the coolies and there were many casualties. The enemy were also planning to fire the village and was told to take necessary precaution, which Hardcastle obeyed. Afterwards Colonel Loch with some coolies and later Major Gidney and the killed and the wounded arrived. They then burned the upper village to prevent the enemy from attacking while eight houses were left for the men and as hospitals and mortuary. The Dacca Military Police who were wounded during the action said that hundred of the enemies attacked the coolies. Six sepoy's under the non-commissioned officer of the Dacca Military Police made semi circle protecting the enemies' approach and killing many of them. However three of them were killed on the spot and three wounded later re-joined with the group. Another casualty was made on the coolies who were a little ahead. All the three parties later united at Chinglong village in the afternoon and

they spent a wakeful night. Thus, in this way the Chinglong village was captured. The village and the dhan houses were burned before they left the village¹¹⁶.

The lost on the British side during this expedition was four sepoy and nine coolies killed and three sepoy and twenty-seven coolies wounded. Chinglong was burned and looted on the 6th February, a great deal of paddy and livestock being destroyed. However, owing to the scarcity of water, it made the British impossible to remain, thus taking into consideration the number of wounded and the demoralisation of the coolies they retired to Chingphoi instead of attacking Totok or Chongvi village. Three rifles fell into the hands of the enemy and several coolie loads were either lost or burned. The enemy's losses were estimated as double then the British, but these estimates were not completely acquired¹¹⁷.

Accordingly the whole force returned to Chingphoi without further incident and application was made by wire for reinforcements. News also came that besides Chinglong the villages of Chongvi, Totok and Ngang had participated in the resistance offered. Messages to come in and explain their conduct were sent through Wakching to Totok and through Chuha to Chongvi, however they took no notice of the summons. .

After Chinglong expedition, on 10th February, J.E. Webster, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills with an escort of 100 rifles made a short tour as far as the Punyahang Hill, visiting the villages of Chingtong, Wakching, and

¹¹⁶ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No. 894, dated Kohima, the 3rd May 1913. From-Captain J. Hard castle, I.A., Assistant Commandant in charge, Military Police of the Naga Hills Battalion, To-the Inspector General of Police, Assam (through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; No. 342G., dated Kohima, the 5th May 1913-Memo by the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills)" 1st Edition, Sl. No 470.

Tanhai and receiving visits from representatives of the chiefs of Chui and Mon as well as from the British villages of Punkung and Lonkai. He said everywhere the people seemed friendly and willing to give all assistance required and at each halting place good camps were prepared for them in advance¹¹⁸.

THE TOTOK PUNITIVE EXPEDITION:

The political and military object of the Totok Column was to exact reparation for the attack made on the Military Police near Chinglong on 5th February 1913. On 12th February, Mr. Shaw arrived and took in-charge of the coolies. On the 15th February J.E. Webster, returned to Chingphoi from the tour and received on the same day orders to proceed to Guwahati, which he reached on the 18th, only to be told to return at once to Nazira to meet General Sir James Wilcocks. The General arrived on the 20th and was met by Lieutenant-Colonel Woods and Webster. After much telegraphing, orders arrived on the 23rd for the despatch for the punitive expedition under the command of Major Alban Wilson, D.S.O., of the 8th Gurkha Rifles¹¹⁹.

The command of the expedition was transferred from Mr. Loch to Mr. Wilson. The reason being, complaints of his attitude came from different officers against Mr. Loch. Therefore, the Central Government sent Sir James Wilcocks, the General Officer Commanding the Northern Army, where he recommended the expedition to be sanctioned at the earliest time and that Colonel Loch should be sent back to Lushai Hills and that Major Alban Wilson should take command

¹¹⁷ Ibid.,470.

¹¹⁸ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts; 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469,14.

of the expedition. The Government of India agreed and stated that the officer commanding the Police part of the force must be junior to Major Wilson, which means the dropping of Colonel Loch¹²⁰.

Few days were spent in collecting and pushing up rations and arrangements were also made to call in 700 Sema and 100 Lotha coolies to replace the Aos. Captain Hardcastle and Mr. Shaw made all arrangements for the convoys, the former coming down to Nazira to collect and send off stores while the latter went to Mokokchung to raise coolies. Mr. Hutton also raised a corps of 200 Semas in the Sadar sub-division and brought them as far as Mokokchung. Major Wilson arrived on the 1st March. Next morning Captain Donovan of the Supply and Transport also came to form a base supply at Nazira and Captain Fitzrerald, I.M.S., came with a section of Indian field ambulance and in the evening 216 rifles of the 8th Gurkhas arrived under Captain Giffard. On the 3rd, only Captain Fitzgerald with the Indian field ambulance and Sergeant Woods of Supply and Transport were sent ahead to Wakching, where all the force at the front had been moved. Only a guard of 25 rifles with 2 months rations were left at Chingphoi. Colonel Loch, being relieved of his command, arrived next day at Nazira¹²¹.

They first marched to Lushaipani and to the Dikhu River; later on the 6th they reached the camp of Wakching. A dispatched column, consisting of roughly 200 men of the 1-8 Gurkha Rifles and 250 of the Dacca and Naga Hills battalion

¹¹⁹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archives, "File No. 131T.C. dated the 31st March 1913. From-Major A. Wilson, Officer Commanding Totok Column, To-The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (Through the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government)" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469;

¹²⁰ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 148.

of Military Police, were to operate under Mr. Webster's command against the offending villages. A party of 64 Rifles under Captain Hardcastle was ordered to make a camp on the Shiniong River as a base for operations against the Totok Group. This party found the three Martini Henri rifles, in the jungle near the camp¹²².

Orders were issued to precede towards Totok Tingui with an escort of 200 (8th) Gurkhas, 40 Naga Hills Military, and 80 Dacca Military Police under Major Wilson. The sepoy and coolies carrying three days ration each besides their ordinary loads, moved on to Totok Tingui. The force left the Base Camp Shiniang River on 10th March. When they neared the village, a message was shouted on them asking them to come in peace and that the villagers had woods and water ready for them. The Political Officer asked them to send two people for negotiation, which they declined. Therefore, the force proceeded forward and again asked the headmen to come out and talk with them but was refused again. Therefore, the Political Officer told them that they have come to burn their village and they should clear the place. When Mr. Wilson tried to talk with the headmen, the force was asked to go away. Having no option, the force-marched towards the village. On reaching the village, the villagers were given two minutes to disperse or else they would be fired upon, which was not heeded. The British open fired at the village and killed some of the men. Later Totok Tingui was captured and destroyed.

¹²¹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "*File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts*" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469.14.

¹²² Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "*File No. 131T.C. dated the 31st March 1913. From-Major A. Wilson, Officer Commanding Totok Column, To-The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (Through the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government)*" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469.

Again, a party of 150 rifles, 8th Gurkhas and Military Police combined under Captain Hardcastle and Lieutenant Kennedy made a rapid march towards the second Totok village. They pushed into the village and cleared everything. The village was burned and live stokes were killed, the remaining they took it back in the camp. Later many villagers re-entered the village, so again Captain Hardcastle, Lieutenant and the 8th Gurkhas re-entered the village and drove off the villagers¹²³.

Next day they again marched towards Totok Chingkho, 5 miles distant, under Mr. Orcgard, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Shaw with some coolies to loot the remnants and destroy the village. They returned around 2.30 p.m. having killed the enemy around thirty and many more wounded. At the same time, one party of 30 rifles, Naga Hills Military Police under Jemadar Harka Singh, one of 30 rifles, Dacca Military Police under Subadar Sobha Ram, one of 50 rifles under Subaar Mewa Thapa, 8th Gurkhas and one of 50 rifles under another Gurkha Officer of the 8th Gurkha Rifles were sent out to search and destroy all the property belonging to Totok Tingha and Totok. Much damage was done and at the same time, they attacked and killed some of their enemies¹²⁴.

In this fighting about 50 men were killed, 27 guns and a large quantity of livestock were taken. Mr. Webster, Assistant Political Officer, set out the men from Chui to inform Totok that they had their punishment and could send for

¹²³ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No. 894, dated Kohima, the 3rd May 1913. From-Captain J. Hardcastle, I.A., Assistant Commandant in charge, Military Police of the Naga Hills Battalion, To-the Inspector General of Police, Assam (through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; No. 342G., dated Kohima, the 5th May 1913-Memo by the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills)" 1st Edition, Sl. No 470.

¹²⁴ Ibid Sl. No. 470

their wounded dressed, if they liked. (This message apparently was not delivered)¹²⁵.

With the outcome of this operation all three Totok villages were cleared off portable property and grains, but the destruction of what remained was thorough, even the war drums and big rice pounding troughs were burned and lot of pigs and goats killed. As reported the following day the whole force returned to the Shiniong, burning a number of huts on the way.

On the 13th, a party surveying towards were fired on by the enemy and which they replied, killing 2 men and capturing a gun. An advance column of 100 rifles was sent to prepare a camp on the Auyang River and the next day the rest of the force and baggage, etc., followed. A camp was made near the river about ½ miles below the mouth of the Sichim River and there the whole force was concentrated, the guard and all stores being moved down from Wakching to Chingphoi.

On the 15th three parties were sent to explore towards Chinglong and Chongvi, who burned the remaining morung of Chinglong and reported having killed 3 men and wounded others and captured 5 guns. It was reported that one of the man killed was wearing a sepoy's hat. Next day, a column of 150 rifles and 200 coolies were sent to make a camp on the Chinglong-Chongvi road. On the 17th, Major Wilson with 260 rifles and about 80 coolies marched towards Chongvi going through Chinglong by the road that Colonel Loch took on the 7th February and dropped down to a camp on the Shinyak river. The Ayung river

¹²⁵ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archives, "File No. 131T.C. dated the 31st March 1913. From-Major A. Wilson, Officer Commanding Totok Column, To-The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (Through the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469.

camp was vacated completely with all stores returned to Chingphoi, from where 300 coolies with a guard of 20 rifles were sent to Wakching to clear a site for permanent outpost¹²⁶.

The British received a message that Chongvi village are preparing for an assault. On the 18th a strong column under Major Wilson moved towards Chongvi, and on approaching they found the surrounding of the village panjied. No opposition was offered to the advance of the main body, but a flanking party under Captain Orchard was fired upon at a short range, however they fortunately escaped without casualties. Chongvi was taken by midday and burned. The loss on the enemy side was estimated to about thirty-five killed. Chonvi, one of the largest of Trans-Dikhu, was completely destroyed.

Meanwhile, with an escort of 60 rifles under Captain Bally, Mr Webster visited Longmain, meeting with a friendly reception. Later they proceeded to Ngang, which was found occupied, and the lower villages partly dismantle though the approaches were not panjied. Webster was later joined by 60 rifles from Chongvi. The occupants were driven up the hills through the upper village to the jungles beyond, where several were shot. Nang was taken with a loss of seventeen enemy men and the village being completely destroyed. Longmeing informed Mr. Webster that thirteen very influential men were amongst those killed at Totok, and one of the Chinglong chiefs was killed near that village on the 15th. In each of the villages Totok, Chonvi and Ngang fresh skulls of humans

¹²⁶ Ibid., Sl. No.469.15.

were found or head baskets, decorated with tassels, Mr. Webster destroyed them all. They also got about 50 guns, two of which were of local manufacture¹²⁷.

As to the results of the expedition, Mr. Webster in his letter No. 88T., dated the 22nd March 1913 wrote to the Commissioner, Surma valley, where he said, "The Punitive Column has done its work very thoroughly. In the short space of 12 days from first crossing the frontier all the villages, six in number known to have taken part in the attack on the Chinglong column, have been burned and a large number of the enemy killed and wounded, 48 guns have been captured, a great many pigs, goats and fowls killed and a certain amount of property destroyed. It is impossible to tell with any accuracy the number killed and wounded, but the official reports show 134 killed since the beginning of the operations. "I venture to predict that it will be long before any village in these parts dares to defy the orders of Government or attack an escort. *** The political effect of the escape of Longmieng will be good, *** and the fact that by coming in when summoned and explaining their conduct, they saved their village from the flames, and their men from being shot, is an example to all others of the advantage of obeying the orders of the Deputy Commissioner".

The Totok people later came in and made their submission, so they were given permission to rebuild their houses on the same site. It was presumably only a matter of time and opportunity for Chinglong, Chongvi and Ngang to do the same. A post of hundred rifles, Military Police, was also established at Wakching.

¹²⁷ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No. 131T.C. dated the 31st March 1913. From-Major A. Wilson, Officer Commanding of Totok Column. To-The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (Through the Chief Secretary to the Assam Government)" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469.

Major Wilson said that the following Nagas did good work as interpreters during the expedition: Eantung, the chief of Wanching and his assistant Atung; Taiwang, the chief of Wakching and his assistant Chingan; Powang, the Chingphoi headman; The Chui chief also rendered assistance by getting in Longmieng; Katwang, a Totok refugee and uncle of the then chief; Huenhai also a Totok refuge; And the undermentioned gaonburas and dobashis did good work with the coolies: Lothas-Chamimo (dobashi); Ruma (gaonbura); Semas- Inato (dobashi); Kikiche (dobashi); Ickshe (gaonbura); and Aos-Miyaleptin (dobashi)¹²⁸.

After all the expeditions, for the six serious cases among the coolies small pensions were recommended by Mr. Webster in letter No. IIT, dated the 1st April and the grant of a sum of Rs.100 to the heirs of the nine coolies killed, was proposed in his letter No. 3T., on 12th February.

On the enemy's side, the numbers killed in the three Tokoks were admitted to be twenty. The losses of Chongvi, of Totok Tingkhoh and of Nang were heavy and the upper khel of Chinglong was also reported to have lost a good many men. Apart from the men killed and wounded the enemy houses and household goods were demolished. They were driven into the jungles and hunted from place to place. Chinglong lost most for they had not removed their grain. Much livestock's were killed, especially in Totok and Chongvi. Nang had been almost cleared and very little was found and the large solid morungs with heavy carvings were also destroyed by the fire.

¹²⁸ Ibid., Sl. No 469.

It is said that, Chinglong and Chongvi once upon a time recognized the suzerainty of Wanching and paid tribute to them, but of late they have grown too strong and being on friendly terms with the powerful village of the Totok, they defied all outside influence. Chinglong considered itself badly used by Mr. Needham and attributing the burning of their village to the evil counsel of Wanching determined to inflict their vengeance on it. The lower khel of Chinglong or the Lau-oh morang, were friendly towards Wanching and was not privy to the treacherous murder of Yangpok and his companions. The Chongvi and the Totoks also shared the raid by taking the heads. As per reported, a council of war among these villages were held before the expedition, where, besides Chongvi and the Totoks, the neighbouring villages of Longmian and Nang were present. Chongvi and the Totoks promised to support Chinglong, but the leaders of the lower khel of Chinglong declared their neutrality. Longmian and Nang also refused to join. The Totok punitive expedition completely restored the Government's prestige in the Naga Hills¹²⁹.

THE SUBSEQUENT TOUR:

After accomplishing most of the task J.E. Webster Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills was again assigned to make a tour. As instructed he marched to Wakching on the 25th March and next day with Captain Hardcastle and an escort of 75 rifles started on a visit to Mon and Chui and on 28th visited Mon with Jemandar Harka Singh and an escort of 25 rifles. When they reached the village, they found that women, children and most of the property were

¹²⁹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913. From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts; 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469.15-16.

cleared from the village. On enquiry, the villagers told that Wakching and Chui had told the villagers that the British were going to burn the village. On the 29th he went to Chui and returned via Lengha to the Shiniong River. The chiefs of both Mon and Chui were friendly and both villages had built camps for them as directed¹³⁰.

At Shiniong, Mr. Webster parted from Captain Hardcastle, who went up to Wakching to supervise the building of a fort and proceeded with 50 rifles to visit the remaining villages in the annexed area. The tour was accomplished without incident or any sign of hostility and on 5th April, they were back at Wakching. There Mr. Webster detained a couple of days to enquire into the murder of two children and on the 8th moved down to Kongan via, Santok to Nazira. The same evening Captain Donovan and his Sergeants went off with the last of their staff¹³¹.

After the end of this war, most of the villages in the area annexed became loyal to the British might and ready assistance was given by villages under the British. Across the frontier Mon and Chui also sided with the British. The chief of the latter village throughout has ranged himself on the side of the British and gained great influence from the Government. Longmian look up to him as their deliverer and it was through him that elders of Totok Tinghko came

¹³⁰ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archive, "File No. 894, dated Kohima, the 3rd May 1913. From-Captain J. Hard castle, I.A., Assistant Commandant in charge, Military Police of the Naga Hills Battalion, To-the Inspector General of Police, Assam (through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills; No. 342G., dated Kohima, the 5th May 1913-Memo by the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills)" 1st Edition, Sl. No 470.

¹³¹ Record & Indices of Nagaland State Archives, "File No 250 G., date Kohima the 25th April 1913 From- J.E. Webster, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, To- The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts" 1st Edition, Sl. No. 469. 15.

in. They have offered the chieftainship of their village to a younger son of the Chui chief.

After the expedition, few changes were brought in the British administration. During the absence of Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung, a second officer was suggested to be posted at Mokokchung and empowered to dispose of routine, petty or urgent matters, an Assistant Commandant with the powers of a magistrate of the 3rd class or an appointment of Assistant Political Officer for the Trans-Dikhu tract to be administered. It was also suggested to post a British officer with his headquarters at Wakching with direct subordination to the Deputy Commissioner to control this tract. Provisional sanction to the establishment of a Military post was given in paragraph 5 of Mr. Reid's letter No. 814p. of the 24th February 1913, and proposal for the establishment of an outpost with a garrison of 100 rifles under a British Officer at Wakching were submitted by Mr. Webster letter No. 4t, dated the 13th March 1913.

Revenues were advice to be collected from, 1914-15, at the rate of Rs 2 a house, under the charge of a mauzadar. Arrangements were made for a combined post and telegraph office was setup at Wakching. A bridle path was made from Tamlu through Wanching, Wakching, Tanhai, Lonkai, Hungphoi, Wangla, and Lunglam, to Cherideo. The paths to Tamlu and Kongan were improved and the Dikhu bridged as well¹³².

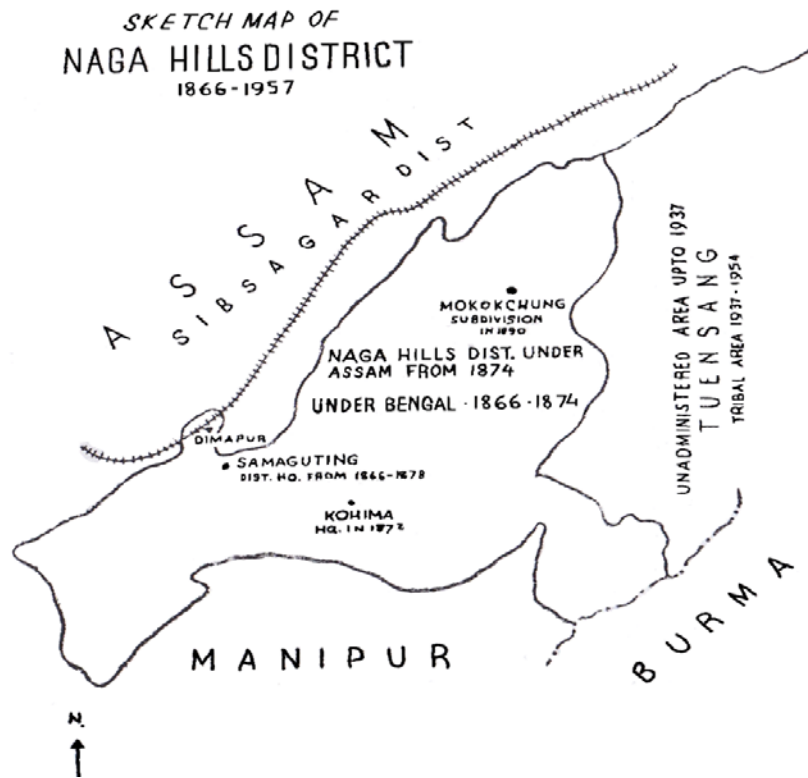
Experiences have also showed that it takes the whole time of one British Officer to administer the coolie's corps on an expedition. The coolies should be in sections of equal size, around 24 coolies to each gaonbura and out of these only

¹³² Ibid Sl. No. 469. 17-18.

22 should be expected to carry loads, the other two carrying coolies cooking pots, etc., and relieving others when necessary. A clerk is required to keep accounts and a non-commissioned officer directly under the transport officer for each 200 coolies, besides a fair number of interpreters. It was also advice that not a single coolie had to be flogged for misconduct during the expedition. The medical in charge of the expedition was put under Major Gidney. They also appointed a Civil Surgeon and an ambulance service. After the expedition, the British implemented the formation of a permanent Naga bearer corps¹³³.

Thus, towards the middle of the 20th Century i.e. 1957, this Trans-frontier Nagas came to be known as the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). In the Tuensang area, gradual extension of control as stated before began from 1910 and although outposts were opened at Wakching, Longleng etc, to control headhunting. It was not until 1948 that Tuensang was established as an outpost of Mokokchung. It became the headquarters of the surrounding area with the posting of the first Political Officer in that area in 1951.

¹³³Ibid Sl. No. 469. 19.



The history of Tuensang area, which constituted the different villages above, is different from that of the Naga Hills district. Consequently, when Naga Hill became a British district with Samaguting as its headquarter in 1866, under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal till 1874, the residual hill areas of the Naga Hills (Tuensang; Trans-Frontier) which lay between the external boundary of the Naga Hill districts and the international boundary between India and Burma continued as an un-administered area. The relation with the British Government of India being maintained by agreements with the chiefs and by show of force in-order to prevent them from raiding the administered portion of the Hills i.e. the area within the regularly constitute districts of Naga Hills. This portion was brought under the jurisdiction of the colonial rule through

the Governor-General in Council or by the Governor of Assam as stated in Foreign Jurisdiction, order in council 1902.

FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE NAGA CLUB:

The 1st World War, which started in 1914-18, had little impact in the Naga Hills, though it was partially under the British rule. Nevertheless, in this War, Naga labour force were recruited from the Hills and sent to France with due request from the British Government of India. This request was purely based on ground of manpower to help the British force in France for carrying loads, building roads and bridges, and not for fighting purpose. This labour force was recruited from both the British administered Naga Hills and the independent trans-frontier Nagas. The force consisted of 1000 Semas, 400 Lothas, 200 Aos, 200 Rengmas and a large number of smaller groups. This trip to France and back shattered many of the illusions that the Nagas had about the superiority of other races, particularly the whites. In the words of Yonuo, 1984 'the journey across seas and countries awakened the spunk of the Naga nationalism like other parts of India and they began to develop the concept of a Naga nation which had of dreamt of before'¹³⁴. In his 'Forward' to Huttons monograph on the Semas, Henry Balfour wrote that he came across several Nagas in France and wondered what consequences this experience might have on the Nagas, and how they would look at the British afterwards. "In September 1917 in Eastern France, I came across a group of Nagas engaged in road repairing in the war-zone, within sound of the guns. They appeared to be quite at home and unperturbed. Earlier in that year, I just missed seeing them in Bizerta, but the French authorities there described to

¹³⁴ Reisang Vashum, *Nagas Rights to self-determination; An Anthropological-historical perspective*, 65.

me their self-possession and absence of fear when they were landed after experiencing ship-wreck in the Mediterranean-a truly novel experience for this primitive in land hill dwellers”.

One wanders what impression remains from their sudden contact with higher civilization at war. Possibly, they are reflecting that, after what they have seen, the White Man’s condemnation of the relatively innocuous headhunting of the Nagas savours of hypocrisy. Or those their sang-froid saved them from being critical and endeavouring to analyse the seemingly inconsequent habits of the leading people of culturedom? Now that they are back in the hills, will they settle down to the indigenous simple life and revert to the primitive conditions, which were temporarily disturbed.

According to the Naga authors (who as a rule do not give their source), it was indeed the case that the Nagas perceived what they saw on the European fields as contradictory to the statements of condemnation about their barbarous headhunting practice. The same ‘civilise’ people engaged in the conduct of a massive carnage, stretching over years, forbade the Nagas a comparatively harmless, yet for their culture essential, practice. The Nagas, according to Horam, saw there a heightened hypocrisy and this contributed to the general discontent and resentment against the British that had always been there. Even after sections of the Nagas have converted to Christianity and entertained a friendly intercourse with the missionaries and administrators, they were, as Horam expresses it, ‘....never crazy about the British’. Initially the Nagas called the British ‘half-cooked’ and perceived them as portentous, yet accommodated themselves with their presence, and tried to make the best of it, believing anyhow that it would only be a temporary affair. Further, Nagas returning from the frontlines brought

home with them stories about how their imperial rulers took severe beatings at the hands of the Germans. If the deteriorating image of a growing resentment against the British was one outcome of this war, so, as Horam argues, did the contact and interaction in France and the Middle East between Nagas of all different groups, including those from the un-administered areas give rise to a sense of belonging among them. The majority of the recruits of the labour Corps had been recruited from independent Trans-Frontier Nagas as they were called then and this resulted in a closer relationship between the British and those Nagas. Alemchimba goes even further and says that it was now that the Nagas saw the necessity for the political unification to be able to represent their interest in a world that would never be the same. Yonou writes that the Nagas in France had passed a verbal resolution to resolve all their differences and disputes on their return and to work from then on for the political unification of the Nagas, and this, for Yonou constituted – the spirit, which spearheaded and upsurge the Naga nationalist movement.

7. On their return some of those Nagas founded the Nagas Club in Kohima and Mokokchung, which for Panmer marked a turning point in the history of the Nagas, since it was the first organisation representing all tribes. Among the founding members were important gaonburas, dobashis, Government servants, priest and other educated Nagas. The club was un-officially supported by the local administration. In the beginning, the club's objectives were more social than political, the members ran a co-operative shop, founded a football team and were supposed to support the district administration. Yet it developed into a political force and accordingly to Yonou, 'raised its will against the British imperialism', although in a peaceful and loyal manner. Panmer, in the same vein, sees the Naga

club as an instrument against British imperialism, and Horam assumes that the members of the club already anticipated the dawning of India's independence¹³⁵. Apparently, the roots of Naga Nationalism and political discontent as is manifested today can be traced back to the highhanded approach of the British administration that denied any agency to the Nagas as they followed utterly ad-hoc methods for bringing the Naga people under their administration and control.

Here is a True story told by Mr. Chubanungba about Mr. Senkalemba from Longkhum village (Ao) who went to France in 1914. The story, written in Ao language, is narrated to English here.



Mr. Senkalemba.

“With the outbreak of the First World War, the English were fighting the Germans in the France frontier. Many people lost their lives along with properties because of the war. The Nagas too have participated in this theatre of war along the side of the British. During this time, the British Officers in the Naga Hills were efficiently carrying out their duties irrespective of what was happening in and around their land. With their head held high and full of vigour and dignity for

¹³⁵ Marcus Franke, *War and Nationalism in South Asia; the Indian States and the Nagas*, published by

their country, they were maintaining the affairs of the state without any tension. 'Par shisa tekumkum ten longtena sobor' meaning, the British officers were not only careful and intelligent, but have great respect for their uniform and position.

They were also well aware of what was happening in the war. There was always newspaper circulating the events, which were taking place from one part to another part, whether it was a victory or defeat for the countries involved in the war. At this point and circumstances, Nagas were recruited from every parts of the hill to be sent as Labour Corp to France. 2000 Nagas were selected, which later came to be known as 37th Naga-India Labour Corps. They were gathered at Kohima, then headquarter of the Naga Hills. Rumours were also heard that, this Nagas who were to go to France were not happy with the Government. In this situation, the author said that 'two sections' were selected from his village 'Longkhum' for the call of duty to France.

When the time arrived for these sections to be dispatched to Kohima, Mr. Temshimangyangi (Rtd. Dobashi) gave advice to his eldest son, Senkalembe, who was also chosen to be a part of these selected men from the village. This narrative was told by the author's uncle when he wrote this book 'Wabong Senkalembe Obe Takum Otsu' (the true story of Mr Senkalembe), which is entirely about Senkalembe.

Here goes the narration, "Senka (son's name) during the Abor expedition 1911, when a group of Nagas were selected your grandfather, Mr. Merangchiba Gaonbura and my friend Mr. Watingangshi Gaonbura' both of them had led two sections from our village to the expedition and return with honour after the war. It

was a great honour for them in the eyes of the British, the other Nagas as well as our village. Times comes and it changes everything, now this people with the honour they have gained are serving the people and this honour signifies that, they have successfully taken the enemy's head and worthy enough to wear the head-hunting gears.

Now you and your brother Watingangshi are leading our people from section two along with the other Naga group to France. You should try to accomplish the task that are assigned to all and return with honour as like them. We humans as we know will return to dust, but whatever you have done with the other Nagas will be remembered and will go down in history. You people will be fighting and proceeding as the war gets going and we will also be having a part of our own share here. We the Nagas are somewhat ignorant that with our headhunting gear (dao and spear), we tend to confront the enemies at close quarter resulting to the winning of the strongest, but it will be an entirely different story in France.

The 'White Race' and their land have not only been purposely placed or chosen by God. They have strong personalities with modernised weapons, which can be used both in water, land and sky. This for the Nagas will be like a bird hovering in the sky. He wants to let them know that each person will receive his part of share along with the white men and this they should perform without fear in the war.

Now as they have recruited the Nagas from different hook and corners of the Naga Hills, they have gathered and are ready to go at Kohima. This journey to a foreign land where even we cannot reach in dreams will be a place for the

Nagas where you will feel as one irrespective of differences in tribes or languages. You will be united as one Naga for a common cause. So he wants them to get along well with the other Nagas and return with the same honour as his grandfather did. He told his sons not to worry as he will come to know about their well beings from the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima as well as the Sub Divisional Officer at Mokokchung who will be having contacts with the officers in France”¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ W. Chubanungba, “Wabong Senkalemba Takum Otsu, Wabong Senkalemba war-I aotsu nenjonger: English nunger, joko 1914 nungi tenzuka German nunger ten rara dang takum aser rongsen tesahsatsuka laloo 1917 tashi aroba mapang nong asen Naga nunger a par fukum rarai aotsu lemtet. Asen lima nong saab nunger yimsusurdem, par shisa tekumkum ten longtena sobor, par lima nong ipa amaji tesashi raraji liaka, mejenjeni mapa ajak tibdema tang inyaka liasu ta abia aror. Aji oda, osang kaket ajanga, tsukjir aser parnok samabaen linuk tesem parnoki aser tsukjiri atsungtetpaji metetasa liasu.

Iba ama rara teyalong nong longki tatong-tatong tenuk masipshi nong aoi akumtang, sangpang, sangpang aser kongrolardem tongpang raradak nungi meyipa meshilanpa mapang ka nong asen Naga nunger temeja nubojong telok tulu 2000, 37th Naga – India Labour Corps-a France lima tasashi tongbang miben ponga pettepa raradaki aotsu bordem shimteta Kohima yimti nong sangtongpa angashitepa yim ajaklen nungnungteba alipa mapang Longkhum nonga kerkangshia parnok section 2 tautsupurdem liasu.

Joko Longkhum nunger a teshimtetbor Kohimai aotsu mapang nong, Wb. Temshimangyangi (Rtd. DB), par jabaso tampusang Wb. Senkalemba dang shisa rajem O kar yamai ashi ta kukoi ku tang ashi: “ Senka, Abor dawai 1911 nong asen Naga nunger telok Ka aotang to nebo Wb. Merangchiba GB aser kuzupong, Wb. Watingangshi GB tenati anir asen yimera parnok section-2 ao takok ngur meyipa shilang aser yimrongi tua longsotepba to imdangi arongma. Ato British yimli, Naga nunger, Longkhum nunger aser parnok taor shia nungtem konang tulo liasu. Mapang aki mapang melentepba arorji, joko parnok ajak dak to mangko konang soboloker, alima wadang aisu nong mayanglen adongsema lirji. Ano talisa dawai aoba ben shia mangko konang ka ka ta pari sobotsu aki tetemsur ka taji shisang shisanga tuyo adoker.

Jako, neti Wb. Watingangshi nenati asen yimera section-2 anir Naga nunger telok tenji France lima tashi tongpangti raradaki aotsu lirji, idakji nenok nem lemozuksuba wadang nong jitjit ta jari-jakena liangma.

Sen meimchir kela ali mangrang tangji, alah ka tang lirbo mangragbo mangragso kumadoktsu. Saka keji adaloktir adalokaka; nenok telok ostujibo tedi alima otsu nong zungoka likum.

Nenok rara tongpangti metai tsungdong aotsu aser anak ajak rara mapa ten shilem aisu nong rara manen tashi bei bei saseb ipaji nongita alitsu. Asen Naga nunger rara kula onsara rangpen tangji, zupa zupa-a tang; oda nokleptsu nong nok semoker, jong aponger nu amer chiteb chitepa tongtepa rarar takoksangi tekolakji tangzucker.

Par temesung nisong asaa tsungrem alipokdang shimtetpa lima nong alirdem, tsungrem zungket repzukteta yotener lipa- liroteperiji, par rarabo nok nu afu tapensa jenti penshia, tzuim telong – tema ajonga, ali tema telng liku pereba ano tetamatsuka pumang ama anung tom tashi nong ozu metem yimzutepa rarar, nenoka nenok saseb mapa lemozuka par ten adong-afotepa rara wadangji keja mejenjeni kokteta liangma.

Asen Naga lima tenem jongkorilak ajak zukpanga yim tulo tila kumteta alirdem nungi rarai aotsupur ajak Kohima yimtiba nong nongtener abosoa aotsu. Bendang lima talang pumang akia madongtsu

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1919:

According to the Government of India Act 1919 (Montagu Chelmsford Reforms 1919), 'Naga Hills District' was declared as a 'Backward Tribe' and it was made clear in the Act that no Acts passed by the Indian Legislature were to apply to these separate entity from the British India Empire¹³⁷. Thus, on 10th January 1929 when the Statutory Commission led by John Simon with Clement Attlee and E. Cadogan as members visited Kohima, the members of the Naga Club, the only Naga organisation existing then, submitted a memorandum which was addressed to the Indian Statutory Commission, with the subject 'Memorandum of Naga Hills'. It read as,

“We the undersigned Nagas of the Naga Club at Kohima, who are the only persons at present who can voice for our people have heard with great regret that our Hills are included within the reformed Scheme of India without our knowledge, but as the administration of our Hills continued to be in the hands of British Officers we did not consider it necessary to raise any protest in the past. Now, we learnt that you have come to India as representatives of the British Government to enquire into the working of the system of Government and the

metai aotsu, aser idakji nenok ajak yim ka nungi tang amai shisa molong aser asah meyang lemsatepa liangma. Asen Bor Saab (DC) Kohima nong allsang aser Jodo Saab (SDO) Mokokchung nong alisang tenatibo ilenji atalokba osang yakta yakta tang par zungketer ola ajanga meteta alirji; onoki nenok tia ajak tedi meteta tang alitsu. Joko nenok taotsu anuko nenjongdang, nenok ajak temang zungbong tang atarji, pelatepa or takk osang pener shilangangma. Longlangpa tsungremi nenok tedi nuka alisu.”
Unpublished Primary source, 2002. 23-26.

¹³⁷. P.N. Luthra, *Nagaland from a District to a State*, “52A (2)The Governor General in Council may declare any territory in British India to be 'Backward Tribe', and may, by notification, with such sanction as aforesaid, direct that this Act shall apply to that territory subject to such acception and modification as maybe prescribed in the notification. Where the Governor General in Council has, by notification, directed as aforesaid he may, by the same or subsequent notification, directed any Act of the Indian Legislature shall not apply to the territory in question or any part thereof subject to such accept ions or modifications as the Governor General thinks fit, or may authorised the Governor in

growth of education and we beg to submit below our views with the prayer that our hills maybe withdrawn from the reformed Scheme and placed outside the reforms but directly under British Government. We never asked for any reforms and we do not wished for any reforms.

Before the British Government controlled a part of our country in 1879-1880, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of the Assam valley to the North and West of our country and the Manipuries to the South. They never conquered us nor were we ever subjected to their rule. On the other hand, we were always a terror to these people. Our country within the administered area consists of more than eight tribes.

Our education at present is poor. The occupation our country by the British Government being so recent as 1880, we have had no chance or opportunity to improve education and though we can boast of have two or three graduates from an Indian University in our country we have not one yet who is able to represent all our different tribes or master our language much less one to represent us in any council of a province. However, our population numbering 102000 is very small in comparison with the population of the plain districts in the province and will have no weight whatsoever. Our language is quite different from those of the plains and we have no social affinities with either Hindus or Muslims. We are being looked down upon by one for our 'Beef' and the other for our 'Pork' and by both for our want in education, which is not due to any fault of ours.

Council to give similar direction as respects any Act of the local legislature" Published by (Shri M.P. Hazarika, Director of Information and Public Relation Shillong, 1974), 41.

Our country is poor and it does not pay for its administration. Therefore, if it is continued to be under the Reformed Scheme, we are afraid that new and heavy taxes will have to be imposed on us, and when we cannot pay, than all lands will have to be sold and in the long run we shall have no share in the land of our birth and life will not be worth living then. Though our land at present is within the British territory, Government have always recognised our private rights on it, but if we are forced to enter the council, all these rights maybe extinguished by an unsympathetic Council the majority of whose members are sure to belong to our districts. We also much fear the introduction of foreign laws to supersede our own customary laws, which we now enjoy. For the above reason we pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachments from other people who are more advanced than us by withdrawing our country from the reformed Scheme and placing it directly under its own protection. If the British Government, however want to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have concurred us themselves, and to whom we were never subjected, but to leave us alone to determine ourselves as in ancient times. We, the members of the Naga Club, claimed to represent all tribes those to which we belong”¹³⁸. This memorandum was signed by twenty Nagas of the Naga Club. They are: Nihu Angami (Head Interpreter); Hisalie Angami (Beshkar); Nisier Angami (Master); Gebo Kacha Naga (Interpreter); Vibunyu Angami (Potter); Goyiepra Angami (Treasurer); Khosa Angami (Doctor); Ruzhukhrie Angami (Master); Dikhrie Angami (Sub-overseer); Zhapuzulie Angami (Master); Zapulie Angami (Interpreter); Katsumo Angami (Interpreter); Nuolhoukielie Angami (Clerk);

¹³⁸ Mar Atsongchanger, *The Historical Memorandum of the Nagas and their Neighbours*, Published by

Luzovi Sema (Interpreter); Apamo Lotha (Interpreter); Resilo Rengma (Interpreter); Lenjang Kuki (Interpreter); Nekhriehu Angami (Interpreter); Miakrao Angami (Chapراسي); and Levi Kacha Naga (Clerk)¹³⁹.

THE CONSTITUTION ACT OF 1935:

Following the memorandum of 10-01-1929, in the month of May, Mr. Clement Attlee and Mr. E. Codegan informed the House of Commons of Britain that Nagas are a distinct nationality. The same year the matter was termed as British Indian Act 1935

From this report therefore, the British District 'Naga Hills' was declared as 'Naga Hills Excluded Area' under the British Government of India ("Excluded and Partially Exclude Areas") order 1936 and have ever since 1937, 1st April being administered by the Governor in his discretion as the agent of the Government of British Empire¹⁴⁰.

In this book on the constitution of India Act 1935, Mr. Banerjee said, "the recommendation for the excluded areas is limited to- the border tracts of Assam whose geographical position isolates them from normal life and administration of the province. Dr. J.H Hutton, on Excluded Area, said that exclusion was not based in the case of Assam on the ground of educational backwardness, the reason was that there was a clash of interest between hills and Plains people and the former feared that the majority vote would seriously affect

(Tribal Communication and Research Centre Nagaland, 1995), 71-73.

¹³⁹ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, "*Historical background of Naga Club 1918 by Vilavor Liegisa, General Secretary Naga Club (Nagaland on the occasion of Naga Club day 7th January 1985 Kohima)*"; 2nd Edition, Published by (Directorate of Arts and Culture, Government of Nagaland 1991), Sl. 151.1.

their economic interests relating to land revenues, forest and fisheries. After all, those hill tracts (Naga) were taken over only to save the plains from raids, the people being of Mongolian stock consider an Indian as much foreigner as the Europeans. He added that the best policy was to exclude the areas”

With the lapse of British paramount in India on the 15th August 1947 the aforesaid sections of the Government of India Act 1935 were repealed by an order issued under the India Independence Act 1947. Simultaneously with the amendment of the Government of India Act 1935, the Dominion Government promulgated the Act, 1947 taking powers similar to those conferred by the Indian Foreign Jurisdiction Order-in-Council of 1902 and in exercise of the powers conferred by the Act, the Government of India extended the necessary rules and orders to the Naga Tribal Area for the purpose of administration¹⁴¹.

In the Constitution of India, this area was included in Part B of the Table below paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule at Item 2, designated as “The Nagas tribal Area” and with the commencement of the Constitution came to be administered by the Governor as agent of the President, (along with the North-East Frontier Agency) under Para 18 (2) of the Sixth Schedule. The Naga Tribal Area was thereafter renamed as the Tuensang Frontier Division Vide North-East Frontier Areas (administration) Regulations, 1954.

With the aim of uniting the Nagas, C.R. Pawsey, the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills established an Institution in April 1945, called the

¹⁴⁰Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Historical background of Naga Club 1918* by Vilavor Liegisa, *General Secretary Naga Club (Nagaland on the occasion of Naga Club day 7th January 1985 Kohima*, 2nd Edition, Sl. 151.

¹⁴¹ P.N Luthra, *Nagaland from a District to a State “Under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council 1902, the Jurisdiction over this territories was exercise on behalf of the British King through*

‘Naga Hills District Tribal Council’. This council later on in 2nd February 1946, changed its name to that of the ‘Naga National Council’ (NNC), which ultimately became as the only political organisation in Naga Hills. This organisation was to guide the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas.

The NNC (Naga National Council) was composed of 29 members, who represented the tribes on the principle of proportional representation. Among the members, office bearers were elected. Every citizen was supposed to be a member of the N.N.C. and every family contributed voluntary towards the maintenance of the council¹⁴².

THE NAGA ZELIANG UPRISING:



Rani Gaidinliu (1915)

Rani Gaidinliu was born on Thursday, 26th January 1915, at Lungkao, Rongmai (Kabui) Naga village Situated in the Imphal-Silchar road of the Trans-Barak basin in the West district of Manipur state. She was the third daughter of the eight children of Lothonang and mother Kocotlenliu. Her family belonged to the Pamei clan, which was an influential ruling clan of the village. From

the Governor-General in Council or some authority subordinate to him, namely, the Governor of Assam” 7.

childhood, Rani Gaidinliu was an independent, spiritual and strong-willed girl, whose conduct always raised eyebrows among the womenfolk of the Jadonang (1905-31). She learned Naga Animistic beliefs, traditions and practices from her surroundings and some tribal languages and dialects of different Naga tribes though she was not literarily educated. As during her times there was no facility of any modern education for the Zeliangrongs in Tamenglong area, at the same time the people in general were also not interested¹⁴³.

Haipou Jadonang was her spiritual guru. He was solely responsible for the Jadonang movement first of its kind to oust the British rule from the Naga Hills. He was 5ft. 4 inches tall, thin but gentle, sensitive, proud and incorruptible. He was born in 1905 (not decipher) at Kambiron (Puiron) village to a Rongmai (Kabui) farmer. His father died when he was just one year old and was raised by his religious mother 'Taboliu'. Right from childhood he was a very religious man, he would pray to God for hours and had visited all Animistic, religious places like Bhubon Cave and Zelad Lake, where gods and goddess are believe to reside. Jadonang won the confidence of his villagers by saying that god had revealed to him in his dreams that the scarcity of food in the village continuously for several years owing to failure of crops would turn to good harvest if the villagers killed a mithun and sacrificed it to god. The villagers hesitatingly threw the sacrifice and there was a good harvest. From this act, the Kambiron villagers looked to him as a chosen spiritual leader or god-sent man for the Nagas. Jadonang also had sorcery, supernatural power for bettering the pot of people particularly in treatment of the sick men.

¹⁴² M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, 165.

¹⁴³ Asoso Yonuo, *Naga Struggle against British rule under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu 1925-1947*, Published by (Leno Printing Press Nagaland 1982), 84.

Jadonang continuously went from one Naga village to another to promote unity among them, to raise fund in order to treat the patients and prepare to fight against the British for securing of their independence. By the end of 1930, his ideas and activities had been spread almost all over the Naga inhabited areas. He told his countrymen to stop paying taxes to the British Government, to disobey unjust foreign laws, to fight the British and other outsiders with all their means and arms and to establish their own kingdom¹⁴⁴.

In early 1931, intelligence arrived that Jadonang had started at Kambiron in Manipur border, a semi religious, semi-martial movement affecting the Kabui and the Katcha Nagas. The belief being prevalent that not only would overthrow the British, but take revenge upon the 'hated Kukis', who made repeated raids on the Kabui villages in 1918¹⁴⁵. In the Kuki rebellion, many villages of the Kabui Nagas were cut up and apprehending sever retribution some of them have already move to Imphal for safety. According to Kukis, Jadonang was collecting guns with the intention of attacking them. J.P. Mills, the Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills, also received information that Jadonang had told the villagers not to pay the revenue to the Government for that year (1931-32) but to be paid to him instead. The Political Agent in Manipur sent out a State official to arrest Jadonang, but on news being received that Jadonang had gone to Cachar with some followers, he wired to the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar to arrest him and news came back that Jadonang has been arrested in Cachar under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 39- 71.

¹⁴⁵ H.K. Barpujari, *Problems of the Hill Tribes Northeast Frontier, 1873-1962 (Vol. III)*, Published by (Spectrum Publications Assam, 1981), 224.

¹⁴⁶ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 167.

Jadonang was tried in Manipur on the charge of murder that had taken place in March 1930 at Kambiron, when four Manipurians were attacked and killed by the mob. And it is said that Jadonang had instigated the mob to participate in the slaughter. Thus, before launching his movement, Jaonang was arrested and hanged by the British on 29th August 1931 at Imphal¹⁴⁷. However, the murder charges against Jadonang might not be true and it might be the plan of the British to stop the movement started by him. Apparently, they succeeded in hanging him; yet this was just the starting point for the movement to gain its base. No sooner, the mantle of Jadonang fell on Gaidinliu the 'spiritual successor' a girl of Seventeen, who successfully carried the message of her master beyond the borders of Manipuri into the plains of Cachar, North Cachar and the Naga Hills. On June 1932 J.P Mills stated, "The real danger of the movement is the spirit of defiance now abroad. Nagas who are ordinarily truthful and friendly have been taught that officials are to be lied and deprived of information"¹⁴⁸.

The British had led loose a reign of terror in the hills. They imposed collective fines on the rebel village and guns were confiscated. The British rule in Manipur hills was arbitrary and oppressive. Gaidinliu told her followers, 'We are a free people, the white men should not rule over us, we will not pay house tax to the Government, we will not obey their unjust laws like forced labour and compulsory porter subscription'. The officials of the Government were very high-handed. Gaidinliu concentrated her rebellion in the Trans-Barak Basin. Her movement had social, religious and Political aims. Socially, it aimed at the integration of the three Naga kindred tribes (Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmei)

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 170.

¹⁴⁸ J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Published by (Macmillan and Co. Limited, London 1921), 170.

known as Zeliangrong; she wanted to preserve the traditional Naga culture and does not like any alien religion. Her religion is called 'Heraka', meaning 'not impure'.

Her political programme was the translation of Jadonang's idea. Jadonang had earlier come to know of Mahatma Gandhi, but it was Gaidinliu who used the name of the Father of the Nation in her political propaganda who told her followers about the agitation launched by the congress under the leadership of Gandhi. The people looked to her for leadership after the death of Jadonang. They believed in what she said and their love and reverence were so enormous that to them she was a sort of goddess incarnated who was going to deliver them from the life of bondage and misery. Gaidinliu however always denied that she was a goddess. After the execution of Jadonang, the whole of the affected areas comprising the present Manipur West district, Southern Nagaland and North Cachar Hills of Assam were allied with rebellion. And the British Government was greatly alarmed at these unprecedented uprising under the leadership of a 'surely girl' of Seventeen¹⁴⁹.

She was ultimately declared as 'wanted' woman on charge of murder and a warrant was served for her arrest and put her under trial. The Government also alleged that the murder of 4 Manipuries whose heads were cut off and skulls broken into tiny fragments for ritual distribution among their followers for which Jadonang and followers were convicted was deliberate and brutal and Gaidulu was one of the conspirators in this crime¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ Gangmumei Kabui, *Taken from:- Reprinted from Dictionary of National Biography Vol-III (M-R); Institute of Historical studies, 35 Theatre Road, Calcutta-17; pg. 492-494.*

¹⁵⁰ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 170.

Apprehending the grave danger of the rebellion, the Assam Governor-in-Council ordered that the operation against Gaidinliu were to be centralised under the direct control of Mr. J.P. Mills, then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, who could use the men of the 3rd and the 4th Assam rifles; the Sub-divisional Officer of North Cachar Hills and an officer of Manipur state to assist him. Troops were sent out to all the three districts, outposts were established at strategic points in the centres of more affected areas of Manipur and Assam. Searches for Gaidinliu were instituted and her photos were widely distributed throughout the three districts. All the girls having the same name of Gaidinliu were interrogated and it is said many girls having similar names had to change their names. Even Gaidinliu had to adopt the name of 'Dilenliu'. Mr. Harvey, the President of Manipur state durbar offered a reward of Rs. 200/- for the arrest of Gaidinliu, which was subsequently raised to Rs. 500/- and any village giving the information about her was promised a remission of 10 year taxes. Gaidinliu went into hiding in North Cachar Hills and Masang of Kepelo, her agent did his best to keep her movements and where about a complete secret¹⁵¹. Gaidinliu's arrest proved to be a failure as every men and women in the disaffected villages was her active supporter. The whole tribe of the Kacha Naga, according to official sources, has been transformed from a collection of quarrelling and mutually independent villages into a united and defined whole, which is very unique in Naga History¹⁵².

¹⁵¹ Gangmumei Kabui, *Taken from: - Reprinted from Dictionary of National Biography Vol-III (M-R) Institute of Historical studies, 492-494.*

¹⁵² Shillong Archives, *Extract from the General Administrative Report of Sadiya frontier tract for the year 1931-2 and 1932-3.*

The Manipur Government meted out serious punishments to the supporters of the rebellion. Several villages were burnt down. The sepoy of the Assam rifles had an encounter with the rebels in North Cachar Hills on 16th February, 1932. In March 1932, a large force of Nagas attacked in broad daylight the Assam Rifles outpost at Hangrum. Unfortunately, they were using only daos and spears, which were no match at all for the rifles of the defenders. The outpost opened fired which caused some casualties among the Nagas who ultimately retreated. For this attack, the village of Bopungwemi in Naga Hills was burned down¹⁵³.

Gaidinliu moved eastwards and reached the edge of the Angami country. Her influence also reached the Maram Nagas of Mao area in Northern Manipur. Even in Kohima the headquarters of the Naga Hills, her sympathisers were many. Mr. J.P. Mills, who reported earlier that the 'real danger of the movement is the sprite of defiance now abroad,' had to act promptly to prevent any alliance between Gaidinliu and the powerful Naga village of Khonoma which staged a great uprising in 1879. Many spies of Gaidinliu were working at Kohima itself to check the movements of the detachments of the Assam Rifles¹⁵⁴.

In October Gaidinliu moved into Pulomi village and started the construction of a wooden fortress after the pattern of the Assam Rifles palisade at Hangrum. Gaidinliu told her followers that the next two months would be a crucial period, either she or the British would win. She was prepared to make the last trial of strength between the Assam Rifles and her army. The fortress, which

¹⁵³ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 171.

¹⁵⁴ Gangmumei Kabui, *Taken from: - Reprinted from Dictionary of National Biography Vol-III (M-R); Institute of Historical studies. 492-494.*

was being constructed, would accommodate, when completed, four thousand warriors and would be a formidable one. In the meantime, Mr. Mills, getting the intelligence reports from a Pulomi gaonbura, despatched a strong force of Assam Rifles under the command of Captain Macdonald, accompanied by Mr. Hari Blah to Pulomi. The fortress was not yet ready and the rebels did not take any precautionary measures. Captain Macdonald made a surprise attack on Pulomi village at dawn on 17th October 1932. The rebels were completely surprised and could not offer any effective resistance. They surrendered and Gaidinliu was arrested from a house. She was taken to Kohima and brought to Imphal for trial. Mr. Higgins, the Political Agent, sentenced her to life imprisonment. With her were capture her young nephew the Kambiron boy, a Bopungwemi boy, two Lalongmi men and a Hangrum men, while the rest of her escort escaped¹⁵⁵.

She spent 14 years in British Jails, one year at Guwahati, Six years in Shillong, Three years in Aizwal, Mizo Hills and four years at Tura, Garo Hills. Many of her followers were also arrested and imprisoned. However, Gaidinliu imprisoned was more popular then Gaidinliu at large. The movement was continued by other followers in subsequent years. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru learnt about Gaidinliu and her movements when he visited Sylhet (Assam) in December 1937. He was impressed by her activities and at the same time shocked that a young girl of twenty should suffer so much. He described her as the Rani of the Nagas; since then the title of Rani has been popularly apprehended to Gaidinliu. He also said, this young girl sits confined in the darkness with few yards, eating hearts in desolation and confinement and India does not even know of this brave child. Later he said, one day will come when India will remember her and cherish

¹⁵⁵ Reid, *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam, 1883-1941*, 172.

her, and bring her out of her prison cell. Nehru later went to Shillong and met her at Shillong Jail.

In 1934, the congress Government tried to release her, but failed as Manipur was not a British Province. Pandit Nehru requested Lady Nancy Astor (1879-1964), the famous Conservative member of the British Parliament to take up the case of Gaidinliu. In her letter to Pandit Nehru in May 1939, Lady Astor stated that the Secretary of State for India had turned down her request to release Gaidinliu and the British felt that ‘the movement has not yet died down, and would break out if she were released as she is at present considered a potent source of danger to the peace of Manipur State and the Province of Assam.’ Pandit Nehru later published the case of Gaidinliu and commented; “perhaps she thought rather prematurely that the British Empire still functioned effectively and aggressively, it took vengeance on her and her people. Many villages were burnt and destroyed and the hero girl was captured and sentenced to transportation for life. And now she lives in some prison in Assam wasting her right young womanhood in dark cells and solitude. What formant and suppression of spirit they have brought to her, who in the pride of her youth dared to challenge an Empire”¹⁵⁶.

She was ultimately released from Tura jail when India became independent in 1947. She was not allowed to return to Manipur and had to stay at Yimrup (Now Impur near Mopungchuket village) in Mokokchung, district of Nagaland. She was given some pension by the Government. For about 14 years, she retired from active Political life. However, the Naga troubles started in 1956.

¹⁵⁶ Asoso Yonuo, *Naga Struggle against British rule under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu 1925-1947*, Published by (Leno Printing Press Nagaland 1982), 120-122.

She and her religious cult (Heraka) were attacked and criticised by the underground Nagas who spread all sorts of insinuating rumours through their agents. So in 1960, her followers took her into the underground and she created a private army of One Thousand men with 400/500 Rifles to defend her religion, ensure her own security and press her demand of a Zeliangrong Administrative Area, comprising the Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmei Naga areas of Manipur, Nagaland and Assam. After six years of hard underground life, the Government called her out from her hideout and she came to stay at Kohima in 1966. Now she is devoting herself to the work of keeping peace and development for her people¹⁵⁷.

Rani Gaidinliu was a nationalist. She was a personal friend of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She was awarded the Tamrapatra as a freedom fighter by the Prime Minister. She was a gifted woman. Her life is a good example that in an independent and democratic India the Nagas have a place of honour and respect.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the tide of shaping the Naga aspiration and future began to take its form. As discussed earlier with the introduction of so many Acts by the Government and when Burma became independent from the British, it was felt imminent for the withdrawal of the British rule from India. In 1941 Sir Robert Reid, former Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, and Governor of Assam, realising the ethnic and cultural differences between the Naga tribes and the rest of the British India and Burma, recommended a scheme to carve out a trust territory called Crown Colony comprising the “Naga, Hills,

¹⁵⁷ Gangmumei Kabui, *Taken from:- Reprinted from Dictionary of National Biography Vol-III (M-R); Institute of Historical studies, 492-494.*

North east Frontier areas in upper Assam and the hill areas in upper Burma” (Ao 1993:276).

In his confidential report, Sir Reid stated, “we have no right to allow this great body of non-Indian animist and Christians to be drawn into the struggle between Hindus and Muslims, which is now and will be in the future, where ever increasing intensity, the dominating features of political in India proper.....They cannot be left to Indian political leaders with neither knowledge, interest nor feelings for the areas. In any case, if my main premise of separation from India is accepted, their intervention could scarcely arise.....personally, I am in favour of Dr. Hutton’s idea of a North-East province vaguely embracing all the Hills fringes from Lushai (or Lakher) land on the south right round to the Balipara frontier tract on the North, embracing the way the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bengal and the Nagas and Chins of Burma and perhaps the Shan states too. I could put this under a Chief Commissioner and he, in turn, could, I imagine have to be divorced (as in Burma) from the control of the government of India (presumably a federal body by them) and put perhaps under some appropriate department at Whitehall” (quoted by NSF 1995b: 5-6)

Meanwhile, Sir Reginald Coupland, a constitutional expert, reviewed Sir Robert Reid’s proposal known as Coupland Plan. The Coupland Plan envisaged that the Government of India and Burma might have a treaty with the British and each should take a share of responsibility for the areas as “Trust Territory”. This idea was effectively criticised by a later Governor of Assam, Sir Andrew Clow, in 1945 and the Nagas themselves equally opposed it, though on their grounds, for they had no affection for any kind of colonialism and they proved as strong as any Congressmen in insisting that ‘the British must go’ (Elwin 1961: 51-2). Had

the Nagas then lent the slightest support or encouragement to the scheme, the “Trust Territory” might have been established¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁸ Vashum, *Nagas Rights to Self-Determination*, 66-67.

CHAPTER 4

Advent of Christianity and Modern Education

Introduction:

Ever since the beginning of civilization, History had begun making tremendous changes. Civilizations were the base of great societies such as Egypt and Rome. The collection of people, goods and ideas suggest difference and diversity and are also the hallmark of empires. The initial formation of these civilizations were based on the movement of peoples into the river valleys and plains gradually leading some go beyond these boundaries in search for basic needs for livelihood and freedom from the more dominant force. These people were nurtured by these spaces. They often described their environments as God-like and characterised their nearby as life giving. The Nagas too have undergone such drastic changes during the course of her adaptation to their habitat. Apart from cultural contacts with the neighbouring Ahoms, the rulers of Assam from 1228, the Nagas had little or no contact with the outside world. Real exposure to the outside world came with the British annexation of Assam in 1828 following the treaty of Yandaboo. The Nagas allowed no outsiders, to cross her frontier, though the cycles of relationship were entertained with her neighbours. They were living freely and no foreign rule have ever tried to undermine her pride until the British intervene taking her image to a whole course of transformation. This became an

important landmark in the history of our people with considerable social, cultural and political pacification and redemption from their age-old civilization.

With the coming of the British rule in the Naga Hills, modern education, gradually in the form of religious pattern came to assimilate our Nagas who were left in a state of illusions. One was the acceptance of authority of the British rule and the other, the principle of her age-old beliefs that was undermined by this rule. This manifestation and progress never affected in damaging the rich tradition and culture of the Nagas, a legacy for the upcoming generations, it certainly brought about a great transformation in the entire spectrum of our Naga people. This great impact was the arrival of missionaries and the spread of Christianity and modern education among the Naga tribes.

The acceptance of Christianity marks a departure from their many tribal customs and traditions and along with the spread of English education, heralds the arrival of modernity in the Naga Hills. In the ancient past, there is no record of teaching and learning of any script and opening of any formal school in the Naga Hills prior to the arrival of the western Civilization. If education alone without literacy can be taken, the Nagas had it well derived from their own indigenous knowledge for their survival and growth.

It was told by my father that, everything is learned by the children from the Kitchen. This is not only a place to cook food but every Naga household take this as a place for family meeting not only to eat the food prepared but also to discuss all important matters when everyone in the family is present. This happens twice in a day i.e. morning and evening. Parents are primarily responsible in teaching social ethics and behaviour to their children, such teaching occurred informally as

the children sat around the kitchen fire eating or relaxing, as well as at work on their farm. Children were always taught to respect and honour their parents and elders. Role-playing and dramatization were used to teach the young the kind of conduct, ceremony and discharge of responsibility expected of them. Parents always looked forward to the day when they would retire from active farming due to age to baby sit their grandchildren. Aged Naga parents always lived with one of their children and were looked after by them. It would be immature to believe that Nagas received no education prior to their contact with the western civilization. "Education is itself part of the social organization of any society, whether or not that society has anything which might be recognized as a school." Naga societies, though without the formal schooling of the West, regarded education as operative at all stages of human life and very much in the interest of the unity of village communities.

However, it was not until the beginning of the 19th century; formal education called schooling came to be first introduced in the Naga Hills by the missionaries in the 1880s, followed by the British. The primary purpose of mission schools was to teach Nagas reading and writing so that they could read the Bible and the hymnal. Of course, the completely Western colonial education was purely literary.

Nagas Traditional Education:

For the Nagas, the Morung was the only important educational institution for the boys. Modernization comes with Education and society grows with it. No human society exists and grows without education of some kind. Before the advents of this concept, the Nagas were confined to their own village and each village in

return look after her own needs, whether economic, social, spiritual, and political. There was no organization under one common platform for the Nagas as a whole. As a matter of fact, each village was guided by the elders as in some case and some in the form of a Chief who was the ruler of the village. In addition to this, a form of her traditional education, the young men were taught and trained within the village community in the *morung* (bachelor's dormitory). The *morungs* was located at the village entrance or on a spot from where the village could be guarded most effectively. Each tribe have their own way of operating this system.

The Morung or the bachelor dormitory system, used to be an essential part of Naga life. Apart from the family, it was the most important educational set up of the people. On attaining the age of puberty, young boys and girls were admitted to their respective dormitories. The Naga culture, customs and traditions which were transmitted from generation to generation through folk music and dance, folk tales and oral tradition, wood carving and weaving, these teaching-learning process mostly takes place at the men's and women's dormitories.. Announcements of meetings, death of a villager, warnings of impending dangers, etc., were made from the Morungs with the beating of log drums. However, with the onset of modernity, the Morung system is no longer in practice among the Tribes.



The

Morungs

Log Drum:



Log Drum.

The word Log drum or Sungkong is derived from two words in Ao dialect namely, 'sung' means 'wood' and 'kong' means 'crow' whose meaning is wood that crows. Cocks crow to give an alarm that the downing of the day is at hand. So keeping in view of that fact the Aos used to hew the log of a big wood just to let it crow in place of a cock so that it might give alarm to all the people of the village at once. With the passage of time, they come to know the usefulness of having the log-drum in their village community. They were used to give special information to all the inhabitants, as loudly as possible, so that everyone might

hear it at once, from far and near and act accordingly. Because beating of a drum varies from time to time and it signifies the different meanings.

There will be atleast one log-drum in every village organisation or even in every unit or sector of the village. This log-drum is beaten to inform the villagers that their enemies have entered into the village for headhunting so that they might hear it and instantly make the preparation to fight against them. Sometimes it is beaten when enemies are seen nearby or if they are seen killing someone within or outside of the village area. Sometimes it is beaten when a victory over their enemy is celebrated in the village. It is also beaten during the time of Yimkulem (village worship) ceremony. It is also beaten during the time of solar or lunar eclipses. The Aos strongly believed that whichever village first beat the log-drum on seeing the eclipses gets more yield than other villages in their next harvest. It is beaten when fire breaks out in the village or in the jungle and for such emergency purposes, they use this log-drum.

Having fully known its usefulness the Ao Nagas had honoured and respected the log-drum and as such in course of time, they used to give thanks giving ceremony to this log-drum and later on even worshipped it as the guardian spirit or god of the village community.

Folk Songs:

Naga folk songs comprise mostly of romantic content, which are inspired by the young couples. There are also many folk songs, which contain historical background of the tribe, the community, the village, the clan, and certain well-known individuals and communities. They speak of evil deeds committed by some individuals and communities. There are also seasonal songs, which describe

various activities done in a particular agricultural season. Thus, there is at least one folk song for each period of the agricultural years.

The early Western missionaries opposed the use of folk songs by Naga Christians, as they are perceived to be associated with spirit worship, war and immorality. As a result, translated versions of Western hymns were introduced, leading to the slow disappearance of indigenous music from the Naga Hills. Music, war cry and songs always accompany Naga dance and a variety of dances are performed by the Nagas each year during social festivals and religious ceremonies. Folk stories contain less romantic episodes, they tell more about customs and traditions of the past and about animism (nature or spirit worship). Folk tales and oral historical traditions have been the most effective means of transmitting events of the past to the present. Often one finds by the fireside at home, elder telling folk stories to a group of children. It appears that in the early days, storytelling at the boys' morung was more organized. The elder or the priest would come prepared where more involved stories of the past were recited. In the absence of any written document, folk tales and oral historical traditions remain the sole links between the past and the present. One acquired the skills of learning folk tales by the most assiduous cultivation of the memory. For their physical fitness program, the Naga have some very popular sports and games such as wrestling, javelin throw, shot put, tug war, etc., which were performed daily informally and competitively during village festivals.



Village festivals.

The family in Naga society has always been the prime economic unit. Trades of economic value were first learned at home and on the family farm. For example, cloth making, basket and mat weaving, etc. were taught at home; cultivation was always learned on the farm. Parents themselves, or uncles and aunts, or even grandparents, taught the young boys the arts of agriculture and the young girls how to fetch water and firewood and the domestic arts.

Practice of Animism:

In the midst of this progress, Nagas were still following their own ways of faith. Still, animism a distinct faith or religion inherited from time immemorial followed side by side with the new faith. The Nagas, before the coming of Christianity were nature worshippers. They believed that stones, stars, moon, big trees, rivers etc., and all are believed to have spirits each. Therefore, to please them, they give offerings in the form of rice, rice-beer, chicken, bull etc. to please their gods for manifold phenomenon in their daily walks of life. About this nature worship practices, there is a lake in my village Mopungchuket (Ao Naga), and it is believed that a spirit god (Awatsung) dwells in that lake to whom our forefathers worship and offer sacrifices. Even till date this lake stand in the middle of the village, which now has been turned to a tourist spot. Once in a year, during December, fishing is allowed with a charge of a nominal fee for any individual irrespective of tribes or whatsoever. These fees in return are used in maintaining the lake. It is still research how this lake originated at such a high elevation. It was said, that this spirit was the protector of the village.

There used to be a ceremony called as Awatsung Kulem Mong (worship of this village lake), which takes place during the time of drought when there is no sufficient rain for crops and even water for drinking for men and domestic animal. On such a day, a big pig is killed and offer invocation and worship by the priests (Putir) of the village. Sometimes even the whole people of the village are engaged in calling for the rain. They all put on a fan palm leaf used as umbrellas on their back and sing a special song of calling rain. As they sing the song with their backs bending down and putting on the umbrella (serashi) they all join in unison, in prayer inviting the spirit of god to send rain for them. In answer to their call for rain, the highest god used to send rain sometimes immediately. They

believed god sincerely and firmly and they got what they needed. In such a mass prayer or worship only men folk are engaged. Words of prayer are very simple but very effective. God the omnipresent hears their prayer and answers accordingly. In this ceremony all, the meat of the pig must be finished completely, if otherwise, the remaining portion of the meat shall be burned down in the fireplace. The song of prayer runs like this:

*“Alimakhu alir oh Anungtsungba Kodaktsungba
Aliyangerbai tsunglu ashir;
Oh Tzulabangko, oh Babubanko,
Nena osu ajemer alimakhu alir bilemjangmano.
Oh tinu yimsanger dangji jiloka tener
Tsukmetsu shilangjangmano”.*

The meaning of the song in short is given as follows:

*The god of the sky, the god of heaven
The creator of the earth refuses to give us rain;
Oh the gods of the river Dikhu and river Doyang,
Agree yourselves and think for the people of the world.
We have sown the seeds after they were borrowed
From our clansmen and neighbours;
Give us back at least for the seeds we borrowed.¹⁵⁹*

. Mithun sacrifice is not complete unless the sacrifices offer it twice. He must sacrifice it twice and some rich man can even offer more than twice but it is counted as extra. In the process of the sacrifice, the sacrifice is assisted from the beginning to the end by two formal friends called ‘Temba’ and ‘Ashe’. They have the assigned duties to perform and without them, the sacrifice is not possible.

¹⁵⁹ *Authors own memory*



Mithun head.



Mithun

Skull.

We Ao Nagas also believe in life after death even before the advent of missionary in the Naga Hills. In one folk story it is said that, once there was a great warrior named Asemchiba from Soyim village. He was also a very rich man. One day he fell seriously ill and died after sometime. His soul went to the land of death, crossed the stream of bitter water and entered into the city of eternity. There as usual, he faced Meyutsungba, the supreme judge who asked him to throw his spear at the tree of judgement. When he threw his spear and hit the target as he was a man of righteousness. At this, Meyutsungba asked him what he had brought with him to that land. He replied, "I have brought here several heads of mithun and bull which I had sacrificed on earth, because I was a rich man". With great pride he continued, "I was also a warrior and so I killed many people and their heads I have brought with me". Meyutsungba asked him to give him one of the skulls pointing at it. However, that particular skull was the most worthy one and so Asemchiba refused to part with it. Having seen the hard heartedness and miserliness of Asemchiba, the supreme judge told him to go back home on earth again. The moment he turned back, he found himself returned to earth, resurrected from that world of the death.

However, his second life was very different from the former. Formerly he was a very rich man, perhaps one of the richest men of the village, but after his resurrection within a very short time, he became a pauper, unable to support even his own family and had to depend on other rich people of the village. In his former life, his house was thronged with poor people of the village to beg food, but in his later life, it was turned into a deserted house. From this bitter experience, he learned that God is the giver of everything on earth and that it is he who can withhold everything from a man. He wants us to be generous towards him and other fellowmen and that he does not like miserly people.

After living a very long life of poverty, Asemchiba died for the second time never to come back again. He had been reduced to such an extent of poverty that on his death his near and dear ones could not offer even a small chicken to let his soul carry it to the land of the death as was the normal practice in those days. However, as he was the 'Tir' (equivalent to the chief of the army) of the village, at his death all the warriors of the village including all the young men sleeping in morning of the village gathered together. As per custom, all the young men of arju went to the nearby jungle in order to catch a bird alive to be offered to his dead bed. After a hard chase they managed to catch alive a little bird and brought it home and offered it on the dead bed as a special gift sent to him by the warriors of the village.

Taking the present, his soul went straight to the land of the death and crossing the bitter water, he entered into the heaven where he met Meyutsungba. This time also Meyutsungba asked something from him. He said, "What do you bring to me as your present from home?" To this he answered in all humbleness, "I have brought to you this little bird only, a humble present, indeed for you know when

you sent me back home from here I went straight to my earthly home. However, alas! My second life on earth was a life of misery and poverty. I could not even earn my livelihood. Such was my second life on earth that I cannot bring anything with me and even this bird I brought is not mine, but sent by my followers as I was the Commander-in-Chief of the warriors of my village and that is why they presented this to me.” Thereupon Meyutsungba the god of heaven said, it was he who had given the little bird to the warriors. The conversation, which occurred between the two, was brought down to this world through a man of god. Because on the death of such important man our forefathers used to send prophets or man of god in spirit, while he remained in trance. Such man of god is sent to witness and listen to the conversation between Meyatsungba and the soul that went there from this world. They not only listen to the conversation but also even bring news, messages and wishes and through such man of god, we learned about the administrative system in heaven.

Once upon a time, there was a family in Chungliyimti village who lived together very happily. However, when the two sons had attained little more than ten years of age, their father died and after sometime, their mother also died, leaving the two brothers in a very miserable condition. The two brothers were cultivating their paddy field in a distant place away from home. They used to go everyday for weeding in the field, but after sometime they realised that someone was helping them at nighttimes. Accordingly, one day they hid themselves under two baskets and waited. As they continued their watch over the paddy field, there came the souls of their father and mother down from heaven as human beings. No sooner had they landed, they started working in the field singing a lovely song.

Ya shi lu ko, Akumba lu ko?

Ama junger aej remjang ne-

Kazuba lu, Kanong lu,

Yarang jungba lu.

The meaning of the song is:

Whose paddy field is this?

It belonged to living ones-

Let the paddy stocks be healthy,

But weeds be withered away:

The paddy field of my dog, my cock,

The paddy fields of our loving sons.

As they were working in the field fully absorbed in their sweet tune, the two sons suddenly came out of their hideout and quickly perhaps, in a twinkle of an eye clung to each one of them. The elder brother clung to his father and the younger one clung to his mother. But suddenly the father pushed and put aside his son and went up. But the mother out of her great love for her younger son could not push him and carried him away to the land of the death. There they lived together for some time. In the land of death as the younger son moved about, sometimes he could hear great laughs in the camps of the souls, but going nearer he could not see anybody except little creatures like cricket and grasshopper jumping up and down and chirping in the same place where he thought he might find the soul. From a far he heard them sometime speaking, sometimes working but going nearer he failed to see them. Being a real living man and so, he could not see the souls with his naked eyes. After a short stay, he was sent back home by his parents telling him that a real living man was not permitted by the king of heaven to live together with the souls in heaven. So he had to come back again to his brothers on earth. But unfortunately, after reaching their village land as he preceded homeward he saw a little bird chirping and he tried to kill it with his

spear in hand. But as he tried hard to kill it, his own spear was pushed into his own stomach and mortally wounded him. From there he went home in great pain and sorrow. Reaching home, he told all about his journey to the land of the death. After a while, he died of the injury he received and his soul went back to the land of the death to join his parents. With this view, some people have stated roughly that there is no particular home of the souls. But the moment a man dies his soul changes into a creature or an insect like cricket or grasshopper.

Towards Modernisation:

With the onset of British rule in the Naga Hills, Christian Missionaries too started to take keen interest to propagate the Message of God to places, which has still not been touch by it. This being a primary object of the Missionaries intended as per the teachings of the Gospel by Jesus.

In the year 1836, Captain (later Major) Francis Jenkins, the Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General of Bengal and Assam, hoping to find a rout to China from Assam, two American Baptist missionary couples from Burma were sent to Satiya in Upper Assam. In the course of time, mission work took root in Assam, which gradually spread, to the Naga Hills. The two American Baptist missionary couples who came to Satiya on 23rd May 1836 were Mr. and Mrs

Nathan Brown and Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Cutter. On 17th July 1837, they were joined by Mr. and Mrs Miles Bronson and Mrs Jacob Thomas.¹⁶⁰

In this context, Rev. Miles Bronson, who prepared the first spelling book and a catechism for the Singpho Nagas from Jaipur in Assam, attempted the beginning of modernization. He was instructed to work for the Singphos Nagas, but his attention was diverted towards the Namsang Nagas who were very friendly to him. His first point of contact with the Namsang village (now in Arunachal Pradesh) was on 7th January 1839. When he went to their village, he met chief's two sons along with and some warriors outside the village. Bronson tried to convince them that he was not a spy of the Company and that he had come to give them books in their own language so they read the Law of God¹⁶¹ to become wise and good people. The following day, the chief himself with his seven sons

¹⁶⁰ Peetem Surakal, *Baptism Mission in Nagaland*, Published by (Rev. Fr. P.V. Joseph SDB Sacred Heart Theological College Mawtai Shillong, 1984), 50.

¹⁶¹ Holy Bible, *The Ten Commandments*, And God spoke all these words:

- 1) *I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery.*
- 2) *You shall have no other gods before me. You shall not make yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generation of those who love me and keep my commandments.*
- 3) *You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses His name.*
- 4) *Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Six days you shall labour and do all your work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your manservant or maidservant, nor your animals, nor the alien within your gates. For in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the seas, and all that is in them, but He rested on the seventh day. Therefore, the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy.*
- 5) *Honour your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you.*
- 6) *You shall not murder.*
- 7) *You shall not commit adultery.*
- 8) *You shall not steal.*
- 9) *You shall not give false testimony against your neighbour.*
- 10) *You shall not covet your neighbour's house. You shall not covet your neighbour's wife, or his manservant or maidservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbour,* Christian Bible, Exodus: Chapter 20 verses 1 to 17.

and some villagers again met Bronson to learn more about his visit and to make sure that he had not come to harm them. On 12th January, after having made sure that Bronson's purpose was not to harm them, they allowed him to enter their village. During his stay, he corrected the vocabulary and prepared a small catechism in their language and the villagers on the other hand showed great hospitality to him.

Bronson made another visit on Namsang village at the end of 1839 to study the possibility of living there with his family and of starting a small school for the Naga children. And on 6th January 1840, the missionaries of Jaipur in Assam approved to let Bronson and his family live with the Nagas. He finally moved to the Hills in March 1840. In May, Miss Rhoda Bronson, sister of Miles Bronson joined them, but unfortunately, she became ill and passed away on 8th December 1840.¹⁶²

Bronson on the other had worked among the Nagas for some more time. Major Jenkins, Agent to the Governor General was favourably impressed by his work and recommended a financial assistance to be extended to him. Major Jenkins was permitted to make small payments to Rev. Bronson not exceeding a monthly maximum of 100 rupees. Bronson opened a school at Namsang in the Konyak area bordering Assam.¹⁶³ In the letter sent to Madhock, Secretary to the Government of India by Major Jenkins, stated Bronson's encouragement of tea cultivation among the Nagas and also stated that he was the first missionary to

¹⁶² Surakal, *Baptism Mission in Nagaland*, 50.

¹⁶³ Prakash Singh, *Nagaland*, Published by (National book trust New Delhi, 1972), 182.

established schools in the Naga Hills but due to his illness he had to leave the Naga Hills. And the mission to the Nagas was deserted for almost 30 years.¹⁶⁴

Aos:

However, inspite of this factor, the missionary work among the Nagas did not stop there and credit for originating the first Baptist church in Naga Hills goes to three distinct persons, namely: Rev. Edward Winter Clark, His wife Mary Mead Clark and Godhula Rufus Brown. They cover the period from 1871 to 1911. Godhula Rufus Brown, an Assamese Christian and a schoolteacher, started his actual missionary work among the Ao Nagas in the year 1871. He first went to the Amguri tea garden where he met many of the Nagas from Dekha Haimong (Molungyimchen), an Ao Village and after winning their confidence, he went to their village along with them at his own risk. The Nagas, in the initial stage, suspected Godhula to be an agent of the British Tea Company at Amguri. So once they reached the village, he was given a rude hut and a guard was appointed to watch over him closely. At the beginning men, women or children would not go near his house, but with his deep-toned, melodious voice Godhula poured out his soul in the sweet gospel hymns in Assamese. The people flocked around him and listened as he told them in his own way the story of Jesus Christ. And he was able to win their confidence by his devotion to the missionary cause. When Godhula proposed to return to Sibsagar, many women and children wept and to do him a proper honour, an escort of forty men was sent by the authorities of the village to accompany him to the door of the mission bungalow in Sibsagar. In April 1872, Godhula visited Dekha Haimong again with his wife, Lucy. The Nagas built a

¹⁶⁴ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *The First School in Naga Hills 1840*, 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 218.

small bamboo chapel where he conducted the religious services. The first fruits were reaped soon and some Nagas accepted the new faith, and they were brought to Sibsagar for baptism. He also assisted Rev. Clark during Clarks' visit and stay in the Naga Hills.¹⁶⁵

Here Colonel Henry Hopkinson, Agent, Governor-General, North East Frontier and Commissioner of the Assam Division wrote a letter to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department on 15th February 1873, regarding Mr. Clark's plan to go to the Naga Hills. He said, some of his native missionaries (like Godhula) have already gone there with the full and free consent of the Nagas. Colonel Henry also reported that the Government had given permission to Clark's request to visit the Hills.¹⁶⁶ The Naga Christian requested Rev. E.W. Clark to visit their village, which he did and went to Dekha Haimung in 1876. On his return from his twelve days absence in the wilds of barbarism he exclaimed, "I believe I have found my life-work". Later Rev. Clark wrote an application to the Viceroy of India to permit him to live beyond the British territory. Though permitted, he was told to enter the Naga Hills at his own risk without any protection from the British arms. As, during that particular time i.e. 1876, Captain Butler and one of his native soldier were murdered by the Lothas. However, Rev. Clark braved all risk and proceeded to plant a cross of banner among the Nagas. Taking with him only the necessary things, he marched ahead towards the Naga Hills.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Mary Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*, Published by (American Baptist Publication Society Philadelphia, 1907), 11-12.

¹⁶⁶ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Missionaries to the Nagas*, 2nd Edition; Sl. No. 135.

¹⁶⁷ Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*, Published by (American Baptist Publication Society Philadelphia, 1907), 15-16.

Some Nagas were however suspicious of Clark and his motives because they found that his teachings challenged their age-old customs. The new religion forbade drinking of rice-beer, sleeping in the morung, working on Sundays and participation in sacrifices. These prohibitions were very anti-thesis to Naga's way of life. The village was divided regarding this new order of things and far from one mind in permitting the continued residence of this white-faced foreigner. The neighbouring villages suspected that he was an agent of the 'Company'. Glorifying in their independence these savage hill men were utterly opposed to any movement that foreshadowed in the least any alliance whatever with this great and ever encroaching power. Adherents of the old cruel faith were quick to see that the gospel of peace and love will rapidly empty their skull-houses and put to rout most of the old customs handed down from ancestors for which they held the greatest reverence. ¹⁶⁸

The villager's hostile attitude forced Clark to move away from Dekha Haimung along with his new converts who have also come from Merangkong. They went to a place nine mile Northeast and established a new village at Molung (Molungyimsen), without any ceremonies to propitiate demons by great and expensive offerings. The converts built houses and started cultivating rice fields. They resolved to give up fighting and live as peaceful as Christians. There was also no law preventing others who want to join their new community from worshipping. A cross was erected and in due course, the number of converts increased and a school was also started. Rev. Clark wrote the Ao Naga dictionary, a catechism, a hymnbook and translated the Gospels of Matthew and John.¹⁶⁹ Sword said, 'The hostility of the natives had turned into friendship for they had in

¹⁶⁸¹⁶⁸ Ibid.,17.

this time learned to love and revere him, village after village surrendered to Christ.' In 1885, the Clarks were reinforced by the arrival of Dr. S.W. Rivenburg, a medical missionary, and his wife. But the Rivenburgs left for Kohima in 1887 to replace Rev. C.D. King there. In 1889, the Ao area was annexed. The Mission was then moved to a more central location at Impur in 1894.

This marked the beginning of organised Christian Missionary work in the Naga Hills. Impur was to become, in the years to come, the nerve centre of Christian activities among the Naga tribe. In 1895, a school with nine pupils was established there. The missionary made their impact through: a) evangelistic work b) Educational work and c) Medical relieve work.¹⁷⁰ In reference to the letter No. 547, dated 29th June 1907, by, Mr. H. Semesurier, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government wrote to the Director of Public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam, dated 25th July 1907, letter No. 8656, mentioning the sanction of Rs. 1005/- by the Government for the construction of Impur Mission School and the remaining charge out of Rs. 2505/- to be borne by the American of Impur.¹⁷¹

This school was to be the pioneer institution for years producing teachers for schools, evangelists and pastors for churches, and leaders of the people. Contributions of Dr. and Mrs E.W, Clark, Rev. and Mrs. S.A. Perrine and Dr. and Mrs F.P. Haggerd to this pioneering work deserve all appreciation. Mention can be made of other missionaries particularly Rev. and Mrs. W.F. Dowd, an education missionary (1901-1921) and several Naga teachers particularly Gwizao

¹⁶⁹ Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*, 24.

¹⁷⁰ Singh, *Nagaland*, 184

¹⁷¹ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Granting the fund for the construction of Impur Mission School 1907*, 2nd Edition Sl. No. 220.

Meru Zeliang, Pehielie Angami, Kumbho Angami and Mayangnokcha Ao who had made invaluable contributions towards growth and continuity this historic institution. This mission school was named in 1919 as Impur School and class 4 was added to it that year. Later, the school was again renamed as the Clark Memorial High school in 1952.



Dr. & Mrs. F.P. Haggard (1893-98).



Rev. & Mrs. S.A. Perrine (1894-1899).



Rev. & Mrs. W.F. Dowd (Education Missionary 1901-

21)

Mr. and Mrs C.D. King:

Angamies:

Having established their base in the Ao area, the Baptist missionary gradually spread to the other tribal areas. With the repeated insistence of Clark, Rev. C.D. King was sent from America in 1878 to work among the Angamis. He was appointed on 11th July 1878. He set out on 2nd October and reached Calcutta on

10th December 1878. He met Miss Anna M. Sweet, a Baptist Missionary then working at Nowgong and married her on 14th December.

When he was at Nowgong, King contacted Mr. Damant, the Political Agent of the Naga Hills district, regarding his stay at Kohima and opening up a school. Damant being enthusiastic on the subject of education proposed to King, that with the permission of the Government he would try to put the whole of the grant for education into the hands of Mr. King. Thus, the first educational foothold granted by the Government became the great and evangelistic springboard for the future American Baptist mission in the Naga Hills.

In 1879, Rev. C.D. King opened at Samuguting (now Chumukedima) a mission school with the help of one Ponaram, an Assamese teacher. However, he had to flee from Samuguting due to attack by Nagas and the school was closed down. The Nagas want to exterminate every European and every trace of European supremacy in the Angami Hills.

In December 1880, King paid a visit to Clark's mission station at Molungyimsen and on his advice, King met Mr. Stewart Bayley, the Chief Commissioner of Assam and requested him to give permit to go and settle among the Lotha Nagas at Wokha. Mr. Bayley told him to refer the matter to Major Mitchell, then Political Officer of the Naga Hills district at Kohima. Therefore, on 20th he wrote a letter and in reply, on 30th August 1880, Major Mitchell, told him that he would be glad to grant him to settle at Wokha in the cold weather. But he mentioned that

as there were no Europeans at Wokha, he would be the only White person and instead he suggested King to settle at Kohima after the cold weather.¹⁷²

On 25th February 1881, he reached Kohima, but King's missionary zeal met with a bit challenge i.e., the non-two responsive Angami field with its tough Angami language. He understood the importance of school works for the Nagas in relation to preaching. The Government also offered him every possible help to start the school. The Chief Commissioner of Assam has written to Kohima urging to take steps to establish schools for the Nagas and he suggests that a "good, aided, mission school" at Kohima may be the first step. King therefore drew up a plan in consultation of the political officer to get a school started in Kohima. It consisted in getting together "Naga lads" acquainted with Assamese language and to organise them into a class, which could be managed by the Assamese teacher from the plains. This was for the first time that a school was opened in the Angami region.

At the end of 1882, King wrote that the number of boys in attendance has increased to over 20. He said "preach the gospel" is the first requirement and education as a source of spreading the gospel. In the meantime, he had organised a Church at Kohima on 29th March 1883 and it is considered as the first Baptist church at Kohima. But the school was closed in 1887 due to his departure. Mr. and Mrs Rivenburg and Mr. and Mrs. Suppllee:

¹⁷² Surakal, *Baptism Mission in Nagaland*, 91-95.



Dr. & Mrs. S.W. Rivenburg (1885-87).



Mr. & Mrs. Suppllee (Educational Missionary, 1920-21).

The Rivenburgs came to Kohima the same year i.e. 1887. He revived the school opened by C.D. King in 1889 and continued it till 1895 when running of the school was halted due to lack of teachers. Deputy Commissioner of Assam came forward in 1903 with a scheme for education and he promised Rivenburg all possible help. In the following year, Rivenburg made a new beginning in his own mud-walled house at Kohima with an enrolment of some twenty boys and a half staff composed of himself, his wife and a non-Christian Angami. The Rivenburg worked at Kohima more than thirty years during which period, his contribution as a missionary, a liberator and a medical doctor is beyond measure. He wrote the first primer in Angami language, and the school developed under his care. It was fortunate for Nagas that the Mr. and Mrs. Suppllee took charge of the mission and the mission school at Kohima in 1922 after retirement of the Rivenburg. It was in their time in 1941 that a joint High School (the present Government High School, Kohima) was established by combining both efforts of the missions and the government. With it was amalgamated the than Fuller technical school established by the government in 1907. The combined enrolment of Lower Primary, Middle, High and Technical sections was about 800. It was then agreed

that Bible teaching be allowed in the school, but not compulsorily for non-Christian pupils. Besides the Aos (Molungkimchen, Molungyimsen and Impur) and the Angamis (Kohima), the American Baptist Missionaries had opened two other Mission among the Lothas in Wokha and the Sema Nagas (Aizuto) before 1955.¹⁷³

Mr. and Mrs. W.E. Witter and Rev. R.B. Longwell:



Dr. & Mrs. W.E. Witter (1885-88).



Rev. & Mrs. R.B. Longwell(1905-22).

Lhotas:

The first suggestion to locate a missionary among the Lothas came from Clark. After a year he again proposed Wokha as a suitable place for a new missionary from America. The question again came up in June 1881 as desirable a place as Kohima and where also the Government would liberally help by means of grant-in-aid for school. Later, the Missionaries in Assam took an independent decision to transfer Mr. and Mrs. W.E. Witter from Sibsagar to Wokha on an emergency basis. The reason being W. Macfarland, a Church of Scotland Missionary,

¹⁷³ Ibid.,97-99.

expressing his desire to start a mission among the Lothas, on 28th February 1885 wrote a letter to King to acquire useful information on the Lotha area. This became an alarm for the American Baptist Missionary and the Missionaries in Assam hold a meeting with Clark and Rivenburg. The decision was to place Witters at Wokha immediately and to occupy the station. On 9th April 1885, they were already at Wokha and started to study the Lotha language and later prepared the first grammar and vocabulary. The Witters began a small school on 25th August 1886 with 3 Naga boys. The number has since increased and the boys were greatly interested.¹⁷⁴ Mrs. Witter, on the other hand, took Sunday school classes in Assamese. The first Lotha Bible was released at Wokha in October 1968. He could not continue their long due to health and returned in 1887. And the school he initiated had to be closed. Rev. R.B. Longwell opened a school at Furkating (in Assam) temporarily for Lotha boys. He was assisted by Imtisosang, an Ao Naga teacher. With the departure of the Longwells in 1927 coupled with the prospect of opening a school at Wokha, the importance of the school at Furkating was lost.¹⁷⁵ It was only in 1925 that the government opened one lower primary school at Okotso, and in 1941 one Middle school at Wokha.

Mr. and Mrs Dickson:



Rev. & Mrs. H.B. Dickson (1905-1906).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 100-101

¹⁷⁵ Singh, *Nagaland*, 187.

Semas:

Like the Mission station among the Angamis and the Lothas, the origin of the work among the Semas too seemed to be the suggestion of Clark as early as 1885. It was made with in connection with the removal of the Witters from Sibsagar to Wokha. He said some of the Sema villages under Government who have come to Wokha to live are industrious and intelligent, picking up the Lotha and the Assamese language very quickly. A year later he advised the committee in America to place a missionary at Lozema (Sema area), which is a day's march from Wokha.

The first contact with the Semas was through the Sema boys who frequented the Impur Mission School started by Perrine and the Kohima Mission School. In 1903, Dowd wrote to the Executive Committee that the Semas were estimated to be 130,000 and like the Lothas were 'wide awake and ready to seize every opportunity for bettering themselves.' At the same time, Perrine was engaged in writing a Primmer and a Vocabulary of the Sema language.

The Dicksons, who were at first appointed at Impur, but later transferred to Kohima in November 1905 to replace the Revenburgs. At Kohima the Dicksons took a keen interest for the Semas. In August 1905, Mr. Dickson and his assistant Itsusu Lotha passed through the Sema area on their way to Kohima, where they stopped and 'sang some hymns, read John 3:16¹⁷⁶ and other portions which Itsusu explained to the people. He later commented, 'I am perfectly safe in saying that less than three months, Evangelistic work has been done (among the Semas)'.

¹⁷⁶ Holy Bible, John 3:16 *"For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life"*

Though, the American Baptist Mission did not do much for the Semas, Dickson became aware of a mass movement that was beginning among them. From his visit to the Sema village in 1907 and from the reports of his evangelists, he knew that three entire villages were asking for the missionary to come and receive them and that the non-Christians had stopped persecuting the Christians because ‘the crops of the Christians were the best’.¹⁷⁷

But the Committee was not in a position to undertake the opening of a fourth mission station in the Naga Hills and in August 1908, the Dicksons left for America

The Andersons came to the Sema area of Aizuto after Dickson left. A mission school was built there in 1937 and a mission bungalow, eleven years later. In the meantime, a mass movement had swept through the Sema villages. Baptist membership in the Sema village grew unexpectedly without an organised form of evangelism. Anderson returned to America in 1945. A Sema association for all Semas was formed in 1946 and a Bible school was started in Aizuto in 1949.¹⁷⁸

Trans Frontier Tribes:

¹⁷⁷ Surakal, *Baptist Mission in Nagaland*, 102-103.

¹⁷⁸ “The mass movement among the Sema is the most striking example of student and lay evangelism in the Naga Hills. It created a chain reaction. Andersons practice was to let his evangelistic baptised their ‘own’ converts and report to him the number of members thus added to the Church fellowship. Form among the new converts several became ‘evangelistic’ and persuaded their villagers to join the Movement. In 1930 when 435 baptisms were reported, the gathering kept on increasing with the help of Ao, Lotha and Angami helpers. In his Field Report for the year 1936 Anderson wrote that the Semas were the ‘most fruitful of our Christian communities in the Assam Baptist Mission’. In the following year, the evangelistic Inaho and Kiyevi alone reported 1,120 baptisms. The former worked in the villages along the Mokokchung side and the latter in those of the Kohima side. The mass movement gathered an unusual momentum during the years of World War 2nd when the Semas suffered more than the Aos. By 1945, out of thirty-five Sema villages outside the administered area, thirty villages were reported to have groups of Baptist through the works of native evangelists” Ibid.,104.

Tuesang area was the last to be influenced by Christianity. In 1932, a Konyak was baptised in the Ao area and in the following year the Rev. Longri Ao and the Rev. Subongwati formed the Tamlu Baptist church. In the Sangtam area, mission work began around 1936 where the Aos played an important part. The Sangtam association was formed in 1946. The first Chang was baptised in 1941 and the first Phom in 1943.

Towards Progressive Results:

Education was an important instrument of conversion and it formed a preparation evangelical. As discussed, the beginning of educational work among the Nagas started with the opening of a school at Molungyimchen village by the Clarks. The Bible was the textbook in the school and supplemented with other books containing Christian teachings. His or her idea was that every pupil or girl, on leaving the institution, should become a messenger of Gospel. English was the medium of instruction. In 1898, Rev. S.A. Perrine started a training school at Impur to train pastors and lay workers. The school started with only nine people but the number increase gradually. The Perrines were later re-enforced with the arrival of Haggards. Haggard taught the art of preaching while Mrs. Haggard taught the craft of sewing. By 1972, the Baptist church runs about 25 schools in Nagaland.¹⁷⁹

Referring to some pioneering works in the field of education in Nagaland; it becomes interesting to briefly overview the actual process of education that operated for the Nagas. The first contact between the Dekahaimong trades and the

missionaries at Sibsagar on the issue of education was in a classroom situation. They became curious, at this point, Godula, the Assamese teacher talked to them, and they became friends. They talked about alphabets and Jesus. As closer ties developed between the Dekahaimong villager and the mission workers at Sibsagar, the Nagas invited the latter to their village with primary objective to learn the alphabets. The Missionaries accepted their invitation with primary objective to reach the people with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Baptist Mission Church recruiting Assamese teachers to assist the missionaries opened the first school. This school produced native teachers to take care of the fast-increasing schools. The students learn how to read and write and elementary health care and Christian ethics were included in the teachings. Grades in the school were named to the students per the books of the Gospel such as Mathew, Mark, Luke and John classes. The missionaries rightly took advantage of the peoples' enthusiasm for education in propagating the gospel. The schools became the channel and agents of Christianization. There are cases wherein the missionaries opened schools even before churches were started which shows how fast the impact of modernization was progressing in the Hills. The village teacher was at the same time the pastor of the church and vice-versa, popularly called the Pastor-master. Teaching was initially through Assamese, though the missionary teacher had to use English also. Gradually, English became the medium of instruction. These processes of reformation through channel of modern education simultaneously with Christianisation brought about transformation to the Nagas, giving up evil practices, old ways yielding to new ones. The horizon of the people began more revolutionized through contact with others outside village and tribal communities.

¹⁷⁹ Singh, *Nagaland*, 185-187.

Following are the list of books in Chongli dialect, published by the American Baptist Missionary and submitted the same to J.P. Mills, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills.

- i) Ao Arithmetic, Book I.
- ii) Ao Arithmetic, Book II.
- iii) Premier in Ao Naga.
- iv) First Reader in Ao Naga.
- v) Folk Lores of the Ao Nagas.
- vi) An outline Grammar of the Naga Language.
- vii) The story of Joseph.
- viii) Ao Reader (second).
- ix) First Catechism.
- x) Second Catechism.
- xi) Ao Naga Dictionary.
- xii) New Testament in Ao Naga.¹⁸⁰

Apparently, with the fast growing progress brought about by the American Mission field. The British administration also began to involve gradually in opening and running of schools. They needed natives to operate as clerks in their small offices. They collaborated with the Baptist mission for jointly running the mission school by granting financial assistance. They opened new school where there were none. The government by its orders insisted that at least thirty students had to be enrolled in a school even by compulsorily sending children of Gaonburas and their relatives to sustain the level of enrolment. Though the increase of schools in the then Naga hills was substantial, the academic management was left to the mission only and the government was behind them to support. Initially classes were regulated up to level 1 and the schools were known as the Lower Primary Schools. Some school were allowed upgrade as Upper Primary Schools to run up to class IV. Few schools were later upgraded to run up to class VI and were called Middle schools. Taking into viewpoint that education

¹⁸⁰ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *List of the AoNaga Books*, Published by the (American Baptist Mission-1931), 2nd Edition, Sl. No. 35.

should be given to the Nagas in their own hills, in 1938, the government decided to include class VIII. Till then, the student used to go outside Nagaland mainly to Shillong or Jorhat to study in class VII and upward. The weakness of the then system and approach to education was due to the short-term goals of producing persons to read the Bible and to work as clerks.

W.J. Reid, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, in his report mentioned that in the year 1904-05, there were four Angami Lower Primary schools in the village of Khonoma, Jakhama, Cheswejuma and Chichama, and Khonoma being the oldest.¹⁸¹ In 1905-06, the then Sub-divisional Officer made a tour and said that, 14 village schools were taken over by the Government in 1st November 1905 from the American Baptist Missionary at Impur. The teachers were all been appointed from among the boys trained at the mission schools at Impur. He also punished Nankam, Changki, Longsa and Mangilung villages for not sending their children to school as ordered by the Government.¹⁸²

When a British officer made a tour in the Naga Hills during 1908-09, there were 42 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration. Out of these 27 schools were at Mokokchung and 15 at Kohima, and 42 Lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission. During the close of the year, there were 43 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration with 26 schools at Mokokchung and 17 at Kohima. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there

¹⁸¹ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives , *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1904-05; From: W.J. Reid, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To: the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, dated Kohima, May 1905, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 221.*

¹⁸² Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1905-06, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 226.*

were 29 pupils and by the end of the year, it increased to 30. He also said that there were two Training schools, one at Kohima and one at Impur¹⁸³

Lieutenant Colonel Albert E. Woods, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, submitted his report for the year 1909-10, and said 25 schools were opened that year at Kohima, along with the Training schools at Impur and Kohima respectively. One Middle English school was opened at Kohima. These schools were regularly inspected either by the Deputy Commissioner or Sub-divisional Officer or by the Inspector of school, Assam valley and Hill district. At Mokokchung, there were 14 Lower Primary schools and another school teaching Assamese and little English to the children of the sepoy and faltus.¹⁸⁴

J.H. Hutton, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, in his report for the year 1920-21, said that there were 34 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration and 25 aided Lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission. During the close of the year, there were 37 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration with 24 schools at Mokokchung and 13 at Kohima. Three new schools were opened at Chungtia, Longmisa and Sanis. In addition, 25 lower Primary schools under the Impur Mission. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there were 24 pupils and by the end of the year, it increased to 26. He said that there were two Training schools, One at Kohima and one at Impur as before.

¹⁸³ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1908-09*, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 264.

¹⁸⁴ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1909-10*; From: Lieutenant Colonel Albert E. Woods, I.A., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To: The Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts Silchar, dated Kohima 16th May 1910, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 273.

¹⁸⁵J.H. Hutton submitted another report for the year 1922-23, said that there were 42 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration and 42 aided Lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission. During the close of the year, there were 43 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration with 26 schools at Mokokchung and 17 at Kohima. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there were 29 pupils and by the end of the year, it increased to 30. He said that there were two Training schools, One at Kohima and one at Impur as before. ¹⁸⁶

J.P. Mills, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, submitted his report for the year 1923-24. He said there were 43 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration and 45 unaided Lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission. During the close of the year, there were 40 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration with 25 schools at Mokokchung and 15 at Kohima. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there were 30 pupils and by the end of the year, it increased to 31. He also mentioned about the two Training schools at Kohima and Impur. ¹⁸⁷

J.H. Hutton, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, on his tour made in 1925-26, said there were 41 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration and 44 unaided Lower Primary schools under the management of

¹⁸⁵ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1920-21*; From: J.H. Hutton, Esq. C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To: the Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts Silchar, dated 11th May 1921, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 341.

¹⁸⁶ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1922-23*; From: J.H. Hutton, Esq. C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To: the Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts Silchar, dated Kohima 6th May 1923 (No. 430 G.), 1st Edition, Sl. No. 347.

¹⁸⁷ Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1923-24*; From: J.P. Mills, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills, To: the

Impur Mission. During the close of the year, there were 44 unaided Lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission and 44 Lower Primary Schools under the Government administration with 26 schools at Mokokchung and 16 at Kohima, three new schools being opened at Kohima. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there were 26 pupils and by the end of the year, it increased to 28. He said that there were two Training schools, one at Kohima and one at Impur

Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts Silchar, dated Kohima 14th May 1924 (No. 392 G), 1st Edition, Sl. No. 349.

When the then Sub-divisional Officer made a tour in the year 1925-26, there were 44 Lower Primary schools under the Government administration. Out of these 22 schools were at Mokokchung and 18 at Kohima plus 3 new schools were opened at Kohima by the end of the year. In addition, 44 lower Primary schools under the management of Impur Mission. The Industrial school, in the beginning, there were 26 pupils and by 1926, it increased to 28. He also said that there were two Training schools, one at Kohima and one at Impur. ¹⁸⁸All the tours made by different Deputy Commissioners and Sub Divisional Officers, shows the British's interest to civilise the Naga people. Sometimes they were even forced to introduce strict orders to educate the Nagas.

According to the records maintained by the Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs the educational level in Nagaland for the period 2010-2011 are categories per age groups as shown in the figure:

S No.	Age groups	Total population	Literate without educational level	Below primary	Primary	Middle	Matric secondary	Higher secondary	Non-technical diploma	Technical diploma	Graduate and above	Unclassified
1	0-6	289,678	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	7	45,168	491	23,462	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
3	8	62,952	733	37,696	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
4	9	47,392	386	27,064	4,957	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
5	10	74,025	715	32,191	19,904	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
6	11	36,483	263	11,422	16,474	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
7	12	68,636	593	14,148	33,184	4,918	0	0	0	0	0	8
8	13	45,124	364	6,000	21,205	8,252	0	0	0	0	0	4
9	14	58,951	531	5,388	20,954	19,962	0	0	0	0	0	7
10	15	56,508	563	4,015	15,044	17,880	6,741	0	0	0	0	3

¹⁸⁸Records and Indices of the Nagaland State Archives, *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills, 1905-06*, 1st Edition, Sl. No. 226.

11	16	60,758	643	3,419	12,577	17,809	13,372	0	0	0	0	4
12	17	37,388	388	1,847	6,299	9,757	10,695	0	0	0	0	3
13	18	77,284	982	4,100	12,310	17,041	15,369	8,852	9	29	0	6
14	19	34,166	382	1,649	4,782	6,604	6,810	5,669	9	27	0	8
15	20-24	209,930	3,342	9,507	28,596	33,222	34,161	32,347	76	213	12,401	45
16	25-29	163,442	4,087	8,260	25,018	24,333	23,677	14,339	75	261	15,108	42
17	30-34	122,907	3,131	6,945	19,387	18,503	18,930	7,841	65	294	8,979	21
18	35-39	122,224	3,252	7,274	20,173	17,546	17,620	5,888	66	330	6,903	11
19	40-44	94,984	2,590	6,060	15,128	11,666	12,370	3,930	42	213	4,754	8
20	45-49	87,263	2,331	5,641	13,062	9,439	10,280	3,057	44	148	3,927	9
21	50-54	59,972	1,717	4,105	8,474	5,599	6,467	1,729	26	112	2,508	7
22	55-59	39,734	1,185	2,867	4,980	3,038	3,332	815	18	62	1,329	6
23	60-64	31,747	1,016	2,411	3,230	1,761	1,963	409	15	35	666	1
24	65-69	20,957	640	1,565	1,822	947	1,061	220	1	19	346	4
25	70-74	14,881	436	1,020	1,187	522	542	130	6	10	208	2
26	75-79	9,127	316	539	588	280	313	70	2	7	105	1
27	80+	13,611	422	712	791	451	446	118	2	17	179	0
28	Age not stated	4,744	968	345	394	253	252	122	0	2	98	2
29	All ages	1,990,036	32,467	229,652	310,520	229,783	184,401	85,536	456	1,779	57,511	218

Clark had also seen the utility of medical work in furthering the missionary cause, and accordingly he had made a special request for a qualified medical missionary. In response, Dr. S.W. Rivenburg came to Molung in 1885, but later had to leave

for Kohima. The first full time medical missionary was among the Aos was Dr. Bailey. Help given to the villagers in the form of medicines went a long way towards winning the Nagas confidence and people from far off places came to Impur for treatment. They were given a dose of Christianity along with the treatment. After Dr. Bailey left Impur, the medical work was supervised by the missionary doctors at Jorhat with a trained compounder in charge of the dispensary at Impur. The Impur Hospital today has grown into a big establishment. There is another hospital at Aizuto in the Sema area.

The Naga Christians now could not reveal in headhunting, take madhu (rice beer) or enjoy the Feast of Merit. Regular Bible classes were organised at Impur and these were attempted by the representatives from the local churches. It was emphasised that every soul was directly responsible to God, and it was for the people to accept Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Lord. Success in evangelistic work was measured by the number of converts baptised. In the beginning, the progress was slow as there were only 211 converts in 1891 and 579 in 1901. The number, however, increased at a galloping pace in the 20th Century under the British patronage. As the years rolled, the light of Christianity radiated to the distant corners of the Naga Hills.¹⁹⁰

The result of this missionary work can be seen in the formation of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) and its network all over Nagaland. The following are the figures of the churches and the total number of Baptist adults in the different tribal areas till 1972.

¹⁸⁹ Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs.2010-11, *Educational level and age group Composition Nagaland 2011*, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, New Delhi-110011. Maintained by Logic soft International, New Delhi, India

¹⁹⁰ Singh, *Nagaland*, 186.

Kohima District	No. of Churches	Members (Baptist adults)
Angami Association	58	6,000
Chakhesang Association	60	4,269
Zaliang Association	27	1,117
Rengma Association	22	1,102
Kuki Association	28	1,152
Ao Association	73	21,510
Sema Association	210	19,840
Lotha Association	80	8,647
Tuesang District:		
Chang Association	37	4,836
Khemungan Association	25	946
Konyak Association	70	12,921
Phom Association	25	3,868
Sangtam Association	41	10,772
Yamchunger Association	49	3,500

According to the records maintained by the Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs the religious composition in Nagaland for the period 2010-2011 are categories as shown in the figure:

	Religious compositions	Persons	Males	Females
1	All Religions	1,990,036	1,047,141	942,895
2	Hindus	153,162	96,808	56,354
3	Muslims	35,005	21,690	13,315
4	Christians	1,790,349	922,406	867,943
5	Sikhs	1,152	774	378
6	Buddhists	1,356	761	595
7	Jains	2,093	1,130	963
8	Others	6,108	3,150	2,958
9	Religion not stated	811	422	389

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¹⁹¹ Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs. 2010-11, *Religious Composition Nagaland 2011*. Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, New Delhi-110011. Maintained by Logic soft International, New Delhi, India

In Waromung, an Ao Naga village, it was found on the 1961 Census that out of the 1,608 persons in the village only 5 were non-Christians and all these 5 persons were aged over 60 years. They had not become Christians because they found it hard to change their habits. During 1961-71, the Christian population increase further by 76.29%. The Christians by 1972 constituted 66.76% of the total population and the curve was going up every year.¹⁹²

The Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) formed a body known as the 'Home Mission Board' to intensify proselytisation campaign among the comparatively backward tribes where Christianity has not yet won the majority population. These tribes are the Konyak, Phom, Chang, Yimchunger, Khemungan, Sangtam Pochury and Zeliangrong. For women, a separate wing known as the 'Nagaland Baptist Women's union' was formed. A remarkable feature of the Christian organisation in Nagaland today is that unit is completely indigenous and rooted in the soil. All the preaching, proselytisation and management of the churches are in the hands of the Naga pastors. The NBCC have even established a 'Nagaland Baptist Foreign Mission', which would send, trained evangelist abroad to spread the message of Christ. The NBCC is affiliated through the Council of Baptist churches of North-East India (CBCNEI) and in turn through the Baptist union of India to the World alliance, which has its Headquarters in Washington.

The Roman Catholics have also made considerable progress in Nagaland, though they started in the 50's only and had to content with the fierce opposition of Baptists in the initial stages. The first Catholic to enter Nagaland in 1951 was

¹⁹² Singh, *Nagaland*, 187.

Italian Father Marachiino of the Society of Don Bosco. He opened a small Chapel in Kohima. The first Naga converted by him was one Prallie Angami. In addition, many others followed. Father Bernick and Father Fellix followed Father Marachino. Father Fellix opened schools at Zunuboto, Peren, Puruba, Kohima and Tuensang to spread education among the Nagas and also as a means to popularise the Catholic faith. The total strength of Catholics in Nagaland would be about 15000 the largest number being from the Lotha area.

In mid 1967, an unseemly controversy developed between the Baptist and Catholic Churches in Nagaland. Opposition to Catholics even came from the Underground Naga army, who abducted five Catholics from Zhamai in the Chakhesang areas on August 16, 1967 and another seven from the same village, on November 29, 1967. The majority of underground Nagas are themselves Baptists. The Yehzabo (Constitution) of 'Naga Federal Government' speaks of 'Nagaland for Christ' and states that Baptist Christianity and Naga religion would 'alone' be recognised. However, later the conflict between the Baptists and Catholics abate. ¹⁹³

Three secret for the success of Christian Missionary in Nagaland can be attributed to the protective British umbrella that helped the missionaries. Secondly, the early pioneers were undoubtedly men of grit and determination and they had a tremendous crusading zeal. No hills were too high for them, no jungles in penetrable and no tribes unapproachably ferocious. Lastly, the missionaries had the vision and foresight to identify themselves completely with the tribal in whose midst they lived. Even in the remotest places, the missionary lived as the tribal lived, ate what the local took and tried to merge completely in the background. A

sympathetic attitude, backed by acts of practical piety like providing medical facilities and opening schools, naturally drew a sympathetic response from the Nagas and a steady stream of them were drawn to the Cross.¹⁹⁴



Mr. Yongna Konyak, the First Convert and pastor among the

Konyaks (1926)



Mr. Imkum Phom, the First Convert among the Phoma (2.9.1929).

¹⁹³ Singh, *Nagaland*, 188-189.

¹⁹⁴ Singh, *Nagaland*, 192-193.



Mr. Imtisosang Longkumer, the First Naga to Matriculate



(1922). Mr.Semsalepung, the First Pastor and Evangelist from Ao Naga Baptist Convention to Border tribes (1910-56).



Clark Memorial Hall at Molungyimchen. (1880).



Impur Students in 1898.



Impur village.



The

First Ao Naga Bible.

CHAPTER 5

Nagas and the World War II

Background of the battle of Kohima:

Kohima, the land of the mighty Angami warriors, who have resisted the British imperialism in the Naga Hills in the early and late 80s have gone down in history as one of the most important place not only because of British occupation of the Naga Hills but this town witnessed the deadliest battleground ever fought in the Second World War. The Battle of Kohima, also referred as the “Stalingrad of the East” was the turning point of the Japanese ‘U Go’ offensive into India in 1944 during the World War II. The Battle of Stalingrad was a major battle of World War II in which Germany and its allies fought the Soviet Union for control of the city of Stalingrad (now Volgograd) in South-Western Russia. It took place between 17th July 1942 and 2nd February 1943. The battle is considered by many historians to be the turning point of World War II in Europe, comparable to the way El Alamein was the turning point in the Middle East and the Battle of Midway is considered the turning point of the Pacific War.¹⁹⁵ Arthur Swinson in his book, ‘Kohima’ states, “Kohima was one of the greatest battles of the Second World War, rivalling El Alamein and Stalingard, though it still remains comparatively unknown. However, to the men who fought there, it remains “The Battle”.

¹⁹⁵“Battle of Stalingrad” *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2009.

Kohima was the nerve centre of British administration in the Naga Hills. The British have established their headquarter for maintaining an effective control over the Naga Hills not only because of geographical advantages but also because, the Angamis were the first with whom the British had encountered first and built a strong relation which is also evident during the course of the Second World War.

With the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-45), Japan wants to direct its aggressive militarism in the Far East. As Arthur Tiedemann said, 'the principles called for continued overseas expansion; increased armaments in order to stabilise East Asia; the elimination of the USSR as a threat to the co-operative economic development of Japan, China and Manchukuo; and the extension of Japanese influence in South East Asia'.¹⁹⁶

After defeating the Western powers in the Far East and South Eastern Asia, the Japanese assumed the role of liberators and protector of the people of East Asia from the bondage of White man's rule and declared their intention of establishing a 'Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere'.¹⁹⁷ In this progress, the Japanese have already occupied Hongkong on December 25th 1941, Malaya and Singapore on February 15th 1942, the Netherland Indies in March 1942, Manila on June 2nd 1942, Batan on April 9th 1942, Corregidor on May 6th 1942 and Burma in June 1942. By the summer of 1942, entire South East Asia lay prostrated at the feet of Japan.

¹⁹⁶ A.K Singh, *History of Japan in Modern times*, Published by (Surjeet Publication Delhi), 121.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 136

Now the question, which arose in the minds of the Japanese, was India, which was under the strong hold of the British Empire. About this time, the anti-British Nationalism was at its peak in India and the INA under Subhas Chandra Bose has already formed a pact with Japan. On 16th June 1942, after the surrender of Singapore, Prime Minister Tojo, in a speech in the Imperial Diet, called the Indians to make use of the greater East Asia war for the achievement of India's freedom. He said, 'Japan expects that India will regain its proper status as India for the Indians and she would stint herself in extending assistance to the patriotic efforts of the Indians'¹⁹⁸. He even declared in the Japanese diet, 'the land of India towards which the Ajad Hind Fauj is marching will be place completely under the administration of the free India provincial Government'.¹⁹⁹

Indians were greatly encouraged by General Tojo's promise of support. Immediately Raj Behari Bose established the headquarters of the Indian Independence League at Sanno Hotel in Tokyo. He published a 'manifesto' expressing his intention to start a movement in East Asia for India's independence and requesting his countrymen in India to make use of the opportunity offered by the Pacific War in liquidating the British domination over India. He had already sent his representatives to Honkong and Shanghai and in both the places Indians were helped to set up organizations with the same name on 26th January 1942.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, for the INA, the Burma and Imphal

¹⁹⁸ K.K. Ghosh, *The Indian National Army*, Meenakshi Prakashan Meerut 1969, 40.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

campaign²⁰¹ was the only battle in which they participated in full vogue with the primary object of achieving freedom for India.²⁰²

Beginning of the War:

The main Japanese operation, directed against Imphal and Kohima, was to start one month after the commencement of the Arakan campaign (Burma Campaign).²⁰³ By mid 1944, the Japanese have already crossed Chindwin²⁰⁴ and were advancing towards Kohima to capture Dimapur, a distance of 74 Kilometres from Kohima (National Highway 39), which was for the Japanese a strong strategic point to march to Delhi. If the Japanese captured Dimapur, it could have turned the tide of the war in favour of the Japanese. In the meantime, the British and Indian 14th Army, under the command of General William Slim, were also building up logistical bases at Dimapur and Imphal for an eventual offensive into

²⁰¹ *“The Battle of Imphal took place in the region around the city of Imphal, the capital of the state Of Manipur in North-East India from March until July 1944. Japanese armies attempted to destroy the Allied forces at Imphal and invade India, but were driven back into Burma with heavy losses. Together with the simultaneous Battle of Kohima on the road by which the encircled Allied forces at Imphal were relieved, the battle was the turning point of the Burma Campaign, part of the South-East Asian Theatre of World War II. Many historians consider it to be the biggest Japanese defeat of the war on land.”* Private Paper's Memorial W.W II, Kohima; Record & Indices; Govt., of Nagaland; Directorate of Information and Public Relation.

²⁰² Ibid., 170.

²⁰³ *“The Burma Campaign of World War II was fought primarily between British Commonwealth, Chinese and United States forces against the forces of the Empire of Japan, Thailand and the Indian National Army. British Commonwealth land forces were drawn primarily from British India to check the advance of Japanese force to Burma. The Burmese Independent Army initially fought for the Japanese though they later switched sides. Japanese objectives in Burma were initially limited to the capture of the capital and principal seaport of Rangoon. This would close the overland supply line to China and provide a strategic bulwark to defend Japanese gains in Malaya and the Dutch East Indies”* Indian National Army; KK Gosh.175

²⁰⁴ *“The Chindwin River (Burmese: Chindwin Myit) is a river in Burma (Myanmar), and the largest tributary of the country's chief river the Ayeyarwady (Irrawaddy). It flows entirely within Burma and is known as Ning-thi to the Manipuris, CHINDWIN”* F.S.V. Donnison, BURMA, 1970. Ernest Benn Limited Bouverie House; Fleet Street. London. 16.

Burma.²⁰⁵ Unlike Imphal, Kohima strategic importance was entirely favoured by the Japanese for not only capturing Dimapur but also this would also give the Japanese the best route from Burma into India. This route was the main supply route between the base at Dimapur in the Brahmaputra River Valley and Imphal, where three Divisions of British and Indian Troops were setup.²⁰⁶ Arthur Swinson, in his words, “Their information and choice of routes was vital and their work, must rank as one of the most brilliant feats of reconnaissance in the history of war”

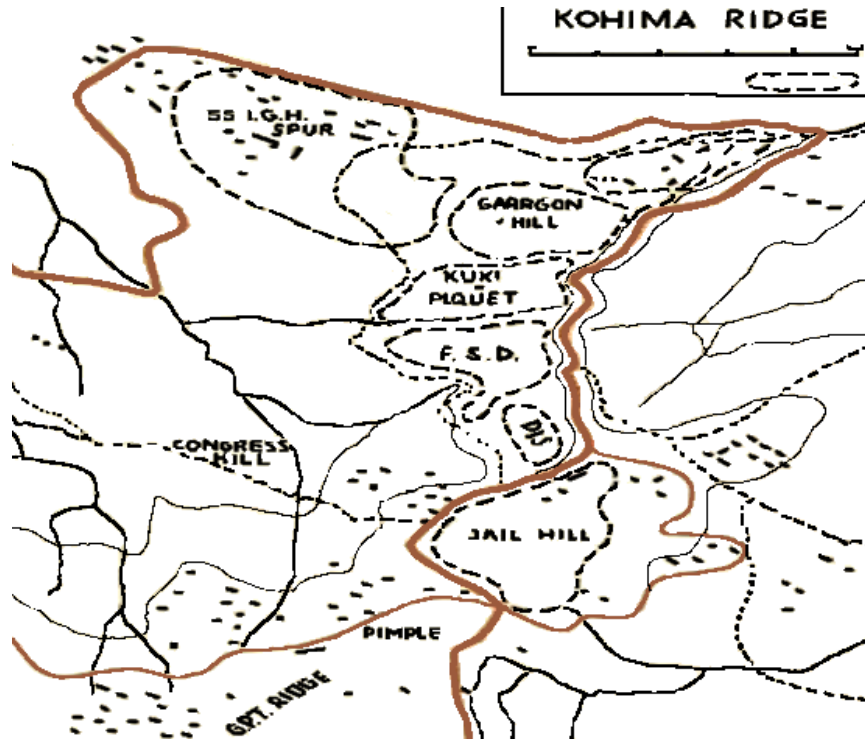
Kohima ridge itself runs roughly from North to South. It is the middle point between Imphal and Dimapur. As stated, Kohima was also the headquarters of the British administration in the Naga Hills, with Charles Bowsey as the Deputy Commissioner.²⁰⁷ His bungalow stood on the Hillside with its garden and tennis court, and a clubhouse facing the highway. North of the ridge lay the Naga village (Now Kohima village the second largest village in Asia). Knitted by Treasury

²⁰⁵ “*The Battle of Kohima*” Private Paper's Memorial W.W II, Kohima; Record & Indices; Govt., of Nagaland, DIPR Department.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 332.

²⁰⁷ “*Sir Charles Ridley Pawsey, CSI, CIE, MC (1894–1972) was a British colonial administrator. Pawsey was commissioned into the Worcestershire Regiment in 1914 and won the Military Cross-as a Lieutenant in 1916. He was promoted Captain in 1917 and resigned his Territorial Army commission in 1922. Sir Charles was appointed Assistant Commissioner in Assam in 1919, becoming Director of Land Records in 1932. He was made a Deputy Commissioner in 1935 and was D.C., Naga Hills during the Burma campaigns of 1942 to 1944. Prior to his return to England following India’s independence, he wrote in the Naga Nation, underlining that autonomy within the Indian Union was the more prudent course to follow. For, ‘Independence will mean tribal warfare, no hospitals, no schools, no salt, no trade with the plains and general unhappiness. Deputy Commissioner Charles Pawsey’s bungalow and tennis court were the place where the British Fourteenth Army finally turned the tide of the war against the Japanese during the Burma Campaign of World War II at the Battle of the Tennis Court’.* Guha, Ramachandra (2007). *India after Gandhi*. Pan Macmillan Ltd., London. 269–278.

Hill and Church Knoll (now Baptist College and Baptist High). South and west was GPT ridge and the Aradura spur.



These areas were the main battlegrounds during the whole course of the Japanese invasion.

During the siege of Kohima by the Japanese, Kohima was defended by a force of barely 1500 soldiers comprising of the 4th Battalion of the Queen's own Royal West Kent Regiment, under Colonel Richards.²⁰⁸ and 161st Indian Brigade.²⁰⁹ They

²⁰⁸ "The 4th battalion Royal West Kent Regiment in Burma was part of the 161st Indian Infantry Brigade of the 2nd British men they were a vital part of the Kohima garrison. Kohima, directly after the RWKs arrived, came under siege by the Japanese 15th and 31st Divisions and remained cut off for 14 days from 5th April 1944 to 19th April 1944. During this time, a great deal of very nasty close quarters fighting took place (including the battle of the tennis court). At the end of 14 days of continuous fighting with little food, water, sleep, etc. they were in bad shape but victorious. RWK casualties were 199 wounded with 61 dead. Lance corporal. John Harmen was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for his single handed charges into a Japanese bunker killing all 5 Japanese soldiers who had had his company pinned down". The Battle of Kohima. Private Paper's Memorial W.W II, Kohima Record & Indices; Govt., of Nagaland; DIPR Department.

were supported by the Garrison troops from the Assam Rifles²¹⁰ and the Assam Regiment.²¹¹

The Japanese 15th Army, under the command of Lt General Renya Mutaguchi, received orders in early 1944 to put a stop to the British preparations in Assam.

The 31st Division²¹² was to split into three columns that would cut the Kohima–

²⁰⁹ “The 161st Indian Infantry Brigade was an infantry formation of the Indian Army. It was formed in November 1941 and assigned to the 5th Indian Infantry Division. The brigades were then sent to Cyprus as a garrison in case of a German invasion. In April 1942, they were sent to Egypt and took part in the Western Desert Campaign as they had been re organised as a motor brigade they were attached to the British 10th Armoured Division for the First Battle of El Alamein between June and July 1942. Returning to the 5th Division, they were sent to Burma. In Burma they were attached to a number of divisions; British 2nd Infantry Division between April and May 1944, 7th Indian Infantry Division between May and June 1944, during the Battle of Kohima. They then returned to the 5th Division until March 1945, when they were once again with the 7th Division. At the end of March, they once again returned to the 5th Division until the end of the war. They ended the war at sea as part of the force assembled to invade Malaya. “161 Indian Brigade”. Order of Battle” <http://www.ordersofbattle.com/UnitData.aspx?UniX=6422&Tab=Su>. Retrieved 2009-10-23.

²¹⁰ “The Assam Rifles can trace its origins back to a paramilitary force known as Cachar Levy which was established by the British in 1835 in the Assam region. With approximately seven hundred and fifty men, this force was formed as a police unit to protect settlements against tribal raids and other assaults as British rule slowly moved towards the northeast parts of India. Despite problems with equipments & training, the contribution of this force in opening the region to administration and commerce was nevertheless quite significant and over time they have become known as the “...right arm of the civil and [the] left arm of the military” in the region. In 1870 these existing elements were merged into three Assam Military Police battalions which were spread out in the Lushai Hills (later 1st battalion), Lakhimpur (2nd battalion) and Naga Hills (3rd battalion). A fourth battalion was later formed Imphal in 1915”. History of Assam Rifle, 16.

²¹¹ “The Assam Regiment was raised on 15 June 1941 in Shillong by Lt Col Ross Howman to meet the claim of the then undivided State of Assam for its own fighting unit and to counter the threat of the Japanese invasion of India. The young regiment soon proved its capabilities within three years of its raising, at the consecutive battles of Jessami, the epic defence of Kohima and the capture of Aradura, all of which were awarded as Battle Honours (now as Pre-Independence Battle Honours) to the Regiment. The Regiment earned high praise for its combat skills in World War II. After independence, the Regiment gained in strength and its battalions have taken part in all wars and counter-insurgency operations with distinction. It was awarded a Battle Honour for its tenacious defence at Chamb in the 1971 Indo-Pak War” Ibid., 23.

²¹² “The 31st Division was raised in Bangkok, Thailand, on March 22, 1943 out of reservists from Fukuoka prefecture. It was assigned to the Japanese 15th Army. In 1944, under Japanese operation U-Go, Lieutenant General Renya Mutaguchi ordered the 31st Division across the border of Burma into British India as part of the overall Battle of Imphal. Its

Imphal Road and envelop the village from three different angles. As mentioned, this fighting in and around Kohima in the spring of 1944 was part of a larger Japanese offensive, known as 'U-Go', in which three Japanese divisions, the 15th, 31st and 33rd attempted to destroy the British/Indian forces at Imphal, Naga Hills and Kohima.²¹³ Their first encounter was made from the 22nd elements of

*assignment was to capture Kohima, thus cutting off Imphal, and then exploit to Dimapur. The 31st division's commander, Lieutenant General Kotoku Sato was unhappy with his role. He had not been involved in the planning of the offensive, and had grave misgivings about their chances. Sato and Mutaguchi had also been on opposite sides during the split between the Toseiha and Kodoha factions within the Imperial Japanese Army during the early 1930's, and Sato distrusted Mutaguchi's motives. In addition, along with many of the senior Japanese officers in Burma, he considered Mutaguchi a "blockhead". Starting on March 15, 1944, the 31st, Division crossed the Chindwin River near Homalin and moved northwest along jungle trails on a front almost 100 kilometers wide. The left wing of the division, the 58th Regiment, commanded by Major General Shigesaburo Miyazaki clashed with Indian troops of the Indian 50 Parachute Brigade under Brigadier Hope-Thompson at Sangshak, on the northern approaches to Imphal on March 20. The battle continued for six days, and Miyazaki was handicapped by lack of artillery. Eventually, as the IJA 15th Division's troops joined the battle, Hope-Thompson withdrew. The battle cost Miyazaki about 400 men and delayed his attack on Kohima by a week. Miyazaki's troops were probing Kohima on April 3, completing siege preparations by April 6. He then launched a series of attacks into the north-east region of the defences on April 8, and by April 9 the British and Indians had been forced back driven into a small perimeter into what came to be known as the Battle of the Tennis Court. By the night of April 17, the defenders' situation was desperate. However, on the morning of April 18 British artillery opened up against the Japanese positions, which stopped the attacks. To support their counterattack, the British had amassed 38 3.7 inch mountain howitzers, 48 25-pounder field guns and 2 5.5 inch medium guns. The RAF also bombed and strafed the Japanese positions. The Japanese could oppose with only 17 light mountain guns, with very little ammunition. The road between Dimapur and Kohima had been opened, and the siege was lifted. The Japanese did not retreat at once, but stayed in position and fought tenaciously for several more weeks. By the morning of May 13, most of the Kohima region had been re-taken by the British forces. Around May 15 the 31st Division began to withdraw, pursued by troops of the British Fourteenth Army. After ignoring orders for several weeks, Sato was removed from command of the 31st Division early in July. The entire Imphal offensive was broken off at the same time. Lieutenant General Slim had always derided Sato as the most unenterprising of his opponents, but Japanese sources blame his superior, Mutaguchi, for both the weaknesses of the original plan, and the antipathy between himself and Sato which led to Sato concentrating on saving his men rather than driving on distant and indefensible objectives. The surviving remnants of the 31st Division continued to oppose the British reoccupation of Burma, but for all practical purposes, the 31st Division had largely ceased to exist after the Battle of Kohima. PA: 1981" Louis Allen, *Burma: The longest War 1941-45*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1984, 176.*

²¹³ Keane, Fergal (2010). *Road of Bones: The Siege of Kohima 1944*. London; Harper Press.

the British IV Corps (17th, 20th, 23rd Indian Division based in Imphal). Meanwhile, the commander of the British 14th Army, Lieutenant General William Slim, lately realised (partly from Japanese documents that had been captured at Sangshak) that a Japanese division was moving towards Kohima. He and his staff had originally believed that because of the forbidding terrain in the area, the Japanese would only be able to send a regiment to take Kohima. Knowing that there were few fighting troops in Kohima and none at all at the vital base of Dimapur, 48 km to the north, which contained an area of supply dumps, 18 km miles long and 1 mile wide, the Allies began to quickly reinforce the Imphal front. The American historian, Raymond Callahan (1978) concluded “Slim’s great victory ... helped the British, unlike the French, Dutch or, later, the Americans, to leave Asia with some dignity.”²¹⁴

By this time, the IV British Corps were entirely cut out from Kohima-Imphal route and the Japanese had established their base at Jessami and Khorasan in North Manipur. Now they were advancing towards Kohima.²¹⁵

As Discussed, earlier Kohima was protected only by a handful of soldiers and by then the first Assam Regiment stationed to the East of Kohima had withdrawn after heavy fighting. Men from the Assam Regiment formed defensive zones some 35 miles to the East of Kohima at Jessami and Kharasom. Indian forces first came into contacts with the Japanese at Jessami on 28th March. They had been ordered to fight to the last man though this order was later withdrawn, as it was felt that it would lead to wholesale slaughter. However, those at Jessami fought bravely: “Young and inexperienced sepoy were fighting like veterans; red hot

²¹⁴ Davis Poynter, *Burma 1942-1945: The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War*, 243

machine gun barrels would be ripped off, regardless of burns suffered in the process; Japanese grenades and cracker-bombs were picked up and thrown clear of the trenches with all the calmness in the world and there did not seem to be a man in the garrison afraid to carry out any task given to him.” Captain Peter Steyn, Assam Regiment. However, by 1st April, these men pulled back to Kohima. The order withdrawing the previous order to fight to the last man at Kharasom was never received and while some men made it back to Kohima, many did not, including the Commander, Captain Young. With Jessami and Kharasom taken, the road to Kohima was opened for the Japanese.²¹⁶

The British, as part of this move, the infantry and artillery of 5th Indian Infantry Division were flown from the Arakan (Burma) front. While the main body of the division went to Imphal, the 16th Indian Infantry Brigade, with 24th Mountain Artillery Regiment Indian Artillery attached, were flown to Dimapur.²¹⁷ As the fall of Dimapur would be disastrous for the Allies, Slim asked his superior, General George Giffard (Commanding 11th Army Group), for more troops to protect the base and to prepare to relieve Imphal. Early in March the 23rd Long Range Penetration Brigade was removed from Major General Orde Wingate’s Chindit force and dispatched by rail from around Lalaghat to Jorhat, 50 miles north of Dimapur, where they could threaten the flank of any Japanese attack on the base. Giffard and General Claude Auchinleck, the Commander-in-Chief of the

²¹⁵ Gazetteer of India Nagaland District, 51.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 56

²¹⁷ Allen, Louis (2000) [1984]. *Burma: The Longest War 1941–45*. London: Phoenix Press. 23

British Indian Army, also prepared to send the British 2nd Division²¹⁸ and Indian XXXIII Corps HQ under Lieutenant General Montagu Stopford from reserve in Southern and Central India to Dimapur, by road and rail. The 7th Indian Infantry Division followed the 5th Indian Division from the Arakan, also by road and rail.²¹⁹ Until XXXIII Corps headquarters could arrive at Dimapur, the HQ of 202 Line of Communication Area under Major General R.P.L. Ranking took command of the area.

The Siege:

By 5th April the 4th Royal West Kent's and the remaining soldiers of the 161st Brigade were set up in their respective positions in and around Kohima. The 4th Royal West Kent's and the supporting troops from the Assam Rifles and Assam Regiment were positioned in a series of trenches along the Kohima Ridge. The Kohima ridge (Garrison Hill, Jail Hill, Field Supply Depot (FSD) Hill, and Detail Issue (DIS) Hill), along with the Deputy Commissioner's (DC) Bungalow, were used as the main lines of defence.

²¹⁸ “The 2nd Division was re-equipped in Britain. In December 1941, Japan entered the war. After British and Commonwealth forces in the Far East suffered disastrous defeats in early 1942, the division was sent to India, which was threatened by Japanese advances and internal disorder. For some time, the division was involved in internal security operations and training for amphibious operations. In 1944, the Japanese launched an invasion of India. The 2nd Division was sent to recapture the vital position at Kohima. After driving the Japanese back at the Battle of Kohima, the division relieved a besieged Indian corps at Imphal. The epitaph carved on the memorial of the 2nd Division in the large cemetery for the Allied war dead at Kohima reads, “When You Go Home, Tell Them Of Us And Say, For Their Tomorrow, We Gave Our Today” This has become world-famous as the Kohima Epitaph. The verse is attributed to John Maxwell Edmonds and is thought to have been inspired by the epitaph written by Simonides to honour the Greek who fell at the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 BC” Private Paper's Memorial W.W II, Kohima Record & Indices; Govt., of Nagaland; DIPR Department.

²¹⁹ Brayley, Martin (2002). *The British Army 1939–45 (3): The Far East*, London: Osprey Publishing, 123.



The 4th

Royal West Kent.



After 50

years.



After 60

years.



The 4th

Royal West Kent after 63 years.

The Japanese 31st Division, which had deployed more than 12,000 men in the Kohima region, opened the attack on the evening of 5/6th April. The 4th Royal West Kent in, recognising their numerical inferiority shorten their defences and withdrew from the more isolated positions on the ridge after the first major assault. The Japanese had now made significant inroads into the ridge and were preparing their own positions for defence. By 7th April, reinforcements from the Rajputs arrived from Jotsoma, providing a boost for morale. ²²⁰

The Japanese launched a series of attacks into the Northeast region of the defences on 8th April and by the 9th the British and Indians there had been forced back to the tennis court. The Battle of the Tennis Court was the turning point in the Battle of Kohima, which started from April 4th until June 22nd 1944 at Kohima Ridge. By April 5th, the British had been forced back onto the Kohima ridge. The Kohima ridge, which was used as the main lines of defence, was held by 4th Royal West Kent's and supporting troops from the Assam Rifles and Assam Regiment. As they were cut off, they were supplied by air by the Royal Air Force.

²²⁰ Cambell Arthur, *The siege: A story from Kohima*, 7.

The other positions came under heavy attack and the perimeter shrunk. On April 13th, the troops defending near the DC's bungalow and the tennis court came under increasingly heavy artillery and mortar fire and had to repel frequent infantry assaults. This area was the scene of some of the hardest, closest and grimmest fighting, with grenades being hurled across the tennis court at direct range. But on April 14th the Japanese did not launch an attack and on the 15th, British troops on Kohima ridge heard that the British 2nd Division was attacking along the Dimapur-Kohima road and had broken through Japanese road blocks. On April 17th, the Japanese tried one last time to take the ridge. They successfully captured the FSD to the Garrison Hill positions. However, on the morning of April 18th British artillery opened up from the West against the Japanese positions, which stopped the Japanese attacks. Elements of the British 2nd Division, 161st Brigade and tanks from XXXIII Corps pushed into the area North-West of Garrison Hill and forced the Japanese to withdraw from their positions. The road between Dimapur and Kohima had been opened and the siege was lifted. The Japanese who had been fighting to capture Kohima did not retreat at once, many of them stayed in the positions, which they had captured and fought persistently for several more weeks. By the morning of May 13th, most of the positions in the Kohima region had been re-taken by the British and Indian forces. Few, among them the DC's bungalow, were still holding out against the Dorset's and their supporting tanks. Around May 15th, the Japanese 31st Division began to withdraw and fresh British troops from XXXIII Corps began to reinforce and relieve members of the 2nd Division and 33rd and 161st Indian Brigades. The battle of the Tennis Court was over and troops of the British 14th Army began an advance, with the relief of Imphal, which would continue until Burma had been

recaptured. The fighting within the 6th Brigade's area was documented by Major Boshell, who commanded 'B' Company, 1st Royal Berkshires, in the 6th Infantry Brigade: "To begin with I took over an area overlooking the Tennis Court... The lie of the land made impossible to move by day because of Japanese snipers. We were in Kohima for three weeks. We were attacked every single night... They came in waves; it was like a pigeon shoot. Most nights they overran part of the battalion position, so we had to mount counter-attacks... Water was short and restricted to about one pint per man per day. Therefore, we stopped shaving. Air supply was the key, but the steep terrain and narrow ridges meant that some of the drops went to the Japs. My company went into Kohima over 100 strong and came out at about 60".²²¹ This battle was ultimately to prove to be the turning point of the Battle of Kohima, which was the turning point of the Burma Campaign. Earl Louis Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in the theatre, described Kohima as " probably one of the greatest battles in history... in effect the Battle of Burma... naked unparalleled heroism... the British/Indian

²²¹ *"The Battle of Kohima, North East India 4 April – 22 June 1944"* (PDF) on website of the Veterans Agency; Colvin, John (2003) *Not Ordinary Men: The Story of the Battle of Kohima* (Pen and Sword Ltd).



Thermopylae.²²² Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander, seen during his tour of the Arakan Front in February 1944.



Remains of the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and tennis court.

²²² Lowry, Michael (2003), *Fighting Through to Kohima*, A Memoir of War in India and Burma (Leo Cooper Publishing House).



Major Burrell with the 'C' Company

And The 2nd Division.

At that time, 2nd Division was in the Belgaum area. To meet the emergency, the Division was rushed across India by road, rail and air. Urgency was the task, because the Japanese had cut the road between Dimapur and Kohima at the thirty-seventh milestone. In Kohima itself, the Garrison was holding on, but was very nearly at the limit of its endurance. Between the Japanese roadblock and Kohima was 161st Indian Infantry Brigade, themselves cut off and, now, unable to reach Kohima. There was no time for a proper concentration at Dimapur and, as units of the Division arrived, they went straight led into action.

On 12th April 44th, 1st battalion Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders with artillery and tank, support attacked and destroyed the Japanese position near the thirty-seventh milestone. 2nd Division's operations to relieve 161st Brigade and the Kohima Garrison went on rapidly. The Japanese advance had been checked and on 19th April 44th, 1st Battalion, Royal Berkshire had taken over Summerhouse

Hill and High Spur overlooking the Tennis Court in Kohima from the troops who had defended it so well. To do this the Division had taken only thirty-one days from the time orders were received at Belgaum more than 2,000 miles away.

The immediate future, however, was forbidding, for the Japanese still held most of Kohima and their positions on the hillsides were very strong. It was decided that the place could not be taken by direct assault and forces were dispatched to turn the flanks of the Japanese defences. The 4th Brigade went to the west and 5th Brigade to the east. In the centre, 6th Brigade strengthened by 161st and 33rd Indian Brigades, kept up continual pressure on the main positions.

By perseverance and with invaluable help from the Naga tribesmen who acted as porters, stretcher-bearers and scouts, the two brigades attained their objectives. After some sharp engagements, 5th Brigade gained control of the Naga village on the high ground, which dominated Kohima from the east. In the west, 4th Brigade, emerging suddenly from the jungle, attacked and took the Japanese left-hand flank positions. In the centre of Kohima, the strongest Japanese defences were being destroyed one by one. For days, men of the 2nd Dorset regiment, 1st Royal Berkshires, 2nd Durham Light Infantry, 1/8 Lancashire Fusiliers, Queens Own Cameron Highlanders and 2nd Royal Norfolk's came close within a few yards of the Japanese. No quarter was given by either side. Monsoon weather conditions were terrible in Kohima. For both the parties, attack was succeeded by counter attack. For days and nights, the fighting was intense and critical. British and Indian patience, however, accomplished the task and by the night of 16th May 1944 the battle of Kohima was won with the Japanese being driven off the tennis court by 2nd Dorset's backed up by the Recce Regiment with very close support from 20th Mountain Battery of the Indian Artillery.

The Gunners also contributed a lot in this war, who were constantly in action with the enemies. Repeatedly they broke up Japanese counter attacks invariably, only yards in front of the British and Indian positions. Their actions were backed up by constant RAF sorties. 31st Sqn (Air Supply) keeping the Garrison equipped, 34th Sqn (Hurribomber) and 84th Sqn (Dive Bomber) backing up the gunners with constant attacks on the Japanese. Everyone took part in this battle. The Sappers and Signals also rendered their service by giving a helping hand, right in the middle of the battle.²²³

The Air Force:

The success of the British force in the Battle of Kohima can also be attributed to the role played by the Air force. The armies stationed at Kohima and Imphal depended greatly on the RAF until the Dimapur road was cleared. At Kohima, the main problem was to drop air supplies accurately on to the narrow ridgelines. The first airdrop at Kohima, on 13th April, was a great disappointment as they mis-identified the dropping zone and delivered their loads outside the perimeter. Once the dropping zone was correctly identified after, which the airdrops became more regular and providing the daily needs of food, water and ammunition. Arthur Swinson wrote:

“In the late afternoon some half a dozen Dakotas, flying in line ahead, would come up the valley, circle low round Garrison Hill, and release their many-coloured parachutes. A good few of the precious parachutes drifted away to the enemy's lines... Some lodged in the trees; these were retrieved by shooting at the cords until they came down. By May, the troops were never short of food or

²²³ Robert Street, *The Siege of Kohima; the battle for Burma once upon a wartime XIII*, 2003,

ammunition, and the silk parachutes themselves were much coveted and used for warmth and decoration. The water, which had been rationed to a pint a day during most of April, was gradually increased to three pints, thanks to the RAF. Nevertheless, air and ground crews were near exhaustion when the besieged garrisons were relieved; the RAF had flown nearly 19,000 tons of supplies and more than 12,000 men, and had evacuated 13,000 casualties and 43,000 non-combatants.”²²⁴

Japanese Retreat:

The decisive factor was the Japanese lack of supplies. The Japanese 31st Division had begun the operation with only three weeks' supply of food. Once these supplies were exhausted, they had to do with captured stocks from the hostile Naga villages. The British 23rd LRP Brigade had cut the Japanese supply lines to the East of Kohima. The Japanese were using captured jeeps to carry supplies from the Chindwin, but they brought mainly artillery and anti-tank ammunition rather than food.

By the middle of May, Sato's troops were starving. He considered that Mutaguchi and the HQ of Japanese Fifteenth Army were taking little notice of his situation. Because the main attack on Imphal faltered around the middle of April, Mutaguchi wished 31st Division or parts of it to join in the attack on Imphal from the North, even while the division was struggling to capture and hold Kohima. Sato considered that his division was being "messed around" without proper planning or consideration for the conditions. Nor did Sato believe that 15th Army

headquarters were exerting themselves to move supplies to his division. He began pulling his troops back to regroup their strength, thus allowing the British to secure Kohima Ridge.²²⁵

On 25th May, Sato notified 15th Army HQ that he would withdraw on 1st June unless his division received supplies. Finally on 31st May, he abandoned *Naga Village* and other positions north of the road, in spite of orders from Mutaguchi to hang on to his position. (For a divisional commander to retreat without orders or permission from his superior was unheard-of in the Japanese Army.)

Miyazaki's detachment had demolished bridges along the road to Imphal, as they were forced to retreat eastwards. The rest of the Japanese division too retreated south, but found very little to eat, as most of what few supplies had been brought forward across the Chindwin had been consumed by other Japanese units, who were as desperately hungry as Sato's men. Many of the 31st Division were too enfeebled to drag themselves further south than Ukhrul (near the Sangshak battlefield), where hospitals had been set up, but with no medicines, medical staff or food, where Sato vainly hoped to find supplies.²²⁶

The Indian XXXIII Corps followed up the retreating Japanese. The British 2nd Division advanced down the main road while the 7th Indian Division moved through the rough terrain east of the road. On 22nd June, the leading troops of British 2nd Division met the main body of 5th Indian Infantry Division advancing

²²⁴ R.King-Clark, *The Battle for Kohima 1944; the narrative of the 2nd Battalion the Manchester Regiment; the machine gun battalion of the British 2nd Division: 1995*, Fleur de lys Publishing, Cheshire. ISBN1-873907-01X, 84.

²²⁵ Street, *The Siege of Kohima the Battle for Burma; once upon a wartime xiii*, 2003, BarnyBooks Text: ISBN N903172357, 87.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 90

North from Imphal, 48 km South of Kohima. The siege of Imphal was over and truck convoys quickly carried vital heavy supplies to the troops at Imphal.

During the Battle of Kohima, the British and Indian forces had lost 4,064 men, dead, missing and wounded. Against this, the Japanese had lost 5,764 battle casualties in the Kohima area, and many of the 31st Division subsequently died of disease or starvation.

For ignoring army orders, Sato was removed from command of Japanese 31st Division early in July. Japanese sources, however, blame his superior, Mutaguchi for both the weaknesses of the original plan and the antipathy between himself and Sato, which led to Sato concentrating on saving his division rather than driving on distant objectives. Sato demanded a court martial to clear his name and make his complaints about 15th Army HQ a public. At the prompting of Mutaguchi's superior, Lieutenant General Masakazu Kawabe, commander of Burma Area Army, made the doctors declare that Sato had suffered a mental breakdown and unfit to stand for the trial. The huge losses the Japanese in the Battles of Imphal and Kohima (mainly through starvation and disease) crippled their defence of Burma against the Allied attacks.²²⁷

Following are the British force involved in the Battle of Kohima:

- a) Royal Berkshire.
- b) Dorsetshire Regiment.
- c) Durhan Light Infantry.
- d) Royal Artillery.
- e) 90th Field Regiment.
- f) Royal North Folk.
- g) Lancashire Fusiliers.
- h) Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

²²⁷ Arthur Swinson, *Kohima*, Arrow Books ltd 178-202 Great Portland Street, London W1: 1966, 269.

- i) Essex Regiment.
- j) South Welse Borderers.
- k) 1st K.C.V.O. Gurkha Rifles.
- l) 2nd Battalion 4th Bombay.
- m) 7th Rajputs Regiment.
- n) Punjab Regiment.
- o) Kohima Garrison (4th Battalion Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment).
- p) Assam Regiment.
- q) Assam Rifles.
- r) Queen's Own Cameroon Highlanders.
- s) Manchester Regiment.
- t) Queen's Regiment 1st (West Survey).
- u) Rajputana Rifles.
- v) Royal Artillery.
- w) Royal Berkshire Regiment.
- x) Royal Scouts.
- y) Gurkha Rifles.

Their successful encounter at Kohima saved the whole of Eastern India from the Japanese invasion.²²⁸



The

Kohima Battle ground and a view of Kohima Town after the 2nd World War, 1944.



Garrison Hill Kohima, after the

battle.



Capture of Jail Hill.

Victoria Cross:



In the Battle of Kohima, two Victoria Crosses²²⁹ were awarded. The first was to Lance Corporal John Pennington Harman of the 4th Battalion Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment. His citation reads:

The following details are given in the London Gazette of June 20th, 1944:- At Kohima, Assam, on 8th April 1944, Lance Corporal Harman was commanding a section of a forward platoon. The enemy had established a machine-gun post within 50 yards of his position, which became a serious menace to the remainder of his company. Unable to bring the fire of his section on to the post, Lance Corporal Harman went forward by himself and annihilated the post, returning with the enemy machine-gun. The next morning, having first recovered a forward position, he again charged an enemy post alone, shooting four and bayoneting

²²⁸ “*Gazetteer of India Nagaland Kohima District*” 52.

²²⁹ “*The Victoria Cross (VC) is the highest military decoration which is, or has been, awarded for valour "in the face of the enemy" to members of the armed forces of various Commonwealth countries, and previous British Empire territories. The VC was introduced on 29 January 1856 by Queen Victoria to reward acts of valour during the Crimean War. Since then, the medal has been awarded 1,356 times to 1,353 individual recipients. Only 13 medals, nine to members of the British Army, and four to the Australian Army have been awarded since the Second World War. "Military Honours and Awards". Defence Internet. UK Ministry of Defence*” <http://www.operations.mod.uk/honours/honours.htm>. Retrieved 30 January 2007.

one, thereby wiping out the post. As he returned, Lance Corporal Harman received a burst of machine-gun fire in his side and died shortly after reaching our lines. Lance Corporal Harman's heroic action and supreme devotion to duty were largely responsible for the decisive way in which all attacks were driven off by his company.²³⁰

The second to be won was awarded to Captain John Neil Randle of the 2nd Battalion, The Royal Norfolk Regiment. His citation reads:

The following details are given in the London Gazette of December 8th, 1944:-
On the 4th May 1944, at Kohima in Assam, a battalion of the Norfolk Regiment attacked the Japanese. Captain Randle took over command of the company, which was leading the attack. His handling of a difficult situation was masterly, and although wounded himself he continued to inspire his men until the company captured its objective. He then brought in all the wounded men who were lying outside the perimeter. Captain Randle refused to be evacuated, and despite his wound carried out a personal reconnaissance with great daring, prior to a further attack on the new enemy positions. At dawn on 6th May, Captain Randle led this attack, and ran into heavy fire from a bunker. Appreciating that the destruction of this enemy post was imperative, if the operation was to succeed, Captain Randle charged the Japanese post single-handed. Although now mortally wounded, he silenced the gun with a grenade thrown through the bunker slit. He then flung his body across the slit so that the aperture should be completely sealed. The bravery shown by this officer could not have been surpassed, and by his self-sacrifice, he

²³⁰ 1st Edition, *Records Indices of the Nagaland State Archives*: Directorate of Art & culture (Archive Branch) Govt... , Nagaland 1991: SL: 155: Record of Kohima WWII 1943-47.

saved the lives of many of his men and enabled not only his own company but also the whole battalion to gain its objective and win a decisive victory over the enemy.²³¹

Memorial:

The Kohima 2nd Division Memorial is maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission on behalf of the 2nd Infantry Division. The memorial remembers the Allied dead who repulsed the Japanese 15th Army, a force of 100,000 men, who had invaded India in March 1944 in Operation U-Go.

The Memorial itself consists of a large monolith of Naga stone such as is used to mark the graves of dead Nagas. The stone is set upright on a dressed stone pedestal, the overall height being 15 feet. A small cross is carved at the top of the monolith and below this, a bronze panel is inset. The panel bears the inscription

The cemetery lies on the slopes of Garrison Hill, in what was once the Deputy Commissioner's tennis court, which was the scene of the Battle of the Tennis Court. The epitaph carved on the memorial of the 2nd British Division in the cemetery has become world-famous as the Kohima Epitaph. It reads:

“
When You Go Home, Tell Them Of Us And d
Say,
Say For Your Tomorrow, We Gave Our Today
”

²³¹ Ibid., 13



The verse is attributed to John Maxwell Edmonds (1875 –1958), and is thought to have been inspired by the epitaph written by Simonides to honour the Greeks who fell at the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 BC.

"Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by

That faithful to their precepts here we lie."

The lines from the famous Kohima Epitaph

Some additional background about the epitaph

*Its origins and the Kohima Battle history.*²³²

Cemeteries are generally gloomy places. Kohima's Second World War cemetery, however, is not such a place. No place so beautifully situated, so superbly maintained, and dedicated to the memories of those who sacrificed their lives regardless of race, nationality or religion can be gloomy.

²³²Arthur Swinson, *Kohima*, Arrow Books Ltd 178-202 Great Portland Street, London W1: 1966, 342. Theocritus. "The Women at the Adonis Festival" Idyll XV. *The Greek Bucolic Poets*. Trans. J.M. Edmonds. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950 (The Loeb Classical Library).



Kohima War cemetery before the maintenance.



After the maintenance.

The Kohima war cemetery is quiet and beautiful. Roses bloom in season, the grass is always billiard-table smooth and two tall crosses stand at the lowest and

highest points of the cemetery overlooking Kohima between them, and stretching all the way across this gently rising hill in the centre of the town, are stone markers with shining bronze plaques. Each commemorates the name of a single man who gave his life for freedom. At the base of the upper cross, there is an inscription, which says: "Here, around the tennis court of the deputy commissioner the men who fought in the battle of Kohima in which they and their comrades finally halted the invasion of India by the forces of Japan in April 1944".

To one side of this memorial cross and often missed by visitors, there is a tree with a small plaque on it. The plaque says: This flowering cherry tree is of historical interest.

The original tree was used as a sniper's post by the Japanese and was destroyed in the fighting, which raged round the tennis court and marked the limit of the Japanese advance into India. The present tree is from a branch from the old one. In addition, at the base of the lowest cross, an inscription reads, "When you go home Tell them of us and say; for your tomorrow we gave our today".

Brief accounts of tales Collected from Naga war Veterans:

In the Burma & Kohima Campaign of 1941-45, many Nagas participated as soldiers, guides, porters, stretcher-bearers and labourers. Their contribution continued until the end of WW2 when the Japanese Forces surrendered on 10th August 1945. In 1944, the Japanese forces advanced to India and went up to Imphal and Kohima. The 5-day battle at Jessami between the Japanese forces and the 1st Assam Regiment, from 28th March to 1st April, 1944 considerable delayed

the Japanese advancement to Kohima. It gave British Army the opportunity to organize their troops at Kohima.

Sep. Yezamo Lotha (2nd Assam Regiment 85 years):



“Besides the air battles, trenches were made for the headquarters by the Japanese as well as the Indians. From there they fired at each other and then, a sepoy from Assam Regiment crawled cautiously and threw a grenade into the trench, it exploded and they all died.... Smell of corpses was intolerable! Bodies were thrown inside the trenches. Who will take care! British Officers along with Indian soldiers were buried in the same trenches.... I still see the war in my dreams. Sometimes i am in the battlefield, other times I find myself roaming in Burma, even today.....During the action, my only wish was to be alive to tell this story!”

Ink. Khakhu Rengma (2nd Assam Regiment 84 years):



“Attention, right turn left turn about turn quick march....we and C.O. Saab screamed at the airplanes to come and save us. The one dropping bags in the jungle. We were short of food. At night, we went

searching. We were scared of the Japanese. For three months, we were without rations. We survived on jungle leaves.”

Hav. Sovehe Nienu (1st Assam Regiment 92 years):



“Japanese were ready for war and we heard they were in Burma. Earlier, Nagas were not recruited in army. But now Nagas were called too. While Pawsey was D.C. at Kohima we enlisted ourselves and joined the Assam Regiment in 1941.....When we heard of Japanese advance from Dimapur, we turned back towards Jessami. There in March, for a month we prepared defences. As soon as we finished, the Japanese came and around March 28th we started battling the Japanese. For 4-5 days at Jessami we fought continuously. We were hoping to be reinforced. But they said, 'Japanese are reaching Kohima from Imphal side. So we cannot come to help you.' We were ordered to retreat. So we returned to Kohima.”

Hav. Imnanangshi Ao (1st Assam Regiment 88 years):



“We left our kits in Dimapur. Our Commanding Officer lad all of us and we marched from Dimapur to Burma....Mothers carrying babies

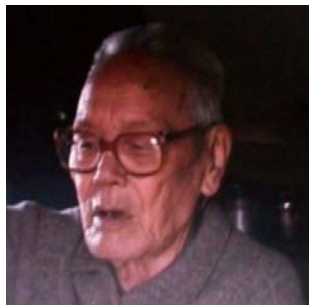
would lie dead. Our soldiers also died. In this manner, the mother died holding the baby to her bosom. Mother is dead, child is still alive. Some babies would still be feeding from dead mothers.”

Sep. Nangsukaba Ao (1st Assam Regiment 89 years):



“On top of the hills, the Japanese were there. We go patrolling in these steep hills. When we climb up, Japanese shoot us. Can't climb! How many times I tried. Night and Day, I tell myself, 'Nangsu, you have to!'.....We walked over those bodies. Near dead bodies, we were so hungry we ate. We didn't feel disgust.”

Sep. Pekiye Swu (1st Assam Regiment 95 years):



“In 1943-44, in the month of February crossing Kanjang Molhe and between Burma and India, we stayed in Mollen. There, on March 12th Japanese threw bombs in our camp.”

Sep. Zhovil Neikha (1st Assam Regiment 89 years):



“Just before reaching Burma, we camped at Toungoo.

While we were camping there, the Japanese came. They came in airplanes circled and watched our camp. We asked our officers permission to shoot them, but they refused....Japanese couldn't penetrate Imphal. British had tanks, launchers and other equipment. So they went south and entered from Jessami.”

Sep. Pannang Chongshi (1st Assam Regiment 88 years):



“Our Major Saab said 'Until enemies come, don't

fire. Just stay quiet. When they reach, I will show a green light then only you start firing.' We were seated in a circle they came shouting 'Hirohito, Hirohito' but we remaining quit when they reached close Havildars of the company showed the green light. Then we all started firing. It continued all night.”

Sep. Ipetraing Iheilung (1st Assam Regiment 88 years):



“We stayed in Rangoon in Burma. The Japanese outnumbered us. So we fled. From there we came to Irrawaddy River. The bridge there was destroyed. 2000 men swam across the river another 2000 were captured by the Japanese.”

Hav. Pauzahel Kuki (3rd Assam Regiment 87 years):



“Most difficult time was in Mangpha camp. At night, when we could see nothing in the lake, a fight took place and 5 from Assam Rifles died. 8 Japanese also died. Their officers captured three of our friends and took them away.....Since 3 days, we had had no food. Airplanes came and dropped biscuits. Japanese had half, we ate other half we fought for that when we go for the biscuits, we die, when they come they also die.....When the Japanese die, they don't fall left or right, but straight in front. They would smear mud on both legs. When that is not possible, they would pluck jungle leaves and put otherwise, they put dry fallen leaves. They smear blood on both legs.”

Sep. Yihoto Sema (2nd Assam Regiment 98 years):



“During the fight, they bombed Imphal. We were roaming in Burma for a week without food. During the day, we marched and finally reached Kohima.”

Neichielie Merama (Phesama village 94 years):



“A woman from our village named Melhieku-u. She kept singing one song doing like this (Hai hai) and went from one place to another. We all wondered if this woman had gone mad. She used to say, 'The Japanese are coming, they will eat up everything that is ours. Rich folks, share your grains with the poor, don't let it become horse feed,' she said. When they came, it was true to her words.”

Vilalie Selietsu (Pfuchama villga 87 years):



“News came that the Japanese are coming from Jessami side.

We were unaware. But on 3rd April I was herding my cows by the river when the Japanese came. I was with my younger brothers. I was walking ahead and they slaughtered my brother's prized cows. They prepared their rations that night. And on 4th April, they attacked Kohima and firing started.”

Hutsonyu Chuzho (Ex-Dobashi Phek 80 years):



“Japanese planes came towards Eastern Angami,

now called Chakhesang area came from Burma side. Since people saw a plane for the first time some thought it was a big bird. Since it was an extraordinary sight the next day it was declared taboo to work the fields.”

Viketou Makhuma (Kigwema village 88 years):



“Bombing at Kohima was like a cinema from my village. The sight was better from Phesama village. The green and red lights hit the ground and explode. Houses in Kohima village, especially D khel and T Khel houses were destroyed.”

Tongsat (Kanjang village 88 years):



“During the British-Japanese war from Molhe roads were made for the horses. The Japanese came through this road and reached Kanjang and fought. This very road is used by British and Japanese soldiers during the war.”

W. Mekemu (Jessami village Manipur 93 years):



“Next day it was told that the Japanese are coming. Womenfolk fled to the jungles, even men. Some curious men stayed back in the

village to see from the Machangs what would happen. Next morning around 4-5 am they came from above the village. Looked like the glint of spears and the villagers thought the enemies from the neighbouring village had come to attack us. What shall we do? And uncle Zulo rushed to the army to report. But he was sent back. Before he could reach home, the shooting started.”

Sep. Koputha Sema (1st Assam Regiment 89 years):



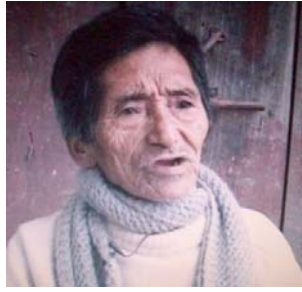
“In Jessami, they all ran and hid. Our Commanding Officers made defences to ambush the Japanese. We stayed for a week at Jessami.”

Neingulie Mera (South, V-Force 97 years):



“We had no ammunition. Our Commanding Officer was good. He was quit old. 'I won't run away', he said. He chose to stay back to save his men. Since there were no ammunitions, he was helpless. He stayed there and died.”

Isiakgwangbe Rao (Benreu Village 88 years):



“What I saw was many people moving towards my village camouflaging themselves with leaves. They assembled at the village gate and looked towards Pedi village. They took out a plate like device and from that they knew which side was Kohima. They didn't tell anyone. They made their camp at Ntangki Koda and Luikieswang Koda. We were asked to bring rations to the camp. They cooked themselves and ate. And those white people came and fired from airplane. When they fired, they ran and we also ran.

Kenreube (Peren village 77 years):



“Japanese came to Benreu village, not here. Pawsey said bomb would be dropped at Peren since Japanese were there. We were told to hide our belongings. So he wrote a letter and dropped at Tenning.....The letter was dropped for the airplane. Village doctor wanted to see, but wasn't allowed. Villagers were not informed. So they could not find a place to hide. And many people died.....3 died on the spot, 7 succumbed to injuries later.”

Asiakbo (Tenning village 77 years):



“They dropped a letter from an airplane instructing us to hide Govt. and personal belongings since the Japanese are coming. Doing so, all our belongings got spoiled.”

Tsuraing (Peren village 73 years):



“Six airplanes came, made two circles over the village and on the third circle, it dropped the bombs. Couldn’t even run 20 steps, the earth flew up. One person tried to give cover to his child and got shot. Dulu's brother was also shot dead while hiding under the bed in the Morung.”

Kawato Sema (Ex-Dobashi, Zunhebto 89 years):



“1944, 4th April around 4 pm, Japanese came through Manipur route. At Aradura, they started firing incessantly. We couldn’t stay at DC bungalow. We went to the bunkers, dug trenches and stayed underground.”

While staying there Japanese cut off all water supplies.....In the DC bungalow, one Japanese soldier climbed up the Chimney and fired at Britishers. Where the shots were coming from? They don't know. Many Britishers were shot. There was no jungle nearby. The shots were coming from the house but we couldn't locate the source. We looked everywhere. Finally, on the chimney we saw a spark from his gun. The Britishers realized, 'Oh! we are being fired from that chimney!' Then they shot the Japanese soldier.”

Sebi Dolie (Khonoma village 84 years):



“The Britishers came to the water source and fought with the Japanese. There we really helped the British. We carried their arms, ammunition, and ration. They fought hard at the water source. 3 Naga men died there.”

Sep. Nlumo Ezung (1st Assam Regiment 108 years):



“Our battalion stayed in Jotsoma, near present Science College. There Japanese drank water from the same source as us. It was

the river where we would scout early mornings. When they come, we shoot at them. When we go early mornings, Japanese shoot at us.”

Vikienyu Nagi (Jotsoma village 88 years):



“The Britishers were everywhere. The General's office was down there and DC'S office was over there. At Ruziekhouzou, British camps were made. Our village was filled with them. Launchers were placed over there and fired at Kohima and Japfuphiki villages.”

Salhouthie Mechieo (Kohima village 90 years):



“DC kept saying not to burn down Kohima village. But the army said 'Japanese will occupy the village and fight us.' 'We have to burn down the houses.' 'If we win, we will help rebuild them.' So the army although DC tried to stop them launched mortars from Lezha and burnt down our village.”

The battle of Kohima went on for over two months. It was fought in two phases. The first Phase of two weeks the Japanese forces laid siege of Kohima. In the

second phase, the British army was reinforced from Dimapur. Then, one of the most fierce and bloody battles in the history of warfare was fought.

On 31st May 1944, General Sato, Commander of the Japanese 31st Division ordered his first units to withdraw. About 10,000 men from both sides lost their lives, were wounded or went missing. QU

Lano Kiso (Kigwema village 75 years):



“3 top Japanese officers stayed in our house. Thrice, messages were sent for us to flee.. After the third, we fled to Khonoma. Soon after, British fired at our house. They knew 3 officers were there. So they fired at our house. Those marks are still there.”

Sep. Lhitsolo Mero (1st Assam Regiment 88 years):



“Then, we chased them all till Burma. They retreated to Burma since we outnumbered them.”

Hav. Zhavise Vihienuo (1st Assam Regiment 94 years):



“Kohima town was so bombed it became gruesome. No house was left standing in Kohima village. The town was left desolate. Only debris, not even a leaf on trees.”

Leshimo Nyusou (Ex-Dobashi Meluri 88 years):



“The Japanese are very brave. They had only one gun per 4-5 soldiers. They had no ration supply. If they had, they would have defeated the Britishers or the Assam Regiment.”

Lathopa (Lepthori village 80 years):



“Earlier, we'd clear fields in March and April. During that time, one Japanese plane came from Burma side. The British plane came from

this side. They started firing in the sky. The Japanese plane crashed. The British plan went back this way. It happened over there, near those fields.”

Neila-o Suohu (Kohima village 80 yaers):



“Many from Kohima have been killed. Some have been shot dead; others were killed playing with bombs. Guns were littered all over unaware; many have been killed playing with them.”

Pfusievi Suokhrie (Sechuma village 69 years):



“When the war finished, and people left once the army left. Such mortars were found buried. Unknowingly, people cut them and they explode killing many people. I too lost two of my brothers in such accident.”

Sep. Mukom Khamniungan (Assam Regiment 106 years):



“I find Kohima appalling. By that, I mean it’s a place where airplanes and bombs ha mixed flesh and earth. That is why I don't like staying there. I don't even have tea when i pass it. From Dimapur, I take the other route home through Mokokchung.”

Conclusion:

The Second World War brought about a great significant impact on the Nagas. Both Manipur and the Naga Hills suffered disastrous results of Japanese invasion during the Second World War, the Naga considerably aiding and assisting the Britishers to withstand the tide of invasion. In the word 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.’²³³

The Nagas who had already become loyal subjects 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 serve the allied force as military guides, guerrillas, regular forces, interpreters and informants. F- Haimendorf describes that “they split through the Japanese lines with valuable intelligence, rescued allied wounded... and at night often guided the allied in arms... the Angamies brought on a large number of prisoners. Many Nagas became prisoners and in the most trying times even fought with the enemies single-handed or at the most with their indigenous weapons. Apart from this, the increasing dominance of Allied airpower by this

stage of the Burma campaign was a major contributor in helping the Allies turn the tide of the war in this theatre. Allied air supply enabled British and Indian troops to hold out in positions that they might otherwise have had to abandon due to shortages of ammunition, food and water, as reinforcements and supplies could be brought in even when garrisons were surrounded and cut off. Conversely, the Japanese found their own supply situation harder to resolve and in the end it was one of the deciding factors in the battle.

Since the war involves the people of the whole district, they also suffered from the ravages of war. The census of India, 1951, reported, "During the decade Naga Hills suffered the worst catastrophe in its history in the shape of the Japanese invasion of India." The Japanese came as far as Kohima town in April 1944. India attempt to dislodge the Japanese from the hill strong holds into which they have dug themselves, the allies subjected Kohima and neighbouring villages to heavy aerial bombardment repeatedly. As a result most of the houses at Kohima and elsewhere were destroyed or damaged. The district has not yet fully recovered from the ravages of the Second World War, e.g., the previous residence of the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima is now a cemetery. Many brave allied soldiers are buried here with the following fine and arresting tablet:²³⁴

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.²³⁵ Moreover, the villagers of Lazami received a handsome cash award from the Government for the capture of twenty-six Japanese soldiers. On the whole, Nagas won great appreciation from the British soldiers with whom they fought shoulder to

²³³ Pekato Sema, *British Policy and administration in Nagaland 1881-1947*, 148

²³⁴ "Census of India, 1951" Vol. XII; Assam Part I-A, pg.54.

shoulder against the Japanese invaders. Field Marshall 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 times of the invasion, never flattered despite floggings, torture, execution and the burning of their villages, they refuse to aid the Japanese in every way or to betray our troops. These 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 the payments. He concludes that many a British and Indian soldiers owed his life to them, and no soldier of the 14th army who met them will ever think of them but with admiration and affection."²³⁶

Obviously, as a result of the war, the economy of the Nagas were seriously damaged. Pigs and poultry, which formed their domestic economy, were largely wiped out.²³⁷ The destruction of economy in terms of Domestic animals might be accounted to the belligerent situation, which compelled both friends and foes alike to rely on any available foodstuff. It is said that the Japanese forces used even wild plants and Jungle animals. Moreover, Kohima and the surrounding villages were totally devastated by aerial bombardment as well as ground battles. The extend of the impact of the second World War on the Nagas was lucidly expressed by Dr. J.H. Hutton in Men in India, in June 1946, "In Kohima, the biggest collection of houses in the administrative area of the Naga Hills, not one

²³⁵ M.B.E. Verier Elwin, *Nagaland*, 102-103.

²³⁶ Slim, Field Marshall Viscount, *Defeat into victory*, 341-342.

²³⁷ "Home Department Political file No. 18-7-1944" Kohima Nagaland State Museum Archive Section.

house was left standing after the Japanese invasion, and in the district, 12000 houses altogether needed to be rebuilt. This does not sound much as compared with the damage in this country. The impact of the war prevented the planting of rice at the proper season and the people have therefore to be fed. The pigs, the staple flesh food of the country, have disappeared. There have been some 100,000 persons in urgent need of relief. But the purely material effects of the attempted Japanese invasion of Assam Hills will probably, in the long run, proved to be far less important much less performed, than its moral and psychological effects.”²³⁸

The other facet of the impact of 2nd World War was inflation, which became a major concern to the Government. In view of the development of the region on the war footing, especially for road construction, there was unprecedented flow of money into the region in general and to the individual public in the form of coolie wages. Speaking of the economic effect of the 2nd world war on the region, in June 1943, the Governor of Assam wrote to the Viceroy of India, “While war has its incontinences and damages, it has phenomenally pleasant effects on their pockets. For these are all of the worst spots for inflation in the corner of India that is feeling inflation most. In Manipur, for example, the ordinary price of new bicycle is Rs. 650 to Rs. 700. As such as Rs. 1000 has been paid for one and second hand ones fetch Rs. 400 and more. On the road Nagas, to whom five annas a day was wealth before the war, can still earn up to five Rs. A day in places despite the reduce work the populace has now more money than it has any use for.”²³⁹

²³⁸ “*Men in India*” Vol. XXVI June 1946 SL. No. 2 , 97.

²³⁹ “Linlithgow papers” MSS, Eur F. 125/36, see letter from Reid to Linlithgow, 5th January 1943. Kohima Nagaland State Museum Archive Section.

The Second World War was undoubtedly a traumatic experience for the Nagas. Apart from the material impact, their contacts with the British, Americans and the Japanese and other Allied forces had an immense impact on them in their Socio-Political aspects as well.²⁴⁰

As discussed with the end of the war, several calamities visited the country. Many Naga villages in Manipur and southern Nagaland were affected by epidemics where hundreds of people died of dysentery, typhoid, and enteric fever and cholera. Matters became worsened when medical reliefs failed to reach in right time because of transport difficulties and complicated issues arising of the invasion. Villagers in interior places were on starving owing to a shortage of foodstuffs after their villages were cut-off by the Japanese, whilst the latter butchered all life-stock available and confiscated the agricultural crops but, a tradition said the Japanese respected the children and woman. Many villages around Kohima were evacuated but when the villagers had returned, they found it difficult owing to the disturbed state, to settle down to their own way of life. It was, therefore, at the cost of such difficulties undergone by people who inhabit these Eastern Frontier Tracts that Eastern India was saved, whilst the progress made by the invaders to reach the impenetrable jungles all the way from Burma remained an act of wonder to many a spectator.

The invasion launched Naga Hills into another transformation of an epoch-making. Heavy mechanization and mechanization came with the war. Administrative control became expanded to Tuensang (Trans-Frontier Nagas) communications were extended. There was an upsurge of the new patterns of business consciousness. The war forged a sense of unity among the different

²⁴⁰ Sema, *British Policy and administration in Nagaland 1881-194*, 148-150.

tribes. After the war the Naga Hills Districts tribal Council was formed which in 1946 changed itself into the Naga national council. It was to guide the Naga politics for more than one decade.

As discussed, the Naga tribesmen's ability to seek out and render valuable information about the enemy was of a very high order, and they did this in the hills and jungle as porters, stretcher-bearers and guides made possible many operations, which would otherwise have been impossible. There was not a single reported case of trouble between Nagas and the British troops, whom they like and respect, though they are apt to look down on Indian troops (all of whom they loosely call "Punjabis") as an inferior race. Overall their loyalty to the British throughout the Kohima campaign was exemplary and their assistance invaluable. There is little doubt that the allied victory at Kohima and the opening of the Imphal Road might well have proved impossible, or at least have taken a great deal longer, without the help of the Naga hill men.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion:

British rule in Naga Hills 1881-1947 is a legacy of British imperial designs towards achieving their political & economic goal. Prior to the arrival of the British in the Naga Hills, Naga's were living independently as indigenous people. The Nagas have their own distinct social life, manners of living, laws, customs, and their method of governance of the people. Most of the tribes retain their ancient laws and customs and village organisations formed an integral part of their life. 'Democracy' was the purest form of governance among the Nagas. Unlike her neighbours, the Nagas have remained unconquered and independent from any external aggressions. For centuries, they stayed secluded in a small community, yet were powerful enough to fight and repel the conquering powers. Though there was no common national feelings, several tribes and communities held their independence and were republics in their own right. The village was the main political and social structure that made them strong and united to fight against the outside forces. This study aims to investigate the areas, which were politically transformed in the transitional period 1881-1947. The study also reflects the political and administrative interaction between the Naga People and the British Indian government.

The present study examines the nature and causes of Naga-Nationalism. Colonial cultural policy in the Naga Hill Districts, tried to bring about law and order and its subsequent intervention towards suppression of Headhunting, slave trade, and

the impact of Christian missionaries, and western education, brought about a complete change in Nagaland.

The primary sources of Naga history created by the colonial administrators offer credible records of Naga cultural practices. The actual point of contact with the British in the Naga Hills though was in 1832. However, it was only in 1881, the Naga Hills became a British District and with this, the Naga Hills came under the consideration of the British Crown. From 1866-1874 the Naga Hills was under the jurisdiction of Bengal. Nevertheless, after 1874 it came under the jurisdiction of Assam or the Chief Commissioner of Assam assisted by a Deputy Commissioner.

The British after the treaty of Yandaboo 1826 began to take interest and precaution primarily to safeguard the administered Province of Assam against the raiding Nagas. In this situation, the Nagas had opened the gateway of her land to a race, which had left no stone unturned to those, which lay along its path of imperialism. Never the less the British policy towards the Naga Hills was slow and gradual. From their point of control until 1881, the British were somewhat reluctant to extend their administration in the Naga Hills. The reason was absence of economic gain in the Hills unlike the plains or mainland India. After the establishment of British rule in India, there was an enormous drain of wealth from India to Britain. This adversely affected the economy of India and the country became poorer and poorer day by day. This drain began in the decades following the battle of Plassey in 1757. There was a constant flow of India's wealth out of the country with no returns at all. The British officials carried home immense fortunes extracted from the Indian people. This kind of economic exploitation and the drain of Indian wealth formed the integral part of British policies. The

exploitative character of British rule and its harmful impact on the lives of the Indians led to the rise of resentment and anti-British feelings in the minds of people. They tried to resist the imperialist and colonialist forces, which had brought so much misery and hardship in their lives. To the world, Great Britain was extorting the barren resource of the land over which she had established her control. This was not a hidden fact in the history of the Nagas, infact the roots of Naga Nationalism and political discontent as is manifested today can be traced back to the highhanded approach of the British administration that denied any agency to the Nagas as they followed utterly ad-hoc methods for bringing the Naga people under their administration and control. The British occupied the Naga Hills only to protect the people of the plains living under ordered administration against the frequent raids. As a result, whatever territories were conquered, were transferred to Assam and thus brought under normal administration. Similarly, the British Government of India told the raja of Manipur at one point of time to subjugate the Naga Hills provided they had means to administer them properly. The Southern part of Naga Hills now forming the Mao Sub-division and Tamenlong Sub-division thus went to Manipur state. All these had been done by the Britishers on their own will, and particularly for administrative advantage point of view without any consultation with the Nagas, who were then ignorant of what has been happening. Because of this fact, the present Nagas are claiming for greater Nagaland from the Government of India, which is still discussed with both parties, and yet not coming to a comprehensive conclusion.

Apparently, the British in the Naga Hills did not venture to see the financial constraint of administering the Naga Hills. However, no great nation under whom

she has her domain could neglect her political set-up in administering her domain with a governmental structure. This was a manifestation to keep her economic progress a smooth flow. In this context, the British Government in India was afraid that in administering the Naga Hills would involve great financial assistance instead they getting nothing out of its result. It is seen that only Rs. 2 per house from villages was levied during the late period in return for British protection. The British have noticed that there was no great rival to challenge her might, so they were least concern in establishing a strong political setup. Thus speaking of the British jurisdiction in the Naga Hills, B.C. Allen, the writer of the Gazetteer of Assam, wrote 'it should be premised that for the annexation of their territory the Naga are themselves responsible. The cause of the administration of the district is out of all proportion to the revenue that is obtained, we only occupied the hills after a bitter experience extending over many years, which clearly showed that annexation was the only way of preventing raids upon our village'. With the introduction of British administrative policies in the neighbouring territory, the British began to consider the Naga areas to be part of their colonial interest. Thus, the year 1832 marked the beginning of direct Anglo-Naga contact that lasted until August 14th 1947. These 115 years relations may be divided into three periods: The first period from 1832 to 1850 in which the British undertook 'military promenades' into the Naga Hills. The 2nd period was from 1851-1865, in which they followed a policy of non-Intervention with regard to the Naga tribes. This was later abandoned and in the 3rd period, which began from 1866, the British steadily extended and established their control and authority over the Naga Hills. It should be noted that most of the Eastern portion of the Naga Hills remained untouched until the British left India. The area they

controlled was hardly 30% of the whole territory because when they left in 1947, there were still many un-administered and excluded areas that never came under British suzerainty.

The British occupation of Kohima after Nagas defeat in 1881 was a landmark in the history of the British colonisation of Naga Hills. On the other side, whether it is accepted or not, many writers opine that the British Government took interest in understanding the Naga culture and helped them towards integration and preservation of the traditional culture, though at colonial interest to certain criterion, the primary reason for this interest was political, to continue this ongoing occupation without harrowing the Nagas who were sensitive about their customs and traditions. However, it did not end the Naga's resistance against the British because even as late as 1913, the battle of Chinglong cost 120 Konyak Nagas' lives and even as late as 1939, Pangsha village was still fighting the British troops. Infact, unlike India, Nagaland was never fully conquered by the British at any time in history though they were able to administer.

From 1881-1947, there was a tremendous change on the lives of the Nagas, their tradition, custom and culture everything was affected. The introduction of new policies such as law and order, the justice system, tax and revenue gradually transformed and affected the whole territory of the Nagas, including the un-administered areas. The British thought that a just and enlightened administration of native affaires could not be established and pursued without an intimate knowledge of and sympathetic interest in the natives, their customs and their point of view. Religious ideology along with modern education was un-doubtly responsible in bringing to an end the superfluous traditional belief of the Nagas.

The colonial rule was responsible for a simultaneous process of preservation and upheaval/ destruction of the Naga way of life. The Nagas were not permitted to have a roman haircut, bobbed hair for girls, use of short pants and petticoats at school, and the use of dhotis. The Nagas were also required to wear only traditional dressed at school. It is also an accepted fact that, the British rule did bring an end to the age old head-hunting practice, slavery, infanticide though slavery and infanticide not being that common or prevalent only in exception to some few Naga tribes. Thus, one of the main reasons why the British could establish a stable administration in the Naga country and why the new administration became popular was their knowledge and interest of the native people. Officers posted in the Naga Hills tried to understand the people through minute study of their way of life, their culture, customs and manners. The Deputy Commissioners and Sub Divisional officers were also assigned to take frequent tours on different villages mainly for this reason.

However, the British rule did help in preserving the culture of the Nagas, which they thought was very different from that of the plains. The administration was determined not only to maintain the internal cultural status quo but was also determined to keep the Nagas from any outside cultural influence. However, in the Naga Hills, the British Government was left with two options to justify its control. The first option was the Naga villages, which were now under the administration of the Chief Commissioner. The second option was the Trans-frontier Nagas (Eastern Nagas) which were left un-administered with the earlier policy of non-intervention. These un-administered areas with the passage of time came to be known as 'Naga Tribal area or Tuensang Frontier Division in 1951' under the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). Prior to this, Naga Hills was

termed as 'Backward Tribe' by the Act of 1919 which later on was termed as 'Excluded and partially Excluded' area by the promulgation of Government of India Act 1935.

During the British rule in the Naga Hills, many excellent British officers and those in her service lost their lives, in what they maintained as a cause for maintaining and bringing about peace and order in the Naga Hills. Numerous conflicts and battles were fought in the frontiers. The Naga too have suffered beyond consideration. Many Naga villages were burned down and property as well as lives was lost in safeguarding their village or land from an alien ruler. It is not sure whether the Naga in that time have the concept of 'mother land' or their own alike as brothers and sisters. However, it is an undeniable fact that, the Nagas considered their village as well as their inhabitant areas as god-like and characterised their nearby surroundings as life giving.

Knowing the stringency of the time, the British officers specially the Political Agent, Deputy Commissioner and in some case even the Chief Commissioner were compelled to make tours in the administered and also the un-administered areas. In this regard, they have brought about a detailed description of the time whether political, social, economic or cultural aspects of the Naga people. The primary sources of Naga history created by the colonial administrators offer credible records of Naga cultural practices. It can be said that, though Nagas have no written record of their history and that too only being supported by their myth, legend, folksongs and dance, it is entirely this tour diaries maintained by the British officers which have now thrown light about the Nagas taking it as the only written source of our history. In spite of this fact, the Nagas until date are maintaining their rich tradition and culture inherited from their ancestors, which

in other way can be said that, the Nagas during those days might have felt that, they need not have a written source as a burden when they have a well-defined tradition and culture. The Nagas were not ignorant about this, it was just that, they came to know the art of writing only with the impact of British rule and feeling the necessity of this, they might have maintained a well-defined tradition and culture orally being passed from generation to generation.

Thus during the 7 decades of Colonial rule in the Naga Hills, there was tremendous changes in the political, social, economic and cultural platform. This modification and adaptation brought about by a different cultural race un-doubtly is a legacy for a generation until the very word itself is lost. The rise of Nationalism among the Naga people was a process that ran parallel to the exposure of the Nagas to the western cultures. Whatever maybe the criticism, the British rule in the Naga Hills was a revelation for the Nagas and this legacy is but a fruit for generation and generation to come.

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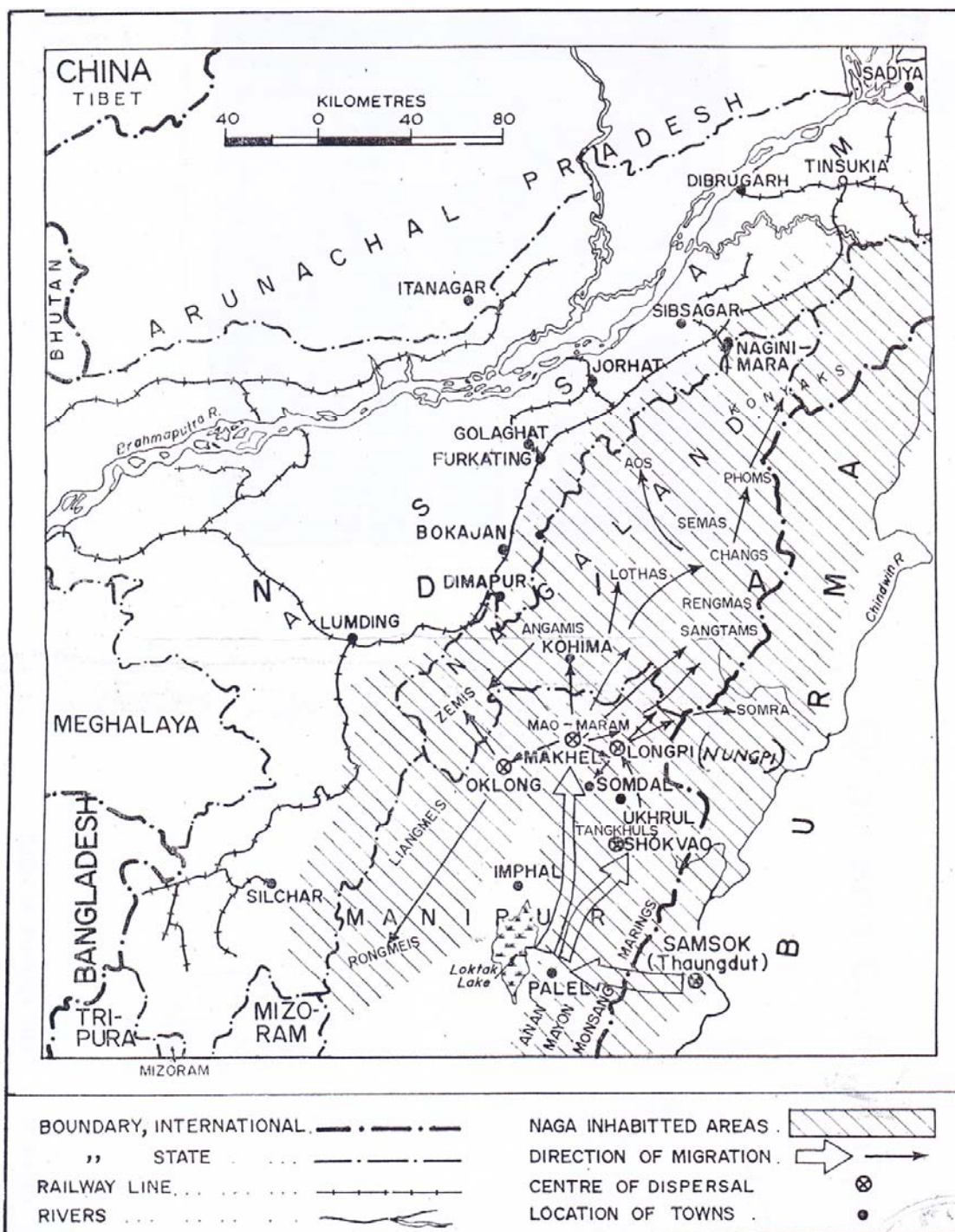
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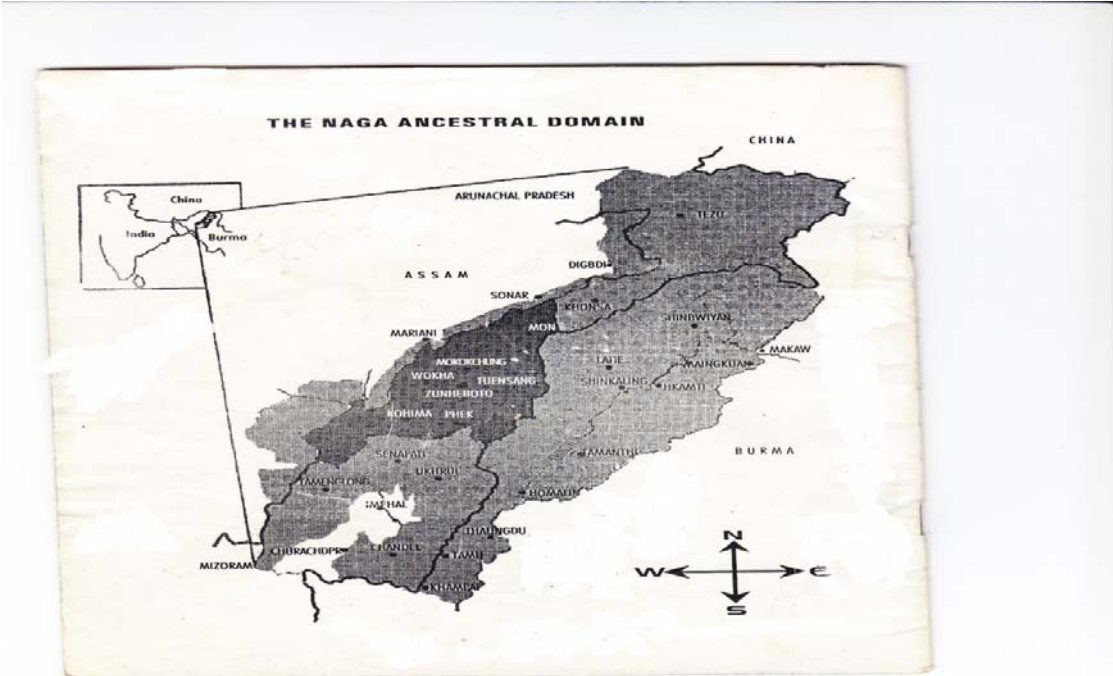
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Appendices:

POLITICAL MAP OF NAGA HILLS





NAGA TRADITIONAL ATTIRE













World War II Memorial:



