

EVANGELIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE NAGA HILLS 1895-1940

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of
the Degree of**

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

*This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **Evangelization Of Education In The Naga Hills 1895-1940**, submitted by **Karen Sema** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this university has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university and is my own work.*

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We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr.Sabyasachi Bhattacharya from whom I have learned so much. This work would never have been completed without his flawless supervision and guidance.

I thank my parents for their unconditional love, prayer and support which is responsible for whatever I am today.

I am also grateful to the various institutions and individuals who have helped me in the course of this dissertation especially my friends in J.N.U. I thank the staff and members of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi, National Archives of India New Delhi, Assam State Archives Gauhati, Deputy Commissioner's Office Kohima, Department of Art and Culture Kohima, CBCNEI record room Gauhati, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library New Delhi. I thank the Indian Council of Historical Research for the assistance provided through their contingency grant which helped me in conducting field trips.

Karen Sema

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Abbreviations

ABFMS: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

ABMU: American Baptist Missionary Union

D.B: Dobhasie

D.C: Deputy Commissioner

G.B: Gaonbura

NAI: National Archives of India.

NBCC: Nagaland Baptist Church Council

NEFA: North East Frontier Agency

WABFMS: Women American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

Glossary

Aksu: A Naga traditional festival celebrated by the Ao Nagas.

Amung: An Ao ceremonial household observation related to the old religion in which no work is done.

Genna: An Angami ceremonial household observation related to the old religion in which no work is done.

Khel: An area within a village similar to a colony.

Morung: Dormitory or bachelors hall where the Naga youths were imparted an informal education.

Gaonbura: Village headman.

Dobhashi: Government interpreter.

Introduction

The Nagas are a distinct people with a specific tradition and culture which over the years have been influenced by a complex process of endogenous and exogenous forces as a result of which the Naga identity has evolved to its present status. The most significant changes in the Naga society followed as a result of the introduction of evangelical education by the American Baptist missionaries under the patronage of the British government. Prior to the missionary intervention, the Nagas received an informal education through their *Morungs* or bachelor's halls where they were taught warfare, headhunting and self-defense as well as cultivation etc¹. The new institutionalized education that was introduced to the Nagas was with an evangelical purpose and therefore was not limited to introducing literacy alone; it also brought along changes which greatly altered the traditional Naga society. This dissertation is therefore, is an attempt to understand the Naga society in this present context by studying this education and evangelization process which was used as the most effective instrument of the American Baptist missionaries and the British government in realizing their objectives.

The spread of education among the Nagas along with the British occupation of the Naga areas was a gradual process and while some Naga areas got assimilated early into British territory the others remained unadministered for some more years. The British governments tendency to club areas according to administrative conveniences therefore led to a lack of uniformity in the application of policies for the different areas and villages since different territories maintained different

¹ B.B.Ghosh, 1979, *Mokokchung District Gazetteer, Nagaland*, p.209

relationships with the British Indian Government. This characteristic of the British administration poses a problem because there were no policies uniformly applied to all parts of the Naga Hills. This research is concentrated on the Angami and Ao areas in the colonial period since these were the first two tribes to receive missionary education under the patronage of the British administration.

The cross usually followed the British flag yet sometimes it paved the way for the flag. The first missionary to the Nagas, Rev. Miles Bronson who reached Naga soil in 1839 is credited with pioneering spadework among the Nagas in the education and evangelization process, although he was impeded by ill health and circumstances in his family. This attempt ended in its abandonment². The British government's efforts in the education process for the Nagas since the British assumed control, their initial effort was reflected in their attempts at establishing schools which did not last very long. Moreover these Government established schools were mostly to educate the sepoy's children and were not of much significance to the Nagas.³ *Formal and permanent educational institutions* began in the form of a primary school which was started by Rev. E.W. Clark in 1876 at the Ao village of Molungyimsen.⁴ However it was the establishment of the Impur School in April 1895 which accelerated the education process for the Nagas resulting in far reaching changes in the traditional Naga society.⁵ The period of my research therefore starts from 1895 till 1940 when the *first permanent high school* was established for the Nagas.

² P.T.Philip, 1976, *The Growth Of The Baptist Churches In Nagaland*, Gauhati 8, p.52

³ B.B. Ghosh, 1979, *Kohima District Gazetteer Nagaland*, p. 190

⁴ NBCC, 1997, *From Darkness To Light*, p.47

⁵ *ibid*, p.50

The study consists of four main chapters. The first chapter is a review of the educational status of the Naga Hills and missionary intervention. It looks into the background of the educational status of the Naga Hills included within the scope of my research and gives a statistical account of the total number of conversions, literacy rates, population trends, annual budgets and number of students in schools.

The second chapter deals with the American Baptist Mission's evangelical education policy and the implementation of their ideas and policies for the Nagas.

The third chapter assesses the role of the British government in the Nagas education process by focusing on their relationship with the missionaries and also their attitude towards the Nagas.

The fourth chapter is an assessment of the social impact of the evangelical education upon the Nagas and their response to it.

A brief bibliographic review

The scarce literature related to the study are as follows:

History Of The American Baptist Mission In North East India Vol. 1, Delhi 1987 by Milton S. Sangma is an informative book. His chapter on Nagaland includes description of the early missionary efforts and also a descriptive report of the individual growth of the various Baptist tribal associations in Nagaland. *The American Missionaries and North East India 1836-1900 A.D.* by H.K. Barpujari (1986) is a documentary study which gives reliable information on the background of missionary work among the Nagas. *Christianity In North East India*. SPCK, Delhi CLC Guwahati 1983 by Fredrick S. Downs, stresses on the use of education by Christianity as an instrument to break people's ignorance and beliefs in their myths and tribal religion. *Christianity In The North East Hills Of South Asia* 1987, by Ferdaus A. Quarashi, views the British administrators and missionaries as trying to

create a division between the Nagas and the rest of the Indian population especially the Hindus and Muslims. *The Growth Of Baptist Churches In Nagaland* CLC Guwahati 1972 by P.T. Philip is a very comprehensive and informative book but emphasizes little upon the relationship between the missionaries and British administrators. Richard M. Eaton's article *Conversion to Christianity Among The Nagas 1876-1971* in the *Indian Economic And Social History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 1984, is a well-researched article on the introduction of Christianity and its influences on the Naga culture. *The Angami Nagas And The British 1832-1947*, spectrum publications, Guwahati, Delhi 1999 by Dr. Mrs. Atola Changkiri, is a recent publication. A chapter titled 'Material And Moral Progress' has dealt with the education process in the Naga Hills rather intricately, the author being a Naga herself. *The Nagas Hill Peoples of Northeast India* is a product of a five year well researched project on the history and anthropology of the Nagas of Northeast India by Julian Jacobs, Anita Herle, Alan Macfarlane and Sarah Harrison. The book published in Great Britain in 1990 by Thames and Hudson lays emphasis on the Naga society, culture and the colonial encounter.

A Philosophy for NEFA, by Verrier Elwin, Published on behalf of the Adviser to the Governor of Assam, by P.C.Dutta, Shillong 1957, is a guide book intended for helping administrators and interested persons to understand the tribal in the right way. Elwin through this book has tried to implement his experience and knowledge regarding the tribes of India into guidelines for others to follow while dealing with the tribes not only those belonging to NEFA but also those in the other parts of India. *The Ao Nagas*, published by direction of the Government of Nagaland, Bombay, OUP, 1973, is a monograph on the Ao Naga tribe by J.P.Mills an administrator-ethnographer during the 1920's. Mills has tried to express his understanding of the

socio-cultural, economic and religious life of the Ao's from a close perspective. This monograph also throws valuable light on the attitude of the British administrators towards the Nagas during the 1920's. *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, by W.C.Smith, published by direction of Government of Assam, Macmillan and co ltd, St.Martin's Street London, 1925, is also a study on the Ao society and culture but from a different perspective, because the author who was Assistant Professor of Sociology in the university of Southern California had also worked among the Ao's as a member of the American Baptist Mission. Although his views tend to emphasize the missionary's attitude towards the Nagas, the author has tried to give an unbiased and rational study on the subject. His chapter titled *Changes through contacts with more advanced peoples* gives an account of the changes that occurred in Ao society as a result of their introduction to the British administration and Mission work. *The Naked Nagas*, Thacker Spink co Calcutta, 1962 by C.Von.Furer Haimendorf is an anthropological work on the Nagas. Haimendorf is critical of the loss of culture and the changes that occurred in the Naga society as a result of missionary work and British rule. *A brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, by M.Alemchiba is a publication by the Government of Nagaland, Kohima, 1970. This is one of the most valuable and well-researched works written by a Naga author. The author has given a well-documented and comprehensive historical account on the Nagas, from their early history till recent times. However he hasn't laid much emphasis on the education system and the development of modern infrastructure in the Naga Hills. *History of Education in Assam 1826-1919*, Mittal Publications Delhi 110035, 1989, by Archana Chakravarty as the name suggests is a study of the history of education in Assam. The study includes the Naga Hills which then formed part of Assam, but emphasizes more on the education system that prevailed in the plains of Assam and the part on the

Naga Hills is not very explanatory. *Struggle For Identity In Northeast India*, Spectrum publications, Guwahati Delhi 2001, by Rev.V.K.Nuh is a recent study which reflects the growing awareness among the Nagas for the need to revive culture and preserve identity. *A History of Nagas and Nagaland*, Common Wealth Publishers, 1996, by Visier Sanyu is another work representing the growing trend among the Nagas, of the need to strengthen their identity by tracing their traditional past. The book deals with the dynamics of oral tradition in village formation. The author acknowledges the positive contributions of the missionary and the Christian religion towards Naga society.

Primary sources

Primary sources for this work are mainly derived from the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies records 1817-1969, available on microfilm at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. These sources throw valuable light on the progress of mission work as it contains annual reports of the mission fields, their conferences and meetings where many important issues were discussed and policies framed. These sources on mission work are also supplemented by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies Records available at the American Baptist Mission Record room at Mission Compound Pan Bazaar Guwahati, Assam. Letters and correspondences from Rev. Sidney and Hattie Rivenburg titled '*Star of the Naga Hills*' edited by Narola Rivenburg provide first hand information on the experiences of the missionaries in the Naga Hills. *From Darkness To Light* 1997 is a publication of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council commemorating 125 years of Christianity in Nagaland. This book gives an account of the growth of Baptist churches all over Nagaland.

To determine the role of the British Government in the education process for the Nagas, a careful study has been made by analyzing the reports of the Department Of Public Instruction Government of Assam, available at the Secretariat Administration Record and Library Department Assam Secretariat (C) Dispur Guwahati 6. Interesting information on the views and policies of the British administrators towards the Nagas has been provided by the tour diaries of Maj. General Sir James Johnstone, J.H. Hutton and Captain John Butler. The Home Department files of 1877 and 1878 available at the National Archives New Delhi, and the government publications such as the Annual Administrative Records of the Naga Hills Political Agency for the years 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1879, The Progress of Education in India 1917-1922 and Treaties Engagements and *Sanads* provide important information from the governments administrative viewpoints.

The General Department and Political Department Files available at the Archive Section Naga Institute of Art and Culture and at the District Record Office in Deputy Commissioners Office Kohima Nagaland gives instances of internal turmoil and conflicts within the Naga Society in the form of various cases and petitions filed by the Christian and Non-Christian Nagas voicing their complaints against each other and sometimes even the Government. The Legislative Assembly Debates of 1936 and the Assam Legislative Council Debates of 1933 and 1936 also reflect upon the tensions caused in Naga society following the missionary work and British administration. The various Gazetteers and Census reports also helps in authenticating facts as mentioned through these various sources.

CHAPTER-I

The Educational Status Of The Naga Hills And Missionary Intervention

In India, the East India Company sent out Chaplains to look after the spiritual welfare of its Christian employees, and incidentally to spread the message of Christ amongst the Indians.⁵ These evangelical missions from England to India inspired Americans who decided to send missions to India and to all parts of the globe.⁶ It was at this juncture that the British Government, unable to deal with the tensions associated with the hill tribes in the North Eastern frontier of India, invited the British missionaries to intervene hoping that Christianization would bring a peaceful solution to the problem. The first Europeans to enter the Naga Hills were Captain Jenkins and Pemberton, who marched across the hills in 1832.⁷ Major Jenkins seemed to have held the view that "the tribes on the Assam frontier should be brought within the scope of missionary activities as early as possible as the influence of persons skilled in the languages of these tribes and devoting all their time and attention to humanize these rude races will not fail of being useful to us and to them".⁸ This was perhaps because of the fact that the story of the early British relationship with the tribes was one of perpetual conflict. Between 1835 and 1857 ten military expeditions were led into the hills the majority of which were dispatched to punish Naga raids on the plains

⁵ H.K. Barpujari, 1986, *The America Missionaries And North East India 1836-1900 A.D.*, Spectrum Publications Gauhati: Delhi, p. xi

⁶ *ibid*, p. xiii

⁷ *Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India* by B.C. Allen, and A. Craig and H. Allen, H.F. Howard reprinted 1979, p. 469

⁸ M. Alemchiba, 1970, *A Brief Historical Account Of Nagaland*, Naga Institute Of Culture, Kohima Nagaland, p. 154

of Assam.⁹ The British Evangelical Missions however did not respond to this challenge and instead paved the way for the American Baptist Christian missionaries who received the invitation at an opportune moment, soon after the convention at Richmond which had decided “to enter into every unoccupied field” and to extend their operations as widely as possible.¹⁰

First attempts and problems encountered

Right from their initial contacts with the American Mission, the British Government had always left to them the task of educating the Nagas. Therefore when the mission started their work for the Nagas under Rev. Miles Bronson, the first attempts were also made in the Nagas education process when Bronson established a school for the Namsang* Nagas and prepared a spelling book and simple catechism in Namsang dialect.¹¹ However this promising work had to be abandoned owing to ill health and circumstances.

✓ An entry on October 2, 1840 of Mrs. Bronson’s journal mentioned, “sickness has nearly suspended all missionary work. The school has continued under the care of the native teacher, but my own time has been fully taken up with the care of my sick husband and sister. We have at length come to the decision that it is our duty to leave our post for a season and to seek the blessing of health.”¹² Thus the first phase of education and evangelization for the Nagas ended. This episode however reveals and also confirms the later policy statement that religion and education have always gone hand in hand from the initial days of the mission.¹³ Education was a necessity for the

⁹ C.V. Aitchison 1909, *Treaties, Engagements And Sanads India* Vol. 2, p. 233

¹⁰ H.K. Barpujari op cit, p. xiv

¹¹ NBCC, *From Darkness To Light* 1997, p. 34

¹² H.K. Barpujari op cit, p. 249

¹³ *Foreign Mission Policies, ABFMS and WABFMS Conference Report* New York 1928, p. 17

* Namsang is now in Arunachal Pradesh

mission work to progress mainly because the ability to read was the only way to enable a proper understanding of the Bible. This is also revealed in a later report of the ABFMS where Rev. W.F. Dowd while reporting on the Impur mission field explains the necessity for his pupils to read Assamese, which was spoken by most of the Nagas. He believed that "the ability to read it will open to them a considerable Christian literature especially the Bible,"¹⁴ therefore education became a necessity and a prerequisite for evangelization and for the Bible to be read and understood. As mission work progressed this initial need of introducing literacy slowly developed into more ambitious plans of developing higher grades of education. Slowly with the progress of their work the missionaries felt that if the work was ever to be turned entirely over to Naga Christians some provision had to be made for higher education for those who are to accept that responsibility.¹⁵

The Naga field was considered as probably the most challenging of any under the auspices of the ABFMS anywhere. The missionaries faced a constant challenge of difficult climate conditions and ignorance of tribal dialects.¹⁶ The most difficult challenge to overcome was perhaps the distrust of the Nagas who considered all white men as "company's" men.¹⁷ Verrier Elwin describes the history of the Nagas as the gradual overcoming of their inborn fear of outsiders or aliens beginning with the Ahoms followed by the Europeans and later the larger Indian population¹⁸. Another great challenge for the missionaries was the problem of finding a Naga language which could act as a common medium for the different Naga tribal dialects, none of

¹⁴ Report of Rev. W.F. Dowd on Impur Station. ABFMS records Microfilm Reel No. FM-714

¹⁵ ABFMS Report on Impur 1920, Microfilm Reel No. FM-714

¹⁶ Report by Rev. R.F. Delano Impur Ao and Border Tribes Microfilm Reel No. FM-714

¹⁷ Milton. S.Sangma, 1987, *History Of American Baptist Missionaries In North East India*, p.225

¹⁸ Verrier Elwin, 1961, *Nagaland*, Shillong, p.32

which had a script. Every Naga tribe had its own dialect, each entirely different from the other. Sometimes there were even two or three different dialects even within the same tribe. The only language that was comparatively familiar to both the missionaries and some trading Nagas was the Assamese language. For the Nagas the Assamese language perhaps became a necessity in order to have trade relations with the plainsmen, as there seemed to have existed a trade network between the Nagas and the people of Assam. The *Annual Administrative Report of 1875* by Captain John Butler mentions this trade nexus. He reported that within twelve months not less than 1919 Nagas passed through Samaguting on their way to the plains for trade and out of this total 1331 took down cash, 26 went with ponies, 32 with beeswax and 530 with cloths, with which they chiefly purchased or bartered salt, iron, beads, brassware and gunpowder. He further remarked on the prospects of a larger trade network, considering what a very small proportion of the tribes had dared to leave their homes under the then circumstances of the existence of a perpetual threat from a rival village.¹⁹ This trade connection seemed to have encouraged the Nagas to adopt rudiments of the Assamese language, which perhaps explains the origin of the 'Nagamese', which is the lingua franca of the Nagas in the urban and sometimes even in most rural areas today.

When the missionaries therefore tried to begin their work of educating and evangelizing the Nagas, their effort was based upon this scanty knowledge of Assamese by the Nagas. They introduced Assamese through the use of the Roman script.²⁰ The 1899 Conference of the ABFMU, Rev. S.A. Perrine of the Ao Naga field

¹⁹ Captain John Butler, *Annual Administrative Report of The Naga Hills Political Agency 1874-1875*, Calcutta, printed at the Foreign Department Press 1875, p.5.

²⁰ Debate by G.A. Small, *Assam Legislative Council Debates Vol.16 No.1-11*, March 10-28, 1936, p.703

reported the use of American copybooks with simple plain round letters to introduce the Nagas to writing.²¹ Initially the missionaries gave their instructions in Assamese while slowly trying to learn and reduce the tribal tongue to writing also in the Roman script.²² Thus the Naga dialects were transformed into script form for the first time by the efforts of the early American missionaries such as Rev. E.W.Clark and Rev. Rivenburg.

The other perpetual hindrance to mission work seemed to have been the dearth of funds due to the financial crunch of the home board in America. Thus resulted the Richmond Convention which was held at a time when the operations of the board had increased beyond its resources without an increase in its revenue. The board had to therefore either recall some of its missionaries or go deeper in debt.²³ Back in America, the Baptist Churches in South following anti slavery agitation and impending Civil War withdrew from the Union and therefore the board could neither extend its field nor maintain even the existing ones as this had adversely affected the finances of the Northern Mission.²⁴ This perhaps explains the suspension of activities of the American Baptist missionaries in the Naga Hills after the retreat of Rev.Miles Bronson in 1841.²⁵ However with the end of the civil war in America (1865) more funds and assistance were available for the Assam field²⁶. More funds however did not imply sufficient funds because throughout the history of the mission there always

²¹ The Assam Mission of the ABMU, Conference held in Dibrugarh 1899.february 11-19 Microfilm Reel

Number FM-715

²² Report of the Training School at Kohima, 1937, Microfilm Reel No. FM-715

²³ H.K.Barpujari op cit, p.xv

²⁴ H.K. Barpujari op cit, pp. xviii, xix

²⁵ Milton S.Sangma, 1987, *The History Of American Baptist Missionaries In North east India*, Volume 1,p.218

²⁶ H.K.Barpujari,op cit ,p.19

seemed to have existed a perpetual scarcity of funds. Even when Rev. E.W. Clark resumed the second phase of mission work for the Nagas in 1872 the home board seemed hesitant to sponsor the mission.

The Ao Naga areas where Clark commenced work were still not under the administration of the British Government and therefore in this case the flag seemed to have followed the cross. *Inner Line regulations* (1873) prevented Clark from opening a mission amongst the Aos. Henry Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Assam expressed his inability to make any distinction “between a planter and missionary, telling the one he must stop at a line which the other may transgress”.²⁷ According to Rev. O Alem, the principal of Clark Theological College in the NBCC publication *From Darkness To Light*, the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar prevented Clark from going to the hills. He said, “It is foolish for anyone to think of going to the hills...the government will never grant permission...it is my duty not to send anyone beyond the boundary”. However Clark was so determined and sure of God’s guidance that he was prepared to face any consequences. He wrote to the board, “If I am to cut off relationship with the home board for starting mission among the Nagas I will have no hesitation to do so”.²⁸ Thus Clark’s decision to work among the Nagas was without the support of either the home board or the British Government who later granted him the permit to enter the hills however solely at his own risk.²⁹ He however managed to eventually convince the home board of the fruitfulness of his work and they, in compliance with his request, appointed Rev. C.D. King as missionary to the Nagas in 1878. Clark’s report of 1877 read, “I know the exclusion from civilization and the hardships and privations of living alone in a Naga village make up a pretty tough

²⁷ *ibid* (author source BJP 1873 January No 49), p. xxi

²⁸ NBCC *op cit*, p. 42,43

²⁹ *ibid* p. 46

sacrifice (I was ten months here without seeing a white face) yet I am more than convinced that in the hills among the people is the place for him to live who would evangelize this people".³⁰ Therefore Clark, who came as a missionary to be stationed at Sibsagar left the work to Mr. Curney and took the risk of moving up to the hills to live among the Nagas in 1872.³¹

The early British administrators had made initial attempts at establishing schools prior to the coming of the mission. A school was opened by the government at the Chumukedima Headquarters Station in 1876-77, which was attended only by the officials children as the local Angamis then were apathetic to any system of education.³² The administrative report of the Naga Hills for 1877-78 mentions the existence of a vernacular school at Samaguting for some years which later closed down due to want of funds. According to the report "A moderately good master required a high salary to come to Samaguting, and the climate was so unsuited to the higher classes of Bengalis and Assamese that constant attacks of fever and debility soon compelled them to throw up their appointments and return to the plains, where no doubt they reported very unfavorably on the district adding considerably to the difficulty of obtaining a successor".³³ The appointment of higher classes of Bengalis and Assamese in the government schools suggests that the vernacular in use was either Assamese or Bengali and the pupils therefore had to be the children belonging to the *sepoys* and others employed at the station. The administrative report of 1876-77 reports, "The attendance of the children belonging to the police and others employed

³⁰ *Historical Sketch of the Lotha Naga Mission* by Rev. W.E. Witter (ABMFS Record Room Mission Compound)

³¹ NBCC op cit p. 46

³² Dr. H. Bareh, May 1970, *Kohima District Gazetteer* Nagaland, p.190

³³ Lt. H. Maxwell Officiating Political Officer Wokha Naga Hills, Calcutta 1878, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the year 1877-78* p.4.

here has been steady and their progress good. A number of the men too take advantage of the opportunity for improving themselves. It has not however so far been found possible to secure the regular attendance of any Naga children. Their parents are the main obstacles as they find the children's services useful at home and so will not enforce regular attendance. The children knowing their parents will not interfere, run away when school becomes irksome, as it very soon does with them". In 1876, there also seemed to have existed an industrial school, which seemed to have had only one student who was a Kuki carpenter and had to be shut down in 1877 for want of success.³⁵

During these early days of the British administration in the Naga hills, the British administrators seemed to have harbored hopes of introducing education by inviting Christian missionaries who seemed reluctant to accept the offer, perhaps due to the disinterest of the home board who could not afford to take risks at opening new missions with a bleak prospect, especially at a juncture when funds were critical. According to the *Annual Administrative Report of 1876*, the men of Mezoma begged to have a school opened in their village and the American missionaries at Sibsagar were applied to for a teacher but none was to be found willing to come to the Naga Hills.³⁶ One of the early British administrators Major General Sir James Johnstone also seemed to have urged the Church of England to come and work to convert the Angami Nagas who he felt would make a manly set of Christians, superior to most Indian native converts and devoted to their rule. His suggestion did not seem to have

³⁵ *Annual Administrative Report Of The Naga Hills Political Agency 1875-1876* by P.J.Carnegy, p.7.

³⁶ *ibid*

found favour with the authorities and he deeply regretted it.³⁷ Captain John Butler also shared similar views; his tour diary read, "Who shall say that the Bible will not be the means of changing the habits and ideas of these wild savages? The experiment is worthy of trial; they have no caste or prejudices of creed to deter them from adopting Christianity".³⁸ Therefore in 1875 he sent a request to the missionaries for a teacher to start a school at Samaguting, which however resulted in failure as Mr. Roth who was sent by the mission returned disgusted unable to acclimatize to the weather conditions.³⁹

There was an absence of a formal system of education for the Nagas in terms of a school system. However, the 'Morungs' or the bachelors dormitory was considered to be an important educational, political and social institution where the Nagas learnt manners, discipline, art, stories, songs (poem), war tactics, diplomacy, religious and customary rites and ceremonials.⁴⁰ According to Dr. Tuisem Shishak a renowned Naga academician, "It would be rather naive to believe that Nagas received no education prior to their contacts with the westerners. 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 society 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 cohesion of the village communities".⁴¹ Though education in an informal manner can always be said to have existed for the Nagas, permanent and

³⁷ Major General Sir James Johnstone K.C.S.I, *Manipur And The Naga Hills* 1971, First Published 1896 Under the title *My Experiences In Manipur And The Naga Hills* p. P.43, 44

³⁸ John Butler, 1994, *Travels In Assam, (During a residence of 14 years) First Published 1855, Manas publications Delhi*, p.67

³⁹ *Annual Administrative Report of the Naga Hills Political Agency 1874-75*, by Captain John Butler, p.15

⁴⁰ NBCC op cit pp. 9, 10

⁴¹ Article by Dr.T.Shishak, 1996, '*Nagas And Education*' in the Naga Students Union Delhi Publication *Nagas At Work*, p.29

institutionalized education began for the Nagas with the establishment of Rev. Clark's primary school at the new Ao Christian village of Molungyimsen on 24 October 1876.⁴²

Rev. Clark realized that if the gospel should take root in the Naga soil, they needed to be familiar with the teachings of the Bible and therefore the necessity of translating the scripture into the tribal dialects developed. It was a tremendous task for Clark to first learn the Ao Naga dialect and then to reduce it to the Roman script.⁴³ Early in March 1878, Mrs. Clark who had been in America recovering her health joined her husband in the mission work. She kept a school for girls and when she was again obliged to go to America, Tungbangla one of her scholars took charge of the girl's school.⁴⁴ From the very beginning schools were deemed desirable and were established because, the teacher being located in a village, and his labour being limited to that village, he could teach a primary school for two hours each week day without detriment to his work as a preacher.⁴⁵ By 1885, Clark had mastered and written the Ao language and made a dictionary, primer, catechism, *Life Of Joseph* in a book of 116 pages, a hymnbook and the gospels of Matthew and John were also being carried through the press.⁴⁶ In compliance with the earnest request of Clark for reinforcement, the board in 1878 appointed Rev. C.D. King as missionary to the Angami Nagas followed by Rev. S.W. Rivenburg and his wife in January 1885 and again at Clark's request Mr and Mrs Witter were commissioned to work among the Lotha Naga tribe in 1885.⁴⁷ The early works of the missionaries were slowly

⁴² NBCC, op cit, p.47

⁴³ Ibid, p .48

⁴⁴ Historical Sketch Of The Ao Naga Mission by Rev.S.W.Rivenburg, ABFMS record room, Mission Compound Gauhati, p.81, 82

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid, p.83

⁴⁷ NBCC, op.cit , p.49

beginning to bear fruit and the 1893 report mentioned the total membership in the Ao churches to be 75.⁴⁸ Although the number of converters even after so many years of labour seemed comparatively small, it was still considered commendable especially considering the fact that a beginning was being made in totally alien surroundings.

New wave of missionary education, 1895

Initiating a brave start for later mission work was probably the most difficult phase of the mission work because from 1895 onwards a second and more vigorous phase of mission work started with the coming of new missionaries and the establishment of the Impur center. Rev and Mrs Perriene who arrived in 1892 and Mr and Mrs Haggard who arrived in 1893 occupied the new mission center of Impur in autumn of 1895.⁴⁹ According to Milton.S.Sangma and also the NBCC report, the arrival of these two missionaries rendered it necessary to find a new site and further mission work and therefore Impur was chosen as a more central mission station.⁵⁰ However according to Rev. Najekhu Y.Sema, the two missionaries arriving fresh from America were adamantly opposed to the compromise with Naga culture that Clark had allowed his converts to make and resolved to give up Molungyimsen as a center and moved mission activities further into the interior.⁵¹ Thus the Naga mission made rules for church membership more stringent by redefining the church rules towards the religious practices that were to be followed, rules regarding drinking of the local brew and use of opium, concept of Christian understanding of marriage and relationships, observance of Sabbath etc, an introduction was also made

⁴⁸ E.W.Clark's report in 1893 from the Amguri third triennial conference Tura) mentioned in Milton. S.Sangma's book op.cit, p .229

⁴⁹ NBCC, op.cit, p.50

⁵⁰ Milton S.Sangma, op. cit, p.229; NBCC op.cit, p. 50

⁵¹ Najekhu. y. Sema ,1972, *A Study Of The Growth And Expansion Of Baptist Churches In Nagaland With Special Reference To The Major Tribes*, Bethel Theological Seminary, p. 31

regarding the practice of donating for church work. The 1889 report of Rev. S.A.Perriene confirms this stringency of mission policy by highlighting issues such as the Nagas adopting to a burial which was a new mode of disposing the dead, the Nagas also seemed to be getting more prosperous since they were accumulating the money earlier spent on drinking, opium and elaborate rituals and sacrifices associated with the old religion. Perriene also stresses upon the fact that the Christian Nagas unlike the non Christian Nagas were adapting to wearing more decent clothes by abandoning their traditional costumes and they were also growing more conscientious in the relations of the sexes.⁵² Due to this sudden stringency of church policy especially in regard to a demand for a complete abstention from the local home made liquor there was a dwindling in church membership.⁵³

According to Richard M Eaton, inspite of this stringency and initial setback the Impur mission and its associated institutions represented a far more systematic and rationalized effort to transform Naga culture.⁵⁴ According to the NBCC report, with Impur as mission center and with more missionaries, mission work took on with renewed spirit. Mr.Dowd reported that the number of baptisms on the Impur field increased three times that of the previous five years after the establishment of Impur in 1895.⁵⁵ Rev.Roger R.Wickstrand in the 1931 report of the ABFMS describes the Impur center as the "Mecca" of religious and educational work for the Nagas.⁵⁶

Table 1 reveals that the rate of conversion was very slow in the beginning years when Clark founded Molungyimsen in 1876. The year 1895 also sees a sudden

⁵² Report From The Ao Field By Rev.S.A.Perriene, The Assam Mission Of The ABMU, Fifth triennial Conference Dibrugarh, 1899, Microfilm Reel No -F M 715

⁵³ Milton S.Sangma op.cit, p.231

⁵⁴ The Indian Economic And Social History Review volume 21, No 1, 1984, 'Conversion To Christianity Among The Nagas 1876-1971, by Richard M eaton, p.10

⁵⁵ NBCC, op.cit, p.50

⁵⁶ ABFMS Record

drop in Church membership since the new missionaries at Impur made church rules more stringent.

The Impur center, which was a systematic and organized institution, was designed to train up native teachers and preachers.⁵⁷ The missionaries realized that it was very important to train native teachers and evangelists who could carry the gospel to their own people in their mother tongue, as this seemed to multiply the missionaries talents by a hundred fold.⁵⁸ Therefore the mission work received a boost with more native teachers and evangelists being produced from the Impur School. This was probably the reason for the gradual increase in the number of conversions especially by the beginning of the twentieth century.

⁵⁷ ABFMS Records, Microfilm Reel Number FM714

⁵⁸ Narola Rivenburg edited '*Star Of The Naga Hills*', letter from Narola Rivenburg in Kohima December 1910 to aunt and uncle in America, pp.114,115

Table 1: Nagaland yearly church membership (1872-1940)

Year/Member	Year/Member	Year/Member	Year/Member	Year/Member	Year/Member
1872/24	1884/25	1896/35	1908/727	1920/3407	1932/14397
1873/ *	1885/25	1897/39	1909/1061	1921/3899	1933/15462
1874/ *	1886/63	1898-80	1910/1093	1922/3946	1934/15462
1875/ *	1887/61	1899/187	1911/1100	1923/4576	1935/16054
1876/ 21	1888/70	1900/278	1912/1333	1924/4833	1936/16498
1877/10	1889/72	1901/382	1913/1551	1925/5081	1937/20239
1878/17	1890/63	1902/484	1914/2084	1926/6558	1938/22601
1879/17	1891/75	1903/ *	1915/1111	1927/8250	1939/23091
1880/17	1892/73	1904/ *	1916/2256	1928/9582	1940/24512
1881/21	1893/73	1905/ *	1917/2542	1929/11368	
1882/25	1894/80	1906/760	1918/2863	1930/12073	
1883/37	1895/80	1907/795	1919/2827	1931/14367	

* No records

Source for table 1 is a compilation of the yearly reports of the ABFMS



In table 1 the figures for 1872-1901 refer only to the western portion of present day Nagaland. Areas then under British administration included parts of Mokokchung and Kohima districts and none of Tuensang district. For 1911-1940, the effective area included all of present day Mokokchung and Kohima districts but none of Tuensang district in the east.

Table 2 shows the distribution of religion in the Naga hills district on a proportion of 10,000 yearly. As the table suggests the total population in the Naga hills district also includes the foreign missionaries, British administrators, sepoys and traders. The total number of Christians till 1901 seemed to have been 601 as compared to 9565 Animists on a proportion of 10000 persons. Christianity still did

not seem to have made a major headway inspite of the progress as compared to 25 Christians in 1881.

Table 2: Distribution Of Religion In The Naga Hills District On A Proportion Of 10000 Yearly

Year	Hindus	Mohammedans	Animists	Christians Natives & Others
1881	133	9	9853	25
1891	361	17	9571	231
1901	327	14	9565	601

Source: Census Of Assam 1901, Volume 1, B.C.Allen, p.51

Table 3 (a)

Age Group	Total	Literate persons	Literate Male	Literate Female	Illiterate Persons	Literate In English
Total Of All Religions	Total Persons 160960	Total 2517	Total 2179	Total 338	Total 158443	Total 469
0 - 10	41549	103	80	23	41446	8
10 - 15	17440	315	255	60	17125	29
15 - 20	13349	416	340	76	12933	61
20 - over	88622	1683	1504	179	86939	371

Table 3 (b)

Animists	Total Animists	Total Literate Animists	Total Literate Male Animists	Total Literate Female Animists	Total Illiterate Animists	Total Literate in English
	145165	385	387	18	144780	94
0 - 10	37970	27	20	7	37943	3
10 - 15	15934	86	82	4	15848	7
15 - 20	11916	87	86	1	11829	14
20 - over	79345	185	179	6	79160	70

Source: Census Of India 1921, volume 3, Assam, Part 2 Table By G.T. Lloyd, p.40

According to table 3, by 1921 'Animists' composed the maximum illiterates as the percentage of literacy among 'Animists' was 0.27% while in the total population the percentage of literacy was 1.56%. This confirms that evangelization and education were going hand in hand. Though there were a larger number of literate persons there were still very few literate in English because inspite of primary schools having a large attendance the text books were mostly in the vernaculars and English was used only in higher classes which as the next table (No.4) suggests, very few Nagas attended. Table four shows the total enrolment in 1930 in the Jorhat Christian High School (a) On the basis of religion and (b) On the basis of districts. Since the first high school for the Nagas took proper shape only in 1940 the Nagas were compelled to go to high schools outside the Naga Hills. The Jorhat Christian High School was one such school where most of the Nagas joined after passing their middle schools from the Naga Hills.

Table 4: Report of The Academic Department Of The Jorhat Christian High School To The School Board November 4,1930

(a) High school Enrolment In 1930 On The Basis Of Religion

Class	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	Total
Enrolment	8	14	20	38	18	18	22	16	154
Christian	5	9	14	31	8	13	10	7	97
Hindu	3	4	4	5	8	5	12	8	49
Muslims	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	7
Animist	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

(b) High school Enrolment In 1930 On The Basis Of Districts

Class	X	IX	VIII	VII	VI	V	IV	III	Primary	Normal	Total
Districts											
Sibsagar	4	6	9	10	11	10	15	10	22	8	105
Kamrup	-	1	5	9	4	1	-	3	-	1	24
Goalpara	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Naga Hills	2	3	1	11	2	1	2	-	-	-	22
Manipur	-	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
N.Lakhimpur	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	5
Nowgong	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	3
Darrang	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	4
Garo Hills	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Sadiya	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3
Dibrugarh	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Dibru-Sadiya	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
NE Frontier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total											187

Source : ABFMS Reel NO FM 715

Table 4 (a) and (b) shows that Christian students composed 63% of total enrolment in the school. Table 4 (a) also shows that in the year 1930 there was only one Animist student in class VI in the whole school. According to the regional distribution the figure shows that next to the highly developed districts of Kamrup and Sibsaagar, the largest number of students were recruited from the Naga Hills.

Table 5 gives an estimate of the ABFMS yearly expenditure incurred in the Naga Hills .In this particular table the requested work appropriation is for work among the Lotha Nagas and other Nagas for the year 1937-1938.

Table 5: Requested Work Appropriation For 1937-1938

Requested Work Appropriation For 1937-1938	In Dollars
For Lothas	
For Evangelists	309.00
For Educational	379.00
For Care Of Property	41.00
For Other Nagas	
For Evangelists	405.00
For Educational	71.00
For Care Of Property	129.00
Missionaries Salary	1476.00
Total	2370.00

Source: ABFMS Reel Number FM 714, Financial Date April 14,1937.

The Table also shows that out of a total expenditure of 2370 dollars the mission was proposing to invest only 379 dollars on the education process for the Lotha Nagas which was still a new field as compared to the Ao and Angami areas where the mission had earlier invested a lot of money. However, since this particular budget was for the year 1937 to 1938, the mission was perhaps managing to gather funds locally within the Christian community since by the 1930's almost all the Naga churches were self-contributing and self supporting and therefore the initial dependency on the funds from the home boards was minimized. In the 1899 conference of the ABMU Rev.S.A.Perriene reported that the village schools in the Ao area had been completely self-supporting in the sense that they were not receiving a pie from the mission. They were being partly supported by the government and partly

by themselves. In the funds for the total educational works Rev. Perriene reported that the Nagas had directly contributed towards education in the past one year Rs 126.5 and from Naga sources had come indirectly Rs 313 more towards the same object. During the past year the Government seemed to have given Rs 780 and the mission Rs 730. In other words from Naga sources had been gathered for education more than half what had been given by the Mission. Perriene added to his report the fact that the Nagas were making a fairly good start in educational self-support as well as in religious self-support.⁵⁹

Table 6 gives us an idea about the government's participation in the education process for the natives of Assam, which then also included the Naga Hills. This table gives an abstract of the statistics of attendance and average cost of educating each pupil in lower primary schools for native children in Assam for the year 1892-1893

⁵⁹ The Assam mission of the ABMU, Minutes resolutions and historical reports of the fifth triennial conference held in Dibrugarh Assam, February 11-19, 1899. ABFMS records, Microfilm Number FM-715

Table 6: Attendance And Average Cost Of Educating Each Pupil In Lower Primary Schools For Native Children In Assam For The Year 1892-1893.

Lower Primary Schools	Number Of Schools	Average Roll Number Monthly	Average Daily Attendance	Average Yearly Cost Of Educating Each Pupil	
				To The Government Rs a p	Total Rs a p
Government	12	162	102	7 12 4	7 12 4
Local Fund And Municipal	1283	31600	22615	2 8 2	2 14 1
Aided	947	25634	18833	1 9 9	3 2 0
Unaided	173	4303	3489	- - -	0 10 9
Total	2415	61699	45039	1 15 7	2 13 5
Total For Preceding Years	2261	58585	42892	2 0 10	2 14 1

Source for table 6: General Report On Public Instruction In Assam 1892-1893 By J Williamson, Esquire M.A, Director Of Public Instruction, Assam. Printed at the Assam Secretariat printing office 1893, p.2.

Table 7 gives an account of the principle sources and the income for Mission schools in the Ao Field in the year 1889.

Table 7: The principle sources and the income for Mission schools in the Ao field for the year 1889

Direct contribution of the Nagas	Rs. 126-5 annas
Indirect contribution of the Nagas	Rs. 313/-
Government grant-in-aid	Rs. 780/-
Mission contribution	Rs. 730/-

Source: Mokokchung District Gazetteer, Nagaland by B.B.Ghosh 1979, Kohima, Government Of Nagaland, p.211

Table 8: The Table 8 gives a detailed comparison of the expenditure on education in Assam for 1891-92 and 1892-93 from other sources besides the government aid

Table 8: Comparison Of The Educational Expenditure From Non-Government Sources For The years 1891-1892 and 1892-1893

Years	1891-1892	1892-1893
Goalpara Trust Fund	560	560
Williamsons Trust Fund	2779	3793
Mohsin Trust Fund	743	797
Contributions By Welsh Missions For Khasi and Jaintia Hills	24082	29085
Contributions By American Missions For Garo Hills	5332	4737
Contributions By American Mission For Naga Hills	864	1073
Contributions By American Mission For Kamrup	349	-
Contributions By American Mission For Other People	13914	20045

The General Report On Public Instruction In Assam for the year 1929-1930 estimated the total number of all classes of recognized schools in the Naga Hills to be 136 and the number of pupils at school to be 3096 males and 671 females out of a total population of 80767 males and 80193 females.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ General Report On Public Instruction In Assam For The Year 1829-1830 By J.R.Cunningham, p.22

The Government's early efforts at establishing schools not only failed because of the lack of zeal and passion later possessed by the missionaries but also because of the difficulty of securing the services of an efficient teacher who would be willing to come and work in the Hills under the difficult living conditions. The missionaries on the other hand were inspired by a missionary zeal and were devoted and patient in their cause to educate and evangelize the Nagas and they were willing to take the challenge of entering the Hills without the protection provided by the Government and sometimes even without the support of the Home Board. They seemed unperturbed by the challenges of work in the Naga Hills and with patience and humanitarian services slowly but steadily managed to remove the Nagas distrust of the white man. They also won the confidence of the earlier hesitant Home Board and although the Cross usually followed the British Flag, in the Naga Hills the Mission work in many cases helped the Government to gain a foothold in many hostile territories.

The fact that education proved instrumental for furthering the missionary's evangelical work is perhaps proved by the fact that the animists or adherents of the old faith consisted the maximum number of illiterates in 1921. Although the number of conversions seemed very slow initially, the establishment of the Impur field in 1895, led to an increase in the number of native preachers and teachers which led to an increase in the number of schools and ultimately increased conversions.

Chapter- II

Missionary Policies

The American Baptist missionaries took up work among the Nagas amidst a set of challenges. First of all, the missionaries faced a life risk by entering the Naga Hills, because the Ao area where mission work started was still not under complete British protectorate and the government shouldered no responsibility for the missionaries safety against any assaults by the Nagas who were generally skeptical of any foreigner. Moreover the missionaries faced reluctance from the government in issuing them permits to enter the Naga Hills which was ruled to be out of bounds to all foreigners due to the implementation of the Inner Line Regulations of 1873¹. It was in spite of and under such circumstances that Rev.E.W.Clark of the American Baptist missionaries chose to enter and start what he believed was his 'life work' among the Ao Nagas in the year 1876 at Molungyimsen.² Even in 1884, when Rev and Mrs Rivenburg were sent as reinforcements to Rev.Clark by the home board in America, the British officials refused to grant them permission to leave Sibsagar on account of administrative disturbances caused by the then recent conflicts between the Nagas of the British administered and unadministered Ao areas.³ According to Narola Rivenburg the daughter of Rev and Hattie Rivenburg, 'It was only in 1885 when the situation was somewhat under control that the Rivenburgs at last received the longed for permission to join Rev.Clark at Molung'.⁴

The American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies Report describes the challenge posed by the difficulty of understanding the various dialects which seemed

¹ H.K.Barpujari, Op Cit, p.xxi

² NBCC, Op Cit, p.45

³ Narola Rivenburg edited, *Star Of The Naga Hills*, Op Cit, pp.26,27.

⁴ Ibid, p.43.

to be as many as the number of villages. The other problem seemed to be the difficult mountainous terrains, which 'made it more difficult for the gospel to reach the people than to reach their hearts'. The other problem stated seemed to be the bad climate and the absence of a doctor.⁵In spite of all these problems and challenges, work started among the Ao Nagas under Rev.E.W.Clark in 1876.

Education and conversion

From the initial days of the Mission, education and evangelization had always been the two primary objectives of the American missionaries policy in the Naga Hills. The diary of Rev.Miles Bronson, the first missionary to the Namsang Nagas describes the missionary's early efforts at translating and 'getting through the press the catechism, and a small book of phrases in Singpho and the Namsang Naga dialect'. There seems to have been very little initiative from the British Government to encourage education among the Nagas except for the personal initiatives of some British officials posted in Assam. An entry in Bronson's diary dated December 1,1839 mentions about a note from captain Jenkins of a proposal to give a donation of Rs.500 for the benefit of schools among the Nagas.⁶According to A.Mackenzie's article in Verrier Elwin edited '*Nagas in the 19th century*', 'The Governor General's Agent thought so highly of Bronson's work that he had asked to give Rs. 100 a month towards his Naga schools. Bronson seemed to have successfully kept up the mission school till illness compelled him to leave the place.'⁷According to Mrs Bronson's journal, work for the Nagas, which seemed to have been progressing had to be suspended owing to sickness in the Bronson's family and the missionaries had to

⁵ 'Brief Sketch Of Impur Assam', ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM714.

⁶ Journal of Rev.Miles Bronson in H.K.Barpujaris book, '*The American Missionaries And North East India*, op cit, p.237.

⁷ A.Makenzie, *History*, 1884, pp.92,99' in Verrier Elwin edited '*Nagas In The Nineteenth Century*' OUP 1969, pp517,518.

leave.⁸In 1847, Captain John Butler remarked about the Nagas thus, 'Amongst a people so thoroughly primitive, and so independent of religious prepossessions, we might reasonably expect missionary zeal would be most successful; for the last eight years, however, two or three American Baptist missionaries have in vain endeavored to awaken in them a sense of the saving virtues of Christianity.'⁹In Butler's view, still very little was known about the Nagas country and their habits and customs. And though several officers had penetrated a considerable distance into the hills occupied by the Nagas, they were always marked with caution and attended by a military guard.¹⁰Situations hadn't changed much during the arrival of Rev.E.W.Clark in 1872, and the Nagas still remained largely independent of the British administration and Christian missionaries.

Observing the trend of the mission work among the Nagas makes it very clear that right from its initial days the main aim of the Mission had always been to spread the gospel and to convert the Nagas to Christianity. However to achieve this end they had to adopt the policy of education along with evangelization. This need for educating the natives in reading and writing became a necessity in order to open up the Bible and the vast Christian literature to enable them to understand and accept Christianity since literacy in any form was still largely absent among the Nagas. The Mission felt that the British government had failed in fulfilling its necessary obligation of providing primary education for all its subjects. And since there were still large numbers of the people of Assam who were ignorant, the Mission thought it to be a necessary and legitimate part of their missionary works to provide educational

⁸ H.K.Barpujaris, op cit, pp.248,249

⁹ 'John Butler, *A Sketch Of Assam, 1847*, pp149-152,' in Verrier Elwin edited '*Nagas In The Nineteenth century*' OUP 1969, p.515.

¹⁰ ibid

facilities.¹¹ Minutes from the Education Committee of June 1914 reflect that the Mission believed in this legitimacy of furthering educational work as part of Mission work. According to the committee, 'For those who are thus neglected in the public school system, if in establishing schools for these neglected people the two fold aim of leading the pupils to Christ and of the formation of Christian character predominates together with a third and subordinate aim of diffusing Christian ideals throughout the community, it is the legitimate use of Mission's resources in expanding education'.¹²

The coming of new missionaries, Rev and Mrs Perriene in 1892 and Rev and Mrs F.A.Haggard in 1893,¹³ led to an increase in the stringency of church rules. The missionaries arriving fresh from the United States were adamantly opposed to the compromises with Naga culture which Clark had allowed his converts to make.¹⁴ These new missionaries concentrated their work in a new field called Impur in 1895.¹⁵ The establishment of Impur as a new field started a more systematic and organized educational system which was primarily designed to train up native students as preachers and teachers.¹⁶

The 1899 conference of the American Baptist Missionary Union comments on the subject of education that nearly all of the baptisms have come out of the schools and the school work. And there hardly seemed to be any village where there

¹¹ Assam Standing Resolution 1922, Quoted from Education Committee Minutes June 1914 ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-712

¹² *ibid*

¹³ Milton.S.Sangma, 1987, *The History of the American Baptist Mission in North East India Vol 1*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, p.229

¹⁴ Najekhu. Y.Sema, 1972, *A Study of the growth and expansion of Baptist churches in Northeast India with special reference to the major tribes*, Master of theology thesis, Bethel Theological seminary, p.31

¹⁵ NBCC, *op cit*, p.50

¹⁶ ABFMS records, Microfilm no FM-714.

were Christians without schools.¹⁷ A later report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies declared that, by 1915 the number of village schools under the Mission had greatly increased, it further added that the school work was fundamental to their Mission and for the churches to be intelligent, self reliant and aggressive; no effort was to be spared to make the Christian schools as effective as possible.¹⁸ In the same year Rev.W.F.Dowd's report from the Impur field similarly reflected the view that the schools were providing the training grounds for the development of the church.¹⁹ Schools therefore seemed to have acted as the highways of conversion and the establishment of Mission work began to be associated with the establishment of Mission schools.

Naga agency hood or self-help

By emphasizing on the necessity of education for evangelization the Mission's policy that followed was based upon the need of building a comprehensive school system, which besides aiding the need of the Mission's education and evangelization policy also resulted in the growth of a new class of educated elites within the Naga community and was therefore responsible for shaping the future of the Naga society.

This educational establishment of the Mission comprised of a network of school system where the Primary school formed the first and most important factor as it provided the necessary and basic foundation for a larger superstructure, which included Middle English schools, High schools, Bible schools etc. These institutions were in turn responsible for producing Naga teachers and evangelists to further the

¹⁷ Fifth Triennial Conference, Dibrugarh, 1899, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM715

¹⁸ One Hundred And Second Annual Report, ABFMS 1916, Minneapolis, Minnesota

¹⁹ Assam, Impur, *The First Mission To The Naga Hills Of Assam* by Rev.E.F.Dowd, 1916, ABFMS Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

Mission work. It was the Mission's policy to encourage the establishment of a Primary school in every Christian village.²⁰

In 1885 Rev.Rivenburg who was helping Rev.Clark in the Ao field remarked thus: 'I have no hope for this mission unless the natives learn to do the work. A foreigner may instruct and guide but never lead as would a member of the company (British Government officials)'.²¹ This belief seemed to have formed an elementary principle of the Mission's policy and in 1916, The Annual Report of the ABFMS acknowledged that the largest evangelistic results were being secured in the Christian schools and credited the Mission's progress to the trained Christian leadership, which were resulting in extraordinary ingathering).²² Rev.Longwell's report from the Ao field in 1918 also followed similar lines. He felt that since a great bulk of the Nagas could never be evangelized by foreigners it had been the constant aim to train native leaders for the work.²³ Mission work was divided into various areas or fields. Usually each Mission field was denoted to work for a particular tribe occupying a certain area, such as the Angami field with its center at Kohima, the Ao field with its center at Molung and the Lotha field with its center at Wokha. The Angami field under the leadership of Rev.Rivenburg also resorted to the help of the native evangelists. A description of the application of this policy is best expressed in Narola Rivenburg's letter to her aunt and uncle in America where she in 1910 described her father's work as follows, 'Among the schoolboy's are representatives of eight different tribes, each

²⁰ Resume of Missions policy by Mr.Danielson, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-712

²¹ Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills* op cit, Letter from Sidney Rivenburg to father and mother in America from Molung Assam, June 25,1885, p.48

²² 122nd Annual Report of the ABFMS, 1916, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1916. p.42

²³ Report of Robert Longwell , Impur Assam ,February 1918,ABFMS, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

tribe speaking an entirely different language. You can see how important it is to train evangelists who can carry the good news to their own people in their mother tongue. For such a situation as we have here, the missionary finds that his most effective method of working is to collect a selected group of bright boys and girls into a school, where a common dialect is used by some and is learned by the rest. Through these splendid earnest young people the one missionary may multiply his own talents by a hundredfold and the harvest is even now ready'.²⁴

The use of native evangelists not only helped the missionary to overcome the barrier of the difficult tribal dialects but over the years as mission work progressed, the missionary in many cases multiplied his abilities by taking the aid of the native evangelists to reach out to the Nagas in places such as those that came under the governments *Excluded Area Act*, where all foreigners were prohibited from entering without a special permit.²⁵ Even before the formation of the Naga Hills district, *the Inner Line regulations of 1873* had been set up to, control and limit the kind of intercourse between the tribal and plains people. *The Government of India Act, 1870* conferred the power on the executive authorities to especially legislate for such areas designated as backward. The objective of the *Inner Line* was primarily to restrict the traffic in rubber and tea, which generated troublesome relations between the trading classes and the frontier people of the hills. The *Inner Line* did not necessarily indicate the territorial frontier, but the limits of the administered area. The European planter especially resented the regulation. But it was necessary because beyond the line the

²⁴ Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills* op.cit, Narola's letter to aunt and uncle in America from Kohima December 1910, pp.114, 115

²⁵ Report by Rev.D.F.Delano from the Impur field after 1947,ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

government could not guarantee his protection.²⁶ Rev.D.F.Delano from the Impur field applauds the services of these native evangelists for furthering the mission work. He specially regards the services of Kijungliba the head Ao evangelist for his efficient and selfless services and Onenlepten the border tribe evangelist for risking his life to go and preach amongst the border tribes within the excluded areas act.²⁷

Unlike the Ao Naga field or even the later Sema and Lotha field the Angami field showed very poor rates of conversions inspite of concentrated mission work for many years.²⁸ Richard Eaton has interpreted this trend of conversions as a result of the distinctive way the Angamis adapted themselves to the land, and the means chosen by the missionaries to mesh Christian cosmological conceptions with the Angami conceptions. According to his interpretation the Angamis were the only Nagas who did not practice slash and burn cultivation but rather built an elaborate system of terracing and irrigation, by which steep hills were transformed to flooded rice fields. This system of agriculture made the Angamis more tied to land and they therefore perhaps had a more stable religious system unlike the rest who tended to be comparatively more migratory and therefore more accustomed to assimilating each others cults and religious practices.²⁹ Therefore the rate of conversions in the Angami field was very slow. In 1889 Rev.Rivenburg who was responsible for the Kohima mission gave the credit of four new conversions in the year to the uninterrupted work of the two native evangelists Seileizu and Neisier due to whose efforts mainly the

²⁶ E.A.Gait, 1933, *History Of Assam*, Thacker Spink And Co., Calcutta, pp. 386,387.

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ NBCC, *Op cit*, p.56

²⁹ Richard M. Eaton, *Conversion To Christianity Among The Nagas*, *op. cit*, p.39

total church membership totaled fifteen.³⁰ By 1936 the Impur field reported of 64 churches among the Ao Nagas with a total membership of ten thousand and 595 baptisms during the year. It also reported the establishment of two churches with 14 baptisms among the Konyak Nagas and 6 churches with 140 members among the Sangtam Nagas and credited the achievement of this work solely to the native Ao evangelists because the Konyaks and Sangtams were tribes who lived in those areas which were considered to be part of the Excluded Area Act.³¹ In the beginning, the British called the area beyond the Inner Line as the Backward Areas, as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, in the sense that the modern institutions of administration had not taken root there. By the recommendation of the Simon Commission, whose members found the phrase offensive the Backward Areas became *Excluded and Partially Excluded areas*. This happened under the *Government of India Act* issued on the 1 April 1937.³²

From the time of the establishment of the first Naga Baptist Association in 1896 at Molungyimsen the missionaries had initiated the Nagas to ultimately undertake the management of their own schools and the responsibility to achieve this was bestowed upon Zilli an Assamese who was Rev.Clarks main preacher and teacher. The Mission reports suggest that this responsibility had been efficiently

³⁰ S.W.Rivenburg, Report from the Angami field, Gauhati, December 22-31, 1900

³¹ Assam Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report, 34th session, Guwahati, Assam. December 1-6, 1936, ABFMS Records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

³² Ram Narayan Kumar with Laxmi Murthy, 2002, *Four years of the cease fire agreement between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council Of Nagalim: promises and pitfalls*, printed by Other Media Communications, New Delhi. p.22

carried out, since by the year 1899 out of the six primary schools in the Ao area four were already self-sustained.³³

The pedagogic agenda

According to the objectives mentioned in the ABFMS policies, in their programme of evangelizing the world, Christian education occupied an indispensable place. And while the schools are a direct and conscious evangelistic agency bringing to their students the challenge of the Christian gospel, their primary educational aim was to develop a strong Christian community with an adequately trained leadership and an intelligent and responsible laity.³⁴ Based upon this objective it was decided that the system of Christian education that was to be followed for at least some time to come should conduct schools of all grades from the lowest to the highest. The number and types was to vary according to the needs and resources of the various mission fields; however, some or all of the following types were to be included: Kindergartens, Primary, High and Normal schools, Vocational schools, Colleges, Bible schools and Theological institutions.³⁵ Following this policy of the Mission board the Missionaries in the Naga Hills encouraged the converts to acquire responsibility towards the working of the Mission the ultimate aim being clearly to turnover the work to a large body of educated men who could lead the educational and administrative works.³⁶ As the Mission work progressed in this regard there seemed to have developed the need to extend the education for the Nagas beyond the

³³ Report from the Ao field by Rev.S.A.Perriene at the fifth triennial conference of the ABMU in 1899, Dibrugarh Assam, ABFMS records op.cit

³⁴ Foreign Mission Policies, A report of the special conference of the board of managers and delegates from the ten missions of the ABFMS and the WABFMS held in New York, November 18- December 2, 1925, p17

³⁵ *ibid*

³⁶ Isolated Impur the center of Ao Naga work, 1920, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

Primary stage to the Middle English school stage; and as the work of the Mission increased the responsibilities also increased thus necessitating the need to keep upgrading the educational system for the Nagas by increasing the quality and number of schools.³⁷

The absence of a script among the Nagas and the difficulty in mastering the various tribal dialects posed a serious challenge to the missionaries, yet it presented fields of opportunities and immense potential in furthering their cultural penetration. According to Fredrick.S.Downs the author of *Christianity in North East India*, the hill tribes such as the Nagas did not possess any traditional written scripture that needed to be undermined by the missionaries as a preparation for the receipt of the gospel, but education was nevertheless seen as useful in breaking down confidence in the mythologies of the traditional worldview.³⁸ A report of the ABFMS describes the religion of the Nagas as a form of demon worship and found that in times of sickness or poor crops they appeared to be less bound by their religious beliefs than the followers of the more highly developed religion and therefore were consequently more ready to acknowledge the superiority of Christianity.³⁹

In this sense the absence of a script among the Nagas worked in favour of the missionaries; nevertheless a script was necessary to reach the gospel to the people and the early missionaries such as Rev.Clark and Rev.Rivenburg introduced a script for the Nagas by recording their languages into writing for the first time by the use of the Roman script. The absence of a common vernacular among the Nagas further

³⁷ Education in the Naga hills- Report of the ABFMS in 1937, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel number FM-716

³⁸ Fredrick.S.Downs, 1983, *Christianity in North East India*, ISPCK, Delhi in association with Christian Literature Centre, Gauhati, p.268

³⁹ Isolated Impur the center of Ao Naga work, 1920, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

encouraged the missionaries to introduce the use of English as a common language among the Naga students in the Mission schools.⁴⁰ By 1885 Rev.Clark had mastered and written in the Ao language, a Primer, Catechism, Life of Joseph, a Hymnbook and the gospels of Matthew and John were carried through the press, besides the ordinary works of the Missionary.⁴¹ Following the example set by Rev.Clark in the Ao field, Rev.Rivenburg who was given charge of the Angami mission also mastered and wrote the Angami dialect in the Roman script and by 1905 he had translated a Primer, Arithmetic, Hygiene and some of the new testament in the Angami dialect.⁴² By introducing the Roman script as the common script for all Naga dialects and through the medium of the Christian religion the missionaries established to a considerable extent, a feeling of oneness between them and all the Christian Nagas. The missionary deserves due credit for the formidable achievement of learning the Naga dialects and taking pains to put them in the Roman script. According to Rev.D.F.Delano the Naga field was considered as probably the most challenging field of the American Baptist Mission society ⁴³and here the work of the missionary besides the regular work of preaching and teaching also included engineering, agriculture, dairy farming, journalism, architecture and jurisprudence.⁴⁴ Extracts from the 1922 Annual Report of J.R.Bailey from the Impur field records cases of 8702

⁴⁰ Annual Report 1940, Kohima Assam by Rev.G.W.Suplee, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-716

⁴¹ *Mokokchung District Gazetteer*, Nagaland, Government of India, 1979 by B.B.Ghosh, p.210

⁴² Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills*, op cit, p.96

⁴³ Impur Ao and Border tribes, by Rev.D.F.Delano, ABFMS Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁴⁴ 35th session of the ABFMS, Sadiya Assam, December 8-13, 1937. ABFMS records , Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

medical treatments that had been administered by the missionaries for the Nagas within the Mission's dispensary, and more than 100 visits had been made to relieve patients outside the dispensary.⁴⁵ The Mission's ultimate success in the Naga Hills was probably due to this efficiency and ability of the early missionaries to adjust to different situations and their sincerity and dedication towards their work.

According to Ethel Masale's report from the Impur field, the Nagas were introduced to a westernized system of education that resembled the Grammar Schools in America.⁴⁶ In 1899, Rev.S.A.Perriene reported on the education methods that were being used for the Nagas where he mentioned the use of the sound method and the introduction of music, both of which seemed to have been very helpful.⁴⁷ The sound method probably refers to the system where the teacher pronounces a certain word and the pupils repeat after him. The missionaries also realized the Nagas natural love for music and took advantage of it by introducing music through the Christian hymns.

In her letter to her mother and sister in America Hattie Rivenburg from Kohima in the Angami field remarked thus: chanting should be popular with these people, for it is so much like the way they sing when they work. Sidney has also tried translating some hymns, "Come to Jesus" and "All Hail the power of Jesus Name".⁴⁸ Regarding the introduction of the system of writing, Rev.Perriene reported, 'we have laid special stress on writing and the results have been pleasing. We procured some American

⁴⁵ Extracts from the Annual report of J.R.Bailey, Impur Assam. ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁴⁶ Ethel Masales report from the Impur field, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁴⁷ Minutes, resolutions and historical reports of the Fifth Triennial Conference, Dibrugarh, Assam, 1899, Report from the Ao field by Rev.S.A.Perriene, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

⁴⁸ Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills*, op cit, p.80, Letter from Hattie Rivenburg to mother and sister in America from Kohima, Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills*, op cit, p.80

copybooks with very simple plain round letters, which were most helpful. A raw Naga at first knows no more than of the modus operandi of writing than does the pencil he tries to hold in his dirty clumsy fingers'.⁴⁹ The evangelization of education policy of the mission resulted in an urgency of educating the Nagas to foster conversions besides initiating the need to also transfer the responsibilities of the mission work over to the Nagas. The school at Impur, which was established in 1895,⁵⁰ was a School that was especially meant to train native teachers and preachers for the Naga villages. The work of the school was elementary and did not quite prepare the pupils for entrance to High Schools as emphasis was laid on the three R's reading, writing and arithmetic and mainly Bible study.⁵¹ Ethel Masales who was a missionary stationed at Impur from 1919 to 1930 felt that the name Impur Mission Training School was a misnomer as far as the word "training" was concerned because apart from trying to establish Christian principles in school work and the forming of Christian character and principles in school work there seemed to be no special training to make it what it should be.⁵² The Kohima mission school also reported on the extensive use of the Angami New Testament that seemed to have been read more than any other book in the school and every pupil seemed to have been committing to memory goodly portions of it every year.⁵³

The overwhelming zeal and dedication in the realization of their objectives seemed to have led to the creation of many lacunae and loopholes in the American

⁴⁹ Minutes, resolutions and historical reports of the Fifth Triennial Conference, 1899, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

⁵⁰ *From Darkness To Light*, NBCC, op cit, p.50

⁵¹ Education in the Impur field by Rev. W.F. Dowd, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁵² Impur school by E.A. Masales, ABFMS records FM-715

⁵³ Report from the Angami field, 121st Annual Report of the ABFMS, 1935, Colorado, June 20-25, p.81

Baptist Mission's education process that was introduced for the Nagas. The missionaries preoccupation with the aim of training students to be teachers and preachers often resulted in imparting education which hardly had any provisions to give the children a chance of self expression for realizing their potentials to ensure the all round development of their personality. It instead leaned more towards the need of mastering the rudiments of the principles of Christianity to ensure the training of good Christian preachers and teachers. This weak foundation in the Primary school level perhaps explains the reason for the poor quality of teaching that was later imparted by the native teachers who had earlier been students of the Mission schools. In 1931 the Impur School is reported to have consisted of twelve native Ao teachers where the headmaster was a graduate from Cotton College of Guwahati Assam and seemed to have had a perfect command over English.⁵⁴ However according to another report of the ABFMS the teachers at the Impur School were proving to be inefficient and Ethel Masales from the Impur field reported, 'I have found that in the six classes of geography that we have here, the various teachers were teaching practically the same thing over and over again and this they had copied out of one text that we use in the upper classes. There was no connection or association in any of their teachings. One teacher would talk about Asia on one day and the next something about America or Africa. The poor children didn't understand what he was talking about and certainly were not learning anything for they didn't have any idea where Europe or Africa was. In Arithmetic the pupils worked for answers only and juggled with the figures on their slates until the answers accidentally appeared with no understanding

⁵⁴ The 1931 Ao Naga annual association by Rev. Roger R. Wickstrand, Impur Assam, ABFMS records

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of what they were doing. In the beginning class of Grammar, they can all repeat the definitions of the parts of speech beautifully and can also define active and passive voice and can name all the classes of nouns but cannot tell the difference between a noun and a proverb. They tell me that 'on' is a noun and 'you' is an adjective.⁵⁵

Since the native teachers were products of the Impur School that was responsible for their training, their inefficiency as teachers only proved the inadequacies of the education that had been imparted to them earlier. The haste in the Mission's policy of accelerating their evangelization work through training native preachers and teachers therefore often lay responsible for the Mission's perpetual problem of the lack of efficiently trained teachers for their schools later.⁵⁶ The poor quality of teaching that was being taught in the Impur school posed a new challenge to the Mission's work especially since the Impur School which as described by Rev. Roger Wickstrand in the 1931 Ao Naga Annual Association was the "Mecca"⁵⁷ of educational and religious work for the Nagas and carried the responsibility for the future progress and success of the Mission. The Mission therefore in an attempt to raise the standard of the school tried to plan out a curriculum with different requirements for each class. Since the quality of the teaching staff was inadequate to meet the requirements for efficient teaching, it was thought best to place whatever available teachers where they could do their work best which seemed to have led to an almost departmental system of teaching. Ethel Masales report deplored upon the fact that the cooperation of the teachers seemed more hard to secure than that of the

⁵⁵ Impur, Assam, Ethel A. Masales, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁵⁶ Mission work in Assam: as told by the Missionaries themselves, Calcutta, Printed at the Baptist Mission Press 1913, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number, FM-715

⁵⁷ The 1931 Ao Naga Annual Association by Rev. Roger R. Wickstrand, Impur, Assam, ABFMS Microfilm FM -714

students since the teachers seemed slower than the students in realizing that the school was largely what they made it out to be.⁵⁸ There seemed to have been during 1916 a conference on schoolwork and religious work and Bible study where the teachers from all the different Naga Mission fields attended for a period of three weeks. Less formal conferences also seemed to have been held for a few days about once every three months.⁵⁹ The other general efforts that the missionaries initiated in improving the efficiency of the Impur School were, the insistence upon the maintenance of silence as part of the school decorum and the introduction of the system of choosing of two class monitors by the students themselves so as to encourage the students to feel that the school was largely what they made it out to be.

✓ Although the missionaries were trying to translate texts into the vernacular for use in the schools it was a very slow and gradual process owing to their unfamiliarity of the tribal dialects. The usual problem faced during such translations was the difficulty of finding the equivalent words for ideas not found in a given culture or civilization such as was reported from the Kohima field when the Rivenburg's failed to find words in the Angami dialect which corresponded to words such as crown, angel, Jehova and sin.⁶⁰ The unavailability of sufficient school texts in the vernacular continued to persist as a major problem throughout the years in the Missions work progress as has been revealed in the 1940 Annual report from the Kohima field where Rev.G. W. Supplee lamented over the fact that many of the Missions pupils could not read even in grade A in their own vernacular He felt that

⁵⁸ Impur Assam by Ethel Masales, ABFMS Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁵⁹ 102nd Annual Report of the ABFMS 1916, Presented by the board of managers at the annual meeting held in Minneapolis Minnesota, May 17-24, 1916, p.117.

⁶⁰ Letter from Hattie Rivenburg to mother and sister in America, Narola Rivenburg edited op cit, pp.80, 117

they needed to spend a year in learning their language which was used as the medium of instruction. He further added, 'our supply of textbooks in the vernacular of the schools does not suffice through grade three. Which means that our pupil must struggle with text books in English before they are finished with the work in the Upper Primary classes.⁶¹ The Impur Training School, which was supposed to be equivalent in standard to a Middle English School, seemed to have also struggled with the need for vernacular texts. Ethel Masales reported: 'One of the greatest drawbacks to the work here is that most of the work from class IV to VI must be done in English and they understood so little of it. Another great need is more textbooks in the vernacular'.⁶² In the 1909 report of the *Progress of Education in India* H.W.Orange the Director General of education in India wrote about the peculiarity of some features within the education process of the hill tribes in which he also mentioned the insistence on the preservation so far as possible of the tribal languages as the medium of instruction and also the optional introduction of English at an early stage as this was rendered easier by the use made in the vernacular text books of the Roman script as is justified by the necessity of some common tongue in the case of those who will secure appointment in the hill districts.⁶³ The 1908-1909 General Report on Public Instruction in Assam also reasons the comparatively poor growth of education in the Naga Hills as a result of the absence of vernacular texts. Regarding this problem in the Naga Hills, H.E.Stapleton the officiating Director of Public

⁶¹ 1940 Annual Report by Rev.G.W.Supplee, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-716

⁶² Impur School by Ethel E.Masales, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁶³ Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907, volume 1 for 1909 by H.W.Orange, C.I.E, Director general of education in India, Calcutta, Superintendent Government printing, India, p.308

Instruction in Eastern Bengal and Assam reported, 'One of the main difficulties that have been experienced in the way of education beyond the Primary stage is the want of suitable text books in the tribal languages. Owing to this want the pupils have often to learn through the medium of English. Thus the problem involved is not merely one of education but one including the development of the several tribal dialects into literary languages. This is not an easy task and must continue to retard the progress of education'.⁶⁴ Thus the scarcity of translated texts in the vernacular proved to be a hindrance in the progress of the Mission's as well as the Government's educational works.

Missionary-Naga relationship

Besides the problem caused by the scarcity of obtaining the services of efficient teachers and the dearth of vernacular texts the other hurdles to the Mission's educational work seemed to have been the difficulty in convincing the Nagas of the utilities of the Mission's education system. Winning the confidence of the Nagas also proved to be an obstacle in the mission's work progress since the Nagas classed all white faces as the same whether they were British administrators or American missionaries. This classing of all white people in the same category proved to be a burden for the missionaries because prior to the coming of the Mission the history of the relationship between the Nagas and the British administrators had not been one without conflict and therefore the Nagas' first impression of the 'white man' had undoubtedly been of an unpleasant nature. The Rivenburg's at the Kohima field experienced a different aspect of this particular problem of the Nagas' distrust of all white men. According to the Rivenburg's, a dozen or more English officers who were

⁶⁴ H.E. Stapleton, B.A., B.Sc., Officiating Director of Public Instruction Eastern Bengal and Assam, Printed 1909, General Report on Public Instruction In Assam 1908-1909, p.47.

generally the younger sons of the English nobility occupied the Kohima field. These officers usually left their families in England and being alone often took native women that not only gave them a notorious image among the Nagas but also resulted in a serious Eurasian Problem.⁶⁵ Rev. Rivenburg mentions a case of a certain boy who was found in the village by his wife Hattie and had been invited to join the Mission school and to live with them in their home as he seemed to have had no place else to live. The boy had been disowned by his European biological father who was a British official who already seemed to have had his own family, his mother also seemed to have later married one of her tribe thus leaving the boy to shift for himself.⁶⁶

The missionaries had trouble convincing the parents of the children of the benefits of sending their children to school since the children were helpful mates in performing both domestic and field work.⁶⁷ A report on the Administration of the Naga Hills in 1883-84 mentioned: The Mission School at Kohima had 26 on its roll with an average attendance of 20, many of the scholars receive a meal of rice everyday, otherwise the attendance would not have been so good.⁶⁸ The Nagas initial apathy towards the Mission's education plan seemed to have curbed any contributions towards the Mission's schoolwork in the form of fees and the Mission instead seemed to have provided free education along with free meals perhaps in an attempt to

⁶⁵ Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills*, op cit, pp.67,82

⁶⁶ *ibid*, p. 111

⁶⁷ B.B.ghosh, Nagaland, 1979, *Kohima District Gazzetter*, p.190

⁶⁸ Atola Changkiri *The Angami Nagas and the British (1832-1947)*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati Delhi, 1999, p.184, (author's source- FPP, September 1884, Nos. 23-60)

increase the attendance for their schools. According to the above report the Deputy Commissioner hoped that as soon as any of the boys would get educated enough to get an appointment as copyist or clerk, the Nagas would see the advantages of education, and would send the boys willingly which did not seem to have been the case then.⁶⁹ However, later reports of the ABFMS suggest that as the schools progressed and developed and the attendance increased, the Mission limited its supply of rice only to its girl students and the boys had to go home once a month to get their own rice.⁷⁰ The Mission also seemed to have made it compulsory for all regular as well as stipend pupils to work for their tuitions⁷¹ besides also encouraging to inculcate in them a sense of the dignity of labour. Ethel Masales from the Impur Mission reported, "They do all of their own work the boys as well as the girls even the cooking of their rice, the sweeping of the floors and the washing of their clothes. Most of them have only one cloth so their washing is not a problem. If they have two they can wear one while the other is being washed. They have only rice and peppers and some greens so their cooking is not at all a complicated process. The dormitories are very old and the floors are full of holes, which are very convenient in sweeping the floors".⁷² Rev. Rivenburg's paper on the Ao Naga Mission mentioned that in the initial days of the Mission the schools were held for only about two hours in the early morning each weekday. He attributed this as a result of the 'peculiar conditions'⁷³ by which he was probably trying to reflect the fact of children being helpful mates in the domestic and field work, which was perhaps why they were allowed to go to schools

⁶⁹ *ibid*

⁷⁰ Impur Assam, Station File by Ethel E. Masales, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁷¹ The Kohima Mission Training School by J.E. Tanquist, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

⁷² Impur Assam, Station File by Ethel E. Masales, *op cit*

⁷³ Historical Sketch of the Ao Naga Mission by Rev. S.W. Rivenburg, p.80

for only about two hours in the early morning after which they had to join their parents in the field work and other chores.⁷⁴ Later on with the progress of the Mission work the schools began to develop a more elaborate routine and classes began to be held from 7.30 in the morning till 3.00 in the afternoon. This included a lunch hour from 12 to 1 and a study hour from 1 to 3 after which all the students were expected to do their work.⁷⁵ This work was probably some form of manual labour since it had been the Mission's earnest endeavor to encourage the inculcation of a spirit of dignity of labour and self-efficiency in this regard amongst its students and for which they had always deplored the Government's education system as it neglected this aspect of their work. A discussion of the ABFMS regarding the framing of policies for the Jorhat Christian School contained the following statement: No boy of any class in India ought to be given an education without him doing some sort of manual labour. This is an accepted principle in many minds but it is not possible to carry it out in the Government educational system. We have the advantage of being able to work out that and so save ourselves from the great mistake of the Government system, which unfits many for life's duties and widens the breach between the worker and the man of letters.⁷⁶

The Mission and the British Government did not always share the same views on policies regarding the Nagas however they both tried to maintain a diplomatic relationship since they were both dependent upon each other. This dependency was necessary for the Government because the missionaries besides their pioneering works in the translation of the vernacular texts were also supplying the Government

⁷⁴ 1941, Annual Report, Impur Assam by B.I. Anderson –Sema Naga work, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

⁷⁵ Ethel Masales station file Impur assam, ABFMS records, FM-714

⁷⁶ Excerpts of a Discussion on the Jorhat Christian School, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

schools with teachers through the Impur Training School ⁷⁷ and were also making commendable contributions towards educating the Naga tribes. According to H.K.Barpujari the Mission owed its success in the Naga Hills to the Government's support without which he felt that such a small group of people could never have produced such levels of influence among the Nagas. ⁷⁸ During a meeting of the Educational Conference of the ABFMS, one of the missionaries stated that he was personally and fundamentally opposed to the relationship that existed as a result of the state's aid to religious schools. He however felt that this aid, which had been an accepted principle throughout British India to be a necessity without which, their Mission would never have been able to achieve the success at Burma. ⁷⁹ The Mission also seemed to have realized the importance of being associated with the Government, as the Mission policies often seemed to have stressed upon the need of remaining within the government's framework in regard to the Mission's educational works. According to the 1925 directives of the foreign Mission policies the Mission was urged to seek government aid and support whenever possible as long as it didn't conflict with their religious objectives. ⁸⁰ Similarly the committee of the conference on education recommended that in regard to standard and curricula there should be uniformity within the Mission and that uniformity was to be sought by conformity to the Governments curricula. ⁸¹

⁷⁷ Naga Hills Training School Kohima, 1937, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-716

⁷⁸ H.K.Barpujari, op cit, p.xxiv

⁷⁹ Notes on the meeting of the Education Conference at Jorhat on February 3rd and 4th, 1933, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel No FM-712

⁸⁰ Foreign Mission Policies of the ABFMS and WABFMS, 276 Fifth Avenue, New York City 1925, p.19

⁸¹ Assam Standing Resolution quoted from conference minutes 1922, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-712

However the contents of the curricula followed by the early Christian missionaries were composed mainly of translations of religious texts and the Bible which mainly aimed at developing a child's character only along Christian lines and therefore did not seem to have ensured an all round development of a child's personality as it focused little else in helping a child realize his other inherent capabilities and talents. In 1885 Rev. Clark's school for boys and girls was visited by Mr. Clark the then Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar whose report revealed a rather hazy description of the curricula of the school. He had observed that the children were reading with fluency their Naga primer and other first book and song hymns in Naga and Mr. Clark's efforts were in the direction of reducing the language to a written form, and in translating the New Testament and in the compilation of a dictionary. ⁸² Narola Rivenburg's letter to her folks in America where she describes the school at Kohima gives a clearer description of the curricula, she wrote: In our school the boys learn simple arithmetic, hygiene, the catechism, and to read those scriptures that are printed in the Angami dialect. They also learn to read and write English, which of course opens to them the wealth of all our western science and culture. ⁸³ The report of Rev. W.F. Dowd from the Impur field in 1916 mentioned the Gospels of the New Testament forming the principle reading books for the village schools. ⁸⁴ In 1935 again, the Annual Report of the ABFMS confirms the influence of the Bible in the Curricula of the Missions school, it noted that the Angami *New Testament* was in great demand and in the Kohima Mission School it was being read and studied more than any other book with every pupil committing to memory large

⁸² B.B. Ghosh, 1979, *Mokokchung District Gazzetter*, Nagaland, p.210.

⁸³ Narola Rivenburg edited *Star Of The Naga Hills*, op cit, and p.114.

⁸⁴ Education In The Impur-Field, 1916 by W.F. Dowd, ABFMS record, Microfilm Reel No FM-714

portions of it every year.⁸⁵ It was also the Mission's Policy to ensure that the schools were staffed only with Christian teachers and attended by a good number of Christian students so as to ensure that a Christian atmosphere dominated the schools.⁸⁶

Missionary attitude to Naga culture

The missionaries considered the early life and culture of the Nagas before the introduction of Christianity to have been an existence in a state of barbarism and darkness, which needed redemption through Christianization. In one of his letters written during his early contacts with the Nagas Rev. Clark described the Nagas as being wild and warlike but having a substratum of character, which according to him seemed to have had the potential of converting them into worthy manly Christians if they embraced Christianity.⁸⁷ Later at the end of his long career of thirty seven years of service in the Naga Hills Rev. Clark seemed satisfied with the progress made in the Christianization of the Nagas when he wrote in his report of 1906:

'Thirty years ago, I took up residence in these Naga hills, in a village where some work had been done by a native evangelist. Save at this place, over all these ranges hung the black pall of heathen barbaric darkness. Now from some twenty of the fifty or more villages crowning the mountain crests floats the glorious banner of Christ held by his Naga disciples'.⁸⁸ The portrayal of this view of the Naga culture as being barbaric and heathen by the Christian missionaries has invited criticism from many quarters especially from the anthropologists who blame the missionaries for having destroyed so many important aspects of the Naga culture owing to their lack

⁸⁵ ABFMS 121st Annual Report, June 20-25, 1935, Colorado, p.81

⁸⁶ Foreign Mission Policies New York November 18-December 2, 1925, op cit, p.18.

⁸⁷ NBCC, op cit, p.42.

⁸⁸ 92nd Annual Report, Triennial number 1906, ABMU-Presented at the annual meeting held in Dayton Ohio May 21-22 1906, The fort Hill Press, and p.157.

of understanding of it. C.Von. Furer Haimendorf observes that the American Baptist Mission had little sympathy and appreciation for the valuable elements of Naga culture.⁸⁹ J.P.Mills also remarked on the missionary's lack of appreciation for Naga culture when he said, "I think I am right in saying that no member of the Mission has ever studied Ao custom so deeply, but nearly all have been eager to uproot what they neither understand nor sympathize with, and to substitute for it a superficial civilization".⁹⁰

Rev.V.K.Nuh the present General Secretary of the NBCC relates the tribal religion and culture as two sides of the same coin because of the nature of tribal religions being beliefs that are expressed culturally since the tribal cultural identity is not dependant only upon the history and geography of community life but on their religion and ethics, which according to him are rooted and derived from their relationship with the supernatural world and the fear of a supreme God. He also believes that religious customs and taboos influenced and dominated all spheres of tribal life.⁹¹ Naga traditional religion and culture also being similarly interrelated led to the influence of the tribal religion and beliefs into almost every aspect of the traditional Naga society. Therefore when the Christian religion ~~was~~ preached to the Nagas, the acceptance of it resulted in the demand of an absolute abandonment of many aspects of their culture and tradition because of its association with the old religion, since the missionaries viewed the old religion and everything associated with it as necessarily heathen and evil.

⁸⁹ C.Von. Furer Haimendorf, 1962, *The Naked Nagas*, Thacker Spink and co, p.57

⁹⁰ J.P.Mills, 1973, *The Ao Nagas*, Published by direction of the Government of Nagaland, Bombay, OUP, Delhi Calcutta Madras, pp.420, 421.

⁹¹ Rev.V.K.Nuh, 2001 *Struggle For Identity In North -East India*, Spectrum publications Guwahati: Delhi, p.30.

This desire of the missionaries to quarantine the Nagas against any further influences of the old religion and culture was also reflected in their attempts at introducing the Nagas to a system of education that was entirely westernized and Christianized. Besides the Bible forming the most important text for the schools and the curricula tilting heavily in favor of religious instructions there also seemed to have been absolutely no reference to Naga traditional and cultural values in the contents of the curricula, thus presenting a syllabus that was totally unfamiliar in quality as well as in content to the Nagas. In his *'Philosophy for NEFA'* Verrier Elwin tried to suggest solutions to the problem that existed in the educational system of the North East tribes of India, which he felt, had resulted out of the apparent lack of respect and hostility to tribal tradition that had been practiced by the early educationists such as the missionaries. He wrote: In the past there was little attempt at a serious adaptation to tribal life or at giving it any kind of tribal. The style of the buildings, the dress alike of teachers and taught, the charts and pictures on the walls, the medium of instruction, the games were all alien to the local scene. The result was that instead of appearing as a natural function of village life, the school was something apart, even hostile to tribal tradition. There was nothing to foster a boy's pride in the institutions of his tribe, everything to make him ashamed of them. To overcome these shortcomings of the education system Elwin suggests the encouragement of traditional costumes for uniforms and the introduction of local conditions in the textbooks and a more tribal friendly school architecture. Elwin recommended the introduction of a tribal architecture for the schools because he realized that the tribal people did everything in circles, whereas the schools in the past seemed to have worked on straight lines and rectangles. He wanted to introduce more tribal friendly architecture and do away with the dreary atmosphere of the schools

which had rows of tidy benches which seemed to have created an unfamiliar atmosphere for the students who were more comfortable sitting around a fire or gathering around a teacher or lecturer.⁹² Instead of hampering the growth of the Mission's school as was probably feared by the missionaries, the grafting of traditional folk tales instead of the western ones such as '*Aesop's Fables*'⁹³ into the schools primers would have perhaps interested the Nagas more as it would have encouraged them to develop an affinity towards the education system. However the missionaries did not seem to have followed this principle mainly because their sole aim remained to develop a Christian community through a Christian educational system and perhaps also because the preparations of the vernacular texts demanded immense time and patience which was already being taken up by the Bible translations in the vernaculars which obviously seemed to have been of more importance for their work.

Missionaries and the Governments educational system

The curricula introduced in the Naga Hills seemed to have been motivated mostly by an Americanized conception of Christian education and was therefore very different in content and to an extent even in quality from the curricula that was being followed in the Government schools of Assam. However the missionaries enjoyed the support and encouragement of the Government in their educational works and seemed to have had no interference from the Government in their educational policy matters

⁹² Verrier Elwin, 1959, '*Philosophy for NEFA*' Shillong, pp.185, 192,193

⁹³ Atola Changkiri, *The Angami Nagas and the British*, op cit, p.188. (Authors source – General Department. August 1906 Nos. 294-297, From W.J.Reid, Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills to Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts, 23rd May 1906).

and was in fact looked upon by the Government as a pioneer in the field of education in Assam.⁹⁴ The Government and the Mission seemed to have had an arrangement regarding the education of the hill tribes, which varied, according to the different localities and their requirements. The usual method was to leave the immediate management of educational operations in the hands of the missionary societies who had settled in the hill districts, Government making a grant to the Mission's and retaining general control through District Officers. However, there seemed to have been some tracts in which Government reserved to itself the entire control of education.⁹⁵ According to the *General Report on Public Instruction in Assam* for 1908-1909 there seemed to have been differences between the schools run by the missionaries in the Naga Hills and the Government run schools of Assam. The report stated that the medium of instruction in the lower stages was generally the tribal languages, reduced to writing in the Roman script through the efforts of the missionaries, unlike in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where Bengali was used as the medium of instruction. The report mentioned that the curricula of studies in the Naga Hills was based on those in force in the plains districts with modifications to suit the needs of the local people, eg. English entered into the curricula of schools in the hills districts at an earlier stage than those of schools in plains districts.⁹⁶

According to H.K.Barpujari, in the Naga field, stress was usually laid on theological literature and by 1927 *The New Testament* was translated into Ao and

⁹⁴ ABFMS conference report, 34th session Gauhati Assam, December 1-6, 1936, ABFMS records FM-715

⁹⁵ *General Report on Public Instruction in Assam 1908-1909* by H.E.Stapleton, B.A., B.Sc Officiating Director of Public Instruction Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1910, p.47

⁹⁶ *ibid*

Angami language in addition to Life of Joseph, Matthew and John. Some other useful books that the missionaries introduced were Rev and Mrs. Clarks production of Primers, Readers, an arithmetic and an *Ao-Naga grammar with phrases and vocabulary* (1893) however the most significant contribution according to Barpujari seemed to have been Rev Clarks *Ao-English Dictionary* (1911). Besides a primer, spelling, arithmetic and a book on hygiene, Rivenburg also brought out Angami-English phrases and in addition to a few textbooks W.E.Witters published a grammar and vocabulary of the Lotha tribe.⁹⁷ The contents of these texts besides the religious translations and the Dictionaries mostly seemed to have been limited at providing an elementary level of education where the main focus seemed to have been limited to imparting the three R's and its use therefore seemed to have been limited for use in the Primary schools which formed the largest network of the Missions education system in the Naga Hills. The higher classes seemed to have followed a more elaborate curriculum because in the Impur training school, which was the first of the few schools, introduced of Middle English School standard in the Naga Hills, the curricula seemed to have consisted of Algebra and Geometry as well as some Indian and English history.⁹⁸ But the work of the Impur Training School was also reported to have been of an elementary level and did not quite seem to have prepared the pupils for entrance to High Schools. Rev.W.F.Dowd's report of 1916 from the Impur field mentioned that the Impur School emphasized on the three R's and Bible study but all the pupils studied Assamese and a few studied English. Rev.Dowd's report stated that English seemed harder to learn as compared to Assamese, which was spoken to some

⁹⁷ H.K.Barpujari, op cit, p.xli

⁹⁸ Ethel Masales, Impur Assam Station File, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

extent by most of the Ao Nagas who inhabited the Impur field and therefore the ability to read Assamese would help them to read the Bible and other Christian literature.⁹⁹

Rev.Dowds report on the use of Assamese in the Impur School even till 1916 perhaps suggests that the Governments order regarding the disuse of the Assamese language was not compulsorily binding or had been cancelled because according to the 1909 *Report on the Progress of Education in the Naga Hills* it had been originally attempted to teach (besides lessons in the local vernacular) both English and Assamese however the course was found to be too burdensome and Assamese seemed to have been officially dropped.¹⁰⁰ The *Kohima District Gazetteer* gives another evidence of the continuation of Assamese in the Nagas educational system although it doesn't seem to clearly specify why Assamese was excluded from the curriculum of the Mission schools and was still being used in the Government schools. The reason for the abandonment of the use of Assamese in the Missions school according to the *Kohima District Gazetteer* was the disadvantages of having to learn a second language in all classes at the primary stage and to pass Assamese for the M.E. and High School examinations which was proving to be the reason for the handicap of the Naga pupils in their race for higher education'.¹⁰¹

In the Governments schools in the plains of Assam English seemed to have been the medium of instruction in the first four classes of High School; in the lower classes and in other schools the vernacular was employed. The course of instruction

⁹⁹ Education in the Impur field by Rev.W.F.Dowd, ABFMS records FM-714

¹⁰⁰ *Progress of Education in India, Vol-1 for 1909* by H.W.Orange, C.I.E Director General of Education In India, Calcutta Superintendent Government printing press, p.309

¹⁰¹ *Census of India, Progress of Education 1931, Vol.II, Part I*, pp.185-187- Quoted from *Kohima District Gazetteer* op cit, p.192

in the Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools were the same with the exception that English was taught in the former and not in the latter. The following were the subjects that were taught in the Middle Vernacular course: Bengali or Assamese, comprising literature, grammar and composition, history of India, geography, arithmetic, Euclid (book 1), mensuration of plane surfaces and surveying and elementary and sanitary science. Primary education was again divided into upper and lower. The course of study in Lower Primary Schools included reading, writing, dictation, simple arithmetic and the geography of Assam; in Upper Primary Schools the course was somewhat more advanced, including part of Euclid, mensuration and a little history.¹⁰²

The Government seemed to have contributed towards the upkeep of the Missions schools but seemed to have hardly interfered in the Missions policies,¹⁰³ and the Mission seemed to have enjoyed a considerable independence in its decisions regarding its educational policies. However Rev.B.I.Anderson in a report to the ABFMS in 1936 revealed that the ABFMS was finally beginning to meet the criticism of the Government officials. The Government seemed to have criticized the Missions educational work on grounds of it being impractical and seemed to have recommended the addition of subjects such as basket weaving, stone cutting, road building, sawing of lumber and other types of work into the schools curricula. The criticism of the Government regarding the absence of practical education perhaps suggests that the Mission did not quite seem to have followed its earlier policy where it had emphasized upon the need of encouraging the development of manual labour and a spirit of self efficiency within all its students unlike in the Government School

¹⁰² *Gazetteer of Bengal and North East India* by B.C.Allen, E.A.Gait, H.Allen, H.F.Howard, Mittal publications Delhi 110035 reprinted 1979, p.116

¹⁰³ ABFMS 121st Annual Report 1935, Colorado, June 20-25 1935, p.81

system which left many of its students unfit for life and widened the breach between the worker and the man of letters.¹⁰⁴ There also seemed to have been a revision of the Mission's educational curricula for the Naga Hills in 1935 by E.T.D.Lambert, Sub-Divisional officer of Mokokchung*. According to the new curricula it was intended to introduce courses of a more practical nature than what was usually taught in the Primary Schools. The new curriculum included regular classes for teaching Naga folklore; dancing and singing were introduced for the Naga culture.¹⁰⁵

According to the notes on the 1933 meeting of the Mission's Educational Conference the Mission seemed to have also started following a more cautious policy regarding the implementation of religious instructions in their schools. The conference's decision discouraged the system of forcing the people of other faiths to study the Christian religion. And in its stead encouraged the schools to develop a Christian atmosphere and to depend upon that to lead the people to an acceptance of Christianity. It also recommended religious instructions only for those pupils who had reached an age where they were mature enough to voluntarily make a decision for themselves.¹⁰⁶

The later trends in the education process of the Nagas suggest that after the missionaries had laid down a permanent education system through their establishment of a strong foundation work in the educational field, the Government seemed to have taken more and more of the Mission's schools under its administration and although in the later years the Mission seemed to have restrained the direct influence of their

¹⁰⁴ Excerpts of a discussion on the Jorhat Christian School, op cit, ABFMS Microfilm Reel Number FM-715.

¹⁰⁵ Atola Changkiri op cit p.191

* Lamberts revised curriculum attached in Appendix

¹⁰⁶ Notes on the meeting of the Educational conference, Jorhat February 3rd - 4th 1933, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-712

religious instructions over the policies for the schools they still seemed to have attempted in trying to maintain a grasp over the educational policies for both the Mission and Government schools. The 1941 Annual Report from Impur included the Mission's plan of trying to work out a course of Bible study, which was hoped would be followed by the teachers of both Mission and Government schools and thus provide an elementary Bible teaching for all children. This plan was perhaps an attempt of the Mission to maintain a certain amount of influence over the students of the Government schools since the Government had disallowed Bible teaching in their schools although the teachers were allowed to take their pupils to church for special instructions if they so desired.¹⁰⁷

According to Archana Chakravarty, the missionaries concentration in providing the schools with texts which were written within the context of a Christian ideology naturally led to a dearth of suitable secular textbooks of the secondary education standard in the hill schools. This absence of texts added to the inconvenience created by the use of the tribal languages as the medium of instruction in the primary schools. The sudden switch from the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction in the primary schools and its discontinuance in the secondary education left the secondary education in a blind alley thus leaving the pupils with practically no chance to reach a good standard of education.¹⁰⁸ According to the report of the *progress of education in India 1917-1922* the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction restricted the pupils opportunities of entry into the Middle

¹⁰⁷ 1941 Annual Report Impur Assam by B.I.Anderson, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

¹⁰⁸ Archana Chakravarty, 1989, 'History of Education in Assam 1826-1919', Mittal Publications Delhi 110035, p.135

English schools where the medium of instruction was English.¹⁰⁹ In the *1940 Annual report of the Kohima Mission*, Rev.G.W.Suplee reported that the Kohima. Mission School had recorded an overall pass percentage of 86% out of a total of 400 students, however each year class three seemed to have showed the poorest results and he attributed this to be due to the fact of students from the village primary schools joining the class three of the Kohima Mission Schools every year since he felt that the foundation work of such students had still left much to be desired. He suggested the need of pupils devoting a year in the learning of their vernaculars since most of the pupils could not read even in class A in their own vernaculars. Rev.Suplee's report also reveals another factor, which could have possibly been one other reason for the occurrence of the poor results in the class three of the Mission's School. He wrote: our supply of textbooks in the vernacular of the Schools does not suffice through grade III. This means that our pupil must struggle with textbooks in English before they are finished with the work in the Upper Primary Classes.¹¹⁰

Such shortcomings and drawbacks seemed to have greatly challenged the progress of education in the Naga Hills and in the *General Report on Public Instruction in Assam 1902-1903* the Government seemed unsatisfied with the results obtained in the field of education in the Naga Hills. The report stated: there is a great field for missionary enterprise in education in the North Cachar Hills and also in the Naga Hills. The results earlier obtained in these regions are not satisfactory.¹¹¹ A

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, p.136

¹¹⁰ 1940 Annual Report of The Kohima Mission by Rev.G.W.Suplee, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-716

¹¹¹ *General Report On Public Instruction In Assam for the year 1902-1903* by W.Booth Esquire, Director of public Instruction Printed in Assam Government Press 1903, p.13.

Government survey in 1927 noted that the Khasi and Jaintia Hills had the highest rates of literacy among the Hill districts of Assam whereas the Naga Hills recorded the lowest literacy rates with 18 literate persons (31 males) in every thousand.¹¹²In spite of the slow progress there definitely was a growth in the advancement of education in the Naga Hills that seemed to have led to another challenge of the need for the provision of a High School in the Naga Hills for catering to the needs of those who had passed Middle English School. In 1923 the Mission passed a resolution on the need of a high school at Kohima to cater to the needs of the Manipur and Naga Hills.¹¹³ The absence of a high school compelled students to go down to the plains of Assam for satisfying their need for higher education after completing their studies upto the Middle English standard from the Naga Hills. The Impur School reports of their students going down every year to join the High School or Bible School at Jorhat out of which a small percentage endeavored to pursue their studies beyond High School.¹¹⁴In 1913 three students from the Impur School went to pursue their High School at the Shillong High School while two were enrolled at the Dibrugarh Medical College and one in the Cherrapunji Theological School.¹¹⁵ For admission into the Mission school at Jorhat the pupils were required to obtain a recommendation of the missionary in charge of the school in the district from which he had completed his schooling. The pupils were also required to have completed the entire course offered at the school from where he was migrating and was required to pay at least a

¹¹² Preliminary report on the Primary Education for Boys under local boards in Assam 1927 by S.C.Goswami Special officer for primary education Assam Shillong Printed at the Assam Government press 1927, p.5.

¹¹³ The Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Report 21rst session Nowgong Assam December 5-13 1923, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

¹¹⁴ The 1931 Ao Naga Annual Association by Rev.Roger R.Wickstrand Impur Assam, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-714

¹¹⁵ Mission work in Assam reported by the Missionaries, Calcutta printed at the Baptist Mission Press 1913, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

minimum monthly fee toward his support in Jorhat or an amount equivalent to the cost of his board at home.¹¹⁶ There probably existed a difference between the contents of the courses of the Mission and Government schools even at the High school level because the Mission policy seemed to have directed the need in conferring a similarity in the standard of the school course between the Mission schools and the Government Schools.¹¹⁷ The Jorhat Christian School perhaps provided a more conducive environment and curricula to the students coming from the Mission schools of the Naga Hills who would have otherwise definitely faced a very unfamiliar environment and curricula had they joined the Government schools of Assam. The Government granted three scholarships to three Angami boys to study at Gauhati at the rate of Rs.10/- each. But they came back to Kohima, as they could not tolerate the hot weather of Guwahati. In 1906-1907, two of the Angami boys were granted special scholarships of Rs.25/- each to study at the Berry-White medical school at Dibrugarh. But one of the two boys left the school and returned to Kohima, as he was not a success there.¹¹⁸ Although success seemed to have eluded even the occasional Naga pupil who finally proved capable enough to pursue a higher education, the Mission continued to encourage students for higher education and were finally successful when two Angami boys Khosa and Sevilie were sent to Dibrugarh to study medicine in 1913 and 1914 respectively.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ From paper by Mr. Danielson Resume of the Missions policies, ABFMS records FM-712.

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ Atola Changkiri *op cit*, p.187. Author's source-General Department (N), October 1908, Nos.29-34.

¹¹⁹ Visier Sanyu, 1966, '*A History of Nagas and Nagaland*', Common wealth publishers, p.122. authors source based upon his personal interview with Dr. Sevilie Iralu.

The importance of education and the need for their own High School seemed to have also been realized by the Nagas and according to the Mission records of 1937 the Nagas were contributing generously towards the cause. In 1934 Mr. Supplee reported that the Naga club* of Kohima had given Rs1000 for the High School building fund.¹²⁰ The Mission also supported the need for a High school in the Naga Hills as it felt that teachers with still higher training were needed and the unavailability of such training in the Naga Hills was forcing the pupils to go to the Jorhat Christian Normal, High and Bible schools which besides not being equipped to meet their needs was also proving to be very expensive as it was located at quite a distance from their hills. Therefore the Mission encouraged the establishment of a High school at Kohima since Kohima besides being the Government's headquarters in the Naga Hills also seemed to have been connected to the plains as well as to Manipur by a well established network of Government roads.¹²¹

In the Mission's discussion regarding the problems and prospects of education for the hill tribes there seemed to have been a divergence of opinion among the members of the Mission. The following is a sequence of the various opinions expressed in the debate regarding the need for a high school for the hill tribes of Assam: The first view was that the high school education should be borne by the Government and not by the Mission specially not from the evangelical funds. The second view was that on account of the Governments inability to do so as a result of

¹²⁰ 1937 Naga Hills Training School Kohima, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-716

¹²¹ *ibid*

*The Naga Club was the first organization of the different Naga tribes and consisted mostly of the educated elites and other influential Naga leaders. It was formed in 1918.

the World War it was the Mission's duty to provide since the Christians should not be kept on an inferior social standing as compared with the Mussalman and Hindu communities and moreover the aim of turning over the working of the entire Mission within a generation to an efficient body of educated native Christian men necessitated the need. The third view was the futility of providing the hill and the tea garden Christians who were classed as 'primitive' with a high school education, as it would leave them unfit for life among their own people. An industrial school supplemented with an instruction in the three R's was suggested to be of more value in such a case. The fourth view wished that the hill boys should go to Shillong or Tura for a high school education instead of going to Jorhat as it was felt that hill boys could not adjust to the hot weather in the plains and often fell ill and also because they met temptations in the plains which led them astray or made them unfit for returning to their own people. In response to this view it was contended that although the plan sounded worth trying the hill boys were not ready for either Tura or Shillong since there were language barriers as well as other difficulties as boys from the Naga and Mikir Hills would want Assamese otherwise they would need to have a further training in English before they would be ready for high school anywhere. And if they had to get training in English they would have to go to the Jorhat schools in which case the whole argument of getting acclimatized and spoilt would fall.¹²²

The Government and the Mission finally decided to have a joint collaboration in the establishment of a High School at Kohima, which was to be under the direction of a Missionary.¹²³In 1940 the Kohima Middle English School was finally upgraded

¹²² The Jorhat Christian High School, ABFMS records, Microfilm FM-715

¹²³ 38th Session Kohima Assam January 23-28, ABFMS records FM-715

to the standard of a high school. ¹²⁴The High School seemed to have initially failed in attracting students, as it did not seem to have followed the same curricula as the Jorhat High School. The missionary in charge of the High School J.E.Tanquist expressed his disappointment regarding the prospect of continuing the school in his report to the Mission due to the fact that the Kohima school which had been built to meet the needs of students from the Impur, Kangpokpi and Kohima field was securing the attendance of students only from the Kohima field as a result of which the school was facing the threat of a possible shut down. The students from the Impur and Kangpokpi field still seemed to have flocked to Jorhat on the plea that a regular High School course was wanted and thus the Kohima High School had to change its curricula to conform to that of the Jorhat High School in order to enable the school to continue. ¹²⁵

✓ This High School at Kohima still functions today as the oldest High School in Nagaland. The introduction and ultimate success of the High School seemed to have marked the success and permanent establishment of the education system that had been introduced for the Nagas by the American Baptist Christian missionaries in the Naga Hills. The establishment of the High School at Kohima which was a joint venture of the Mission and the Government also proved that inspite of differences and conflicts the Mission always tried to maintain a diplomatic relationship with the Government without whose support it would have never been possible to accomplish their mission of evangelizing and educating the Nagas to such a great extent.

¹²⁴ Atola Changkiri op cit, p.185. Authors source-FPP (Excluded-B), 9th July 1940, No 479

¹²⁵ Naga Hills and Manipur field the High School by J.E.Tanquist, ABFMS records Microfilm Reel Number FM-715

The Mission's aim in the Naga Hills had always been to evangelize, in the process of which it also became necessary to establish a comprehensive school system which laid the foundation of educational work in the Naga Hills. In their zeal to evangelize, the Mission neglected the value of the preservation of the Naga culture and seemed to have also left many lacunae and loopholes in their education system for the Nagas, however their pioneering efforts in the field of educating the Nagas has been commendable, they also in a way gave a common religion to the Nagas and recorded their language into writing.

Chapter – III

Role Of The Government In The Naga's Education Process

For many years commencing from 1835, the British conducted military expeditions into the Naga Hills in order to curb the Naga raids on the British administered villages in Assam. Between 1835 and 1851, ten military expeditions were led into the hills but the country was never permanently occupied.¹ After the successful capture of Khonoma in December 1850, Dalhousie formulated a Policy of non-intervention in the Naga affairs in February 1851. Dalhousie wrote: "I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended of what is called obtaining a control, that is to say, of taking possession of these hills and of obtaining our sovereignty over their savage inhabitants. Our possession could bring no profit to us...Hereafter, we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds of these savages; encourage trade with them as long as they are peaceful towards us and rigidly exclude them from all communications...if they should become turbulent or troublesome".² However, disturbances continued between the British Government and the Nagas and in 1881 it was finally decided that the British position at Kohima should be retained with a permanent regiment.³

Government's initial efforts at introducing education

The first Europeans to enter the Naga Hills were Captain Jenkins and Pemberton who marched across the hills in 1832.⁴ Major Jenkins, perhaps in the hope of finding a

¹ *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, India Vol-2, 1909, Compiled by C.U.Aitchison, B.C.S, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the foreign department, p.233.

² Ram Narayan Kumar with Laxmi Murty, op cit, p.19 (authors source-*A.Mackenzie, History of the relations of the Government with the hill tribes of the North-east frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884, p.102)

³ *Treaties Engagements and Sanads* op cit, p.233

⁴ *Gazetter of Bengal and North East India* by V.C.Allen, A.Crair, H.Allen and H.F.Howard reprinted in 1979, p.469.

solution to the disturbances caused by the Nagas, had remarked that the tribes on the Assam frontier should be brought within the scope of missionary activities as soon as possible.⁵ Major General Sir James Johnstone another early British administrator, urged the Church of England to come and work to convert the Angami Nagas who he felt would make a manly set of Christians, superior to most Indian native converts and devoted to their rule.⁶ In 1875 Captain John Butler also sent a request to the Mission for a teacher for the Nagas as he believed that it was possible to subject the Nagas to the British administration by introducing them to education and Christianity since they had no caste or prejudices of creed to deter them from adopting Christianity.⁷

An entry in the journal of Rev. Miles Bronson in 1839 mentions a donation of Rs 200 made by T.C. Robertson, Agent to the Governor General, North East Frontier to further work for the Nagas. He also mentions another proposal made by Captain Jenkins to donate 500 Rs for the benefit of schools among the Nagas.⁸ The British Government's initial educational policy towards the Nagas reflected their early temporary administrative status in the Naga Hills, as the schools they established were never permanent. In 1876-77 the Government had opened a school at their headquarter Samaguting (present day Chumukedima) however it was attended only by the official's children as the local Angami Nagas then were apathetic to any system of education.⁹ The Administrative Report of 1876-77 reported as follows:

⁵ M. Alemchiba, 1970, *A Brief Historical Account Of Nagaland*, p.154.

⁶ Major General Sir James Johnstone K.C.S.I, 1971, *Manipur And The Naga Hills*, first published in 1896 under the title *My Experiences In Manipur And The Naga Hills*, p.43, 44.

⁷ John Butler, *Travels In Assam* (During a residence of 14 years), First Published 1855, Manas Publications Delhi 1994, p.67.

⁸ *Journal of Rev. Miles Bronson December 1, 1939* in H.K. Barpujari, op.cit p.237.

⁹ *Kohima District Gazetteer Nagaland*, op.cit, p.190

The attendance of the children belonging to the police and others employed here has been steady and their progress good. A number of the men too take advantage of the opportunity for improving themselves. It has not however so far been found possible to secure the regular attendance of any Naga children. Their parents are the main obstacles as they find the children's services useful at home and so will not enforce regular attendance. The children knowing their parents will not interfere, run away when school becomes irksome, as it very soon does with them¹⁰

According to an official dispatch by a group of British officials to Lord Marquis in 1877, the British policy towards the Nagas did not aim at 'civilizing' the Nagas or repressing their internal feuds. The policy aimed at maintaining good order among the Nagas only in cases where the immediate interests of the Government were concerned¹¹. This perhaps explains why the Government's initiative to popularize education lacked the zeal and enthusiasm which the missionaries possessed and why they never succeeded in convincing the Nagas of the merits of their educational system. Moreover, the Nagas viewed the British Government as a hostile force who often used force to subjugate them to their rule. In his report on the administration of the district of the Naga Hills in 1879, G.H.Damant the political officer wrote, "Among so many different tribes it is difficult to write generally of the feelings and disposition of the people towards the Government, but it would be merely a misrepresentation of facts to deny that in every part of the district, except the Mikir and Rengma (a Naga tribe) Nagas, we hold our position purely by force of arms, and this we must continue to do for some years to come. At present we are merely the strongest among the many tribes which inhabit the district and it will be a work of time to blend these discordant elements in one harmonious whole forming them into a community subject to regular laws; for the present we can hardly hope to introduce a

¹⁰ *Annual Administrative Report of The Naga Hills Political Agency, 1875-76*, P.J.Carnegy, p.7.

¹¹ Home Establishment-B, July 1877, To Lord Marquis- By Lytton, Haines, Bayley, Arbutnot, Clarke, Strachey, Johnson, Stokes. (NAI)

regular administration and must content ourselves by putting a stop to raids and murders and introducing the merest elements of a stable Government".¹²

Government- Mission collaboration

The British official posted at the frontier areas needed the missionaries to accomplish what they could not, to enter into the heart and soul of the Nagas and win their affiliation for the British Government by introducing western education and Christianity. These officials such as Jenkins, Johnstone and Butler perhaps hoped to gain a stronghold in the critical border areas by winning the religious affiliation of the Nagas.¹³ The American missionaries on the other hand were driven by an intense missionary zeal as they were experiencing an awakening to their duty towards "the need to spread the Gospel and to enter into every unoccupied field".¹⁴ The Mission also depended heavily upon the support provided by the Government. Without the Government's support such a small group of people could never have influence among the Nagas.¹⁵

The Government and the American Baptist Mission seemed to have had an arrangement regarding the education of the hill tribes of Assam, which varied, according to the different localities and their requirements. Although there seemed to have been some tracts in which Government reserved to itself the entire control of education, the general trend followed was to leave the immediate management of the hill schools in the hands of the resident missionaries, the only control being in the form of grants and Government school inspections.¹⁶ The Government encouraged the

¹² *Report On The Administration Of The District Of The Naga Hills For The Year 1878-79*, By G.H.Damant, C.S Political Officer Naga Hills, Calcutta Printed at the foreign department press 1879. p.6.

¹³ Major General Sir James Johnstone, op.cit, p.43; John Butler, op.cit, p.66

¹⁴ H.K.Barpujari op.cit, p.xiv

¹⁵ *ibid*, p.xxiv

¹⁶ *General Report On Public Instruction In Assam 1908-1909* by H.E.Stapleton, B.A, B.Sc Officiating Director of Public Instruction Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1910, p.47.

valuable translations made by the missionaries of the Naga dialects in the Roman script as these formed the principle reading books of both Government and Mission schools.¹⁷ According to Rev. Sidney Rivenburg, the Chief Commissioner of Assam offered to have a dictionary and grammar of one tribe printed at Government expense. He seemed to have also told him that officially he had to be very careful about what he did to favor any sect or religion, but personally he had a lot of respect for the Mission and its work.¹⁸

The Government had faced the problem of securing the services of teachers for their schools in the Naga Hills due to the problems faced by the teachers who were usually from the plains of Assam, of acclimatizing as well as of adjusting to the environment and living conditions.¹⁹ The Government therefore began to depend on the Mission not only for running Mission schools but also for providing teachers for the Government schools from the Impur Training School.²⁰

After the Mission accomplished the foundation work in education for the Nagas the Government also started establishing Government schools emulating the Mission's policies and methods. This is exemplified by the fact that in 1911-1912 out of 22 schools, 12 belonged to the Mission while in 1913-14, 14 schools were managed by the Mission against 13 which were Government.²¹ In 1905 the Government had taken over a number of Mission schools with a view to provide secular education and also to secure the services of the Nagas who they felt would be

¹⁷ *Progress Of Education In H.K. Barpujari op.cit, p.xiv India 1902-1907, Vol I for 1909, By H.W. Orange C.I.E, Director General Of Education In India, Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing India, p.308*

¹⁸ Narola Rivenburg edited op.cit, Letter from Rev. Sidney Rivenburg to the ABMU in New York 1885.p.43

¹⁹ *Annual Administrative Report Of The Naga Hills Political Agency For 1875-76, Shimla Government Central Branch Press 1876, p.7.*

²⁰ Report of education in the Naga Hills, 1937, ABFMS Records, Microfilm reel no FM-716

²¹ *Kohima District Gazetteer, op.cit, p.191*

loyal to their administration. This venture of the Government failed and many schools were closed down which were later reopened by the Mission.²²

Failures and difficulties in the Government's educational work

Regarding the failure of the Government schools, the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung wrote in his annual report in 1907-1908:

Education as we give it in the 14 lower primary schools taken over from the Impur Mission in 1905 is not popular and is not voluntary. The flattering attendance at some of the schools is due to stringent orders to the *Gaonburas* of villages to see that the ordered number of boys attend. It is my opinion that if these orders were rescinded or the continual vigilance which is now exercised relaxed, the number of boys at any one school would be reduced to the number of Christians in the village, and in many cases it would be so small as to make it hardly worthwhile paying a school master.²³

In 1910, with regard to Mokokchung sub-division Needham the Sub-Divisional Officer wrote:

Education is not a success. Nagas only send their children to school for fear of being punished and villagers in quarreling among themselves as to whose children are to be sent to school invariably subscribe together money as a present for the parents whose child attends schools. In many cases it reaches as much as Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/-.²⁴

The Government Schools failure can be partly attributed to the fact that Assamese was being taught as a second language in the Government schools whereas it was excluded from the curriculum of the Mission schools where the medium of teaching was mainly in the tribal dialects and hence was proving to be much easier for the pupils.²⁵ In 1905, Mr. Fuller the Chief Commissioner of Assam during his visit to Kohima requested the Rivenburgs to coach men to teach in the village schools where Nagas might be taught. According to Hattie Rivenburg this was also the first

²² *Mission work in Assam: As told by the Missionaries themselves*, Calcutta printed at the Baptist Mission Press 1913, ABFMS Records, Microfilm reel no FM-715; Atola Changkiri op.cit, p.187

²³ Atola Changkiri op.cit p.187 (authors source -General Department(M), October 1908, No. 29-34, para 31)

²⁴ *ibid*, p.189. (authors source- General Department (M) December 1910, Nos 282-284)

²⁵ *Census of India, Progress of education 1931*, vol.11, Part 1, pp.185-187 - quoted from *Kohima District Gazetteer*, op.cit, p.192

instance that government officials were willing for the vernaculars to be taught in the schools.²⁶

The Governments encouragement for the Mission's educational work was also initiated because it was becoming increasingly necessary to have literate local employees as the link between the Government and the Nagas and were proving to be of valuable service. According to Hattie Rivenburg the Deputy Commissioner had sent five of his Gaonburas to school in 1905. She remarked, "It does look funny to see these old men sitting in a row, with a wee bit of a primer in front of them trying to decipher the difference between "a", 'b' and "c".²⁷ Along with the introduction of administration, the Government introduced two institutions of Do-Bhashi(D.B) and Gaonbura(G.B). Dobhashi as the nomenclature suggests is an interpreter. They used to interpret the language of the officials and vice versa, in broken Assamese. In course of time they wielded governmental authority and became powerful pillars of the administration. D.Bs were government servants and got regular pay and it is interesting to note that they were presented with one red blanket as a sign of being a governmental authority every few years. G.B's were neither government servants nor did they get any allowance, but they also wielded a considerable governmental authority and were also awarded a red blanket every few years just like the Dobhashis.²⁸

Education a means to Government posts

In 1946 Dr.Hutton while speaking in a conference about the problems of reconstruction after the 2nd World War made a long statement as to how the problem

²⁶ Narola Rivenburg edited op. cit, Letter from Hattie Rivenburg to mother and sister from Kohima 1905, p.96.

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ B.B.Ghosh (editor of *Nagaland District Gazetteer*), General editor Dr.P.N.Chopra, 1982, *History Of Nagaland*, S.Chand and co ltd, Ramnagar Delhi 110055, p.151.

in the Naga Hills should be approached. His statement which in fact seemed to reflect the attitude of the British administration was as follows, "The district has for many years asked for its own High School, or even some center of still more advanced teaching than that. This demand for education is one, which cannot be denied, if anything is to be granted at all. Yet one is entitled to enquire closely into the motives behind it." Hutton felt that the Naga's demand for education was because they wanted power and influence, which they could get by obtaining wealth and education for them was the means to this coveted wealth. He also felt that disillusionment with the educational system was soon to set in on Naga society because the Government posts which the Nagas were seeking through attending schools were few and the number of educated unemployed was soon to outnumber the number of posts available.²⁹

Although the Mission had tried to inculcate in its students the importance of the dignity of labour the Government seemed to have criticized the Missions educational work on grounds of it being impractical and recommended the addition of subjects such as basket weaving, stone cutting, road building, sawing of lumber and other types of work into the schools curricula.³⁰ The Mission had in fact tried being particular about avoiding the mistakes committed in the Government school system where many students were left unfit for practicalities because of the great distinction that existed between the worker and the man of letters.³¹ The Mission perhaps also failed in this regard because the Mission-educated Nagas started depending completely upon jobs fit for the educated rather than seeking employment available.

²⁹ Hargovind Joshi edited, 2001, *Nagaland Past And Present*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi-110059, p.59. (authors source-*Man In India*, Vol.xxvi-June 1946-No.2, P.97-1)

³⁰ Annual Report 1936 of the Ao and Sema Naga work, Impur Assam by B.I.Anderson, ABFMS Microfilm reel no FM-714

³¹ Excerpts of a Annual Report 1936 of the Ao and Sema Naga work, Impur Assam by B.I.Anderson, ABFMS Microfilm reel no FM-714, discussion on the Jorhat Christian School, op cit, ABFMS Microfilm records FM 715.

These educated Nagas tended to flock to the urban areas like Kohima leaving the village folks to their own device.

In 1936 C.Von Furer Haimendorf in the course of his anthropological studies on the Nagas cites an instance where he once met a young Lotha Naga boy by the name of Nlamo, who was having problems finding a suitable job after getting education through the Mission Schools. He wrote, "But to his great grief Nlamo's talents were forced to lie fallow; for there was as yet little scope for educated Nagas. Some had found employment as clerks or village school masters, and there were even some Naga doctors and compounders, but the number of available posts was small compared to that of applicants, all eager to find jobs in Government service".³²J.E.Tanquist from the Kohima Training School also reported on how an educated Naga youth who was the head pundit of the school was contemplating on leaving the job in favor of a Government job. His report revealed the lure that was drawing the educated Naga towards the prospect of a Government job. The report read: "This man is now responding to a candidature for a years training for the post of Sub Inspector of police. And since he himself and others with him would wrongly or rightly believe that his sphere of worthwhile influence would be greater if he secures that post I could not oppose him but added my recommendations".³³Another report of Tanquist which revealed the lure as well as the difficulty of obtaining a Government job read, "About the middle of the year the foremost teacher who received Mission support while taking his B.A course at Cotton College at Serampore all at once decided to leave, and applied to Government for a position confident that he would be accepted. After some time he came back glad to be reinstated in his work at the

³² C.Von.Furer Haimendorf, *The Naked Nagas* op cit, p.22.

³³ The Kohima Mission Training School by J.E.Tanquist (J.E.Tanquist was posted as missionary from 1913 to 1947), ABFMS records FM715

school since the D.C had informed him that he would get no Government until he had done the square for thing by the Mission and that even then it might take a long time before there would be an opening for him with the Government”.³⁴

The new education system seemed to have disrupted the traditional Naga communal economy with more people opting for government jobs and flocking towards urban areas and an urbanized lifestyle. Professor William.C.Smith, Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Southern California, speaks from personal knowledge, for he himself worked among the Aos as a member of the American Baptist Mission. He says, “Agriculture has been the chief occupation and it has been an honorable one from which the Nagas do not turn readily. However, a number of the boys who have been in the Mission School consider themselves above manual labour after observing that the missionaries, Government officials and high caste Assamese teachers do not perform manual labour”.³⁵

Haimendorf blames the missionaries for introducing and developing the tastes of the Nagas to new goods such as imported clothes and household goods, sugar, tea etc without any clear plan of restoring the disturbed balance of the economy and sustaining such needs in future.³⁶ The implication is the new education system introduced by the collaboration between the missionaries and the British Government gave rise to aspirations which could not be satisfied in the given condition of the local economy.

³⁴ Naga Hills And Manipur Field The High School At Kohima By J.E.Tanquist, ABFMS records FM715

³⁵ W.C.Smith, *The Ao Naga Tribe Of Assam*, op cit, Reprinted 2002, p.196.

³⁶ C.Von.Furer Haimendorf, op cit, p.54

³⁷ Narola Riveriburg edited op cit, p.9,10

Administrative problems due to increasing conversions

The introduction of Christianity had some negative consequences as it resulted in creating conflicts and rifts within Naga society such as the village, family, clan, and tribe setups. The 1940 Annual Report of the Kohima Assam Mission by Rev.G.W. Supplee cited several instances where conversions to Christianity had disrupted relations within families and village societies. The report by Supplee, narrated one such particular case which read as follows:

The Rengma Association was the first of our associations to meet in December. Ten years ago there was not a Christian in the village which entertained the association. A son of a village chief came to our Mission School in Kohima. The chief and the village were angry about this so they forced the boy to leave the village. When the boy's father died the chieftainship went to his uncle. In the meantime, the boy won some in the village for Christ. The others in the village realized this boy had something in his life that was worthwhile. They invited him back into the village. The Christian community there now numbers about 150. Supplee's report also mentioned another instance where some Sema Christians had migrated from their native land and had settled in the Angami areas close to the plains.³⁷

Sidney Rivenburg also mentioned instances of Christian Nagas separating from their parent village. In a letter to his daughter in 1915 he wrote, "A dozen of our Christians from another tribe were driven out of their village and are planning to build themselves a new village about 20 miles from Kohima. In this incident we see repeated the story of Dr.Clark and his first converts when they were expelled from their own village and founded Molungyimsen".³⁸

R.B.Longwell also reported of similar instances from the Ao field in the year 1927. While he reported on the successful Ao Naga Association which had been held at the Ao village of Ungma with an attendance of 4,033 Christians; he reflected on how much change had taken place since 15 years back there was not a single Christian

³⁸ *ibid*, p.129

³⁹ Report from Impur Assam, December 14, 1927 by R.B.Longwell, ABFMS records, FM-714

in the whole village. The only Christian family, which consisted of a husband, his wife and daughter, had then been banished to a hill 2 miles away from Ungma.³⁹

In the early days of Clark and Rivenburg, a common ideal of educating if not 'civilizing' the Nagas had inspired cooperation between British administrators and American missionaries. But once a substantial body of Christian converts emerged, it led to an increase in tensions and a strain in the relationship between the Mission and Government. According to Julian Jacobs, "by the 1920's however, although apparently unwilling or unable actually to expel the missionaries (who did after all supply the schools and teachers, the latter being merely paid by Government, which also printed the textbooks) colonial administrators found themselves with a dramatically challenging perspective on the question of Naga development. This tended to be highlighted when as district judges, they were asked to rule on disputes that had divided the Christians from the non-Christians in a particular village. The officers sought wherever possible to rule in favor of the traditionalists, giving rise to claims that the British punished those who converted".⁴⁰ According to W.C. Smith, Christianity as was presented to the Nagas came to be little more than the adoption of another set of taboos. He felt that under the old system Nagas had to refrain from working in the fields on certain days, lest their god *Lijaba* curse the village with an epidemic or a crop failure; under Christianity they refrained from work on the Sabbath lest *Jehova*, the God of Israel, smite them for their wickedness. Smith noted that the Christians were being uncooperative and often refused to partake in any community services as long as it involved anything to do with the old religion. They were refusing to observe *amungs* (rest days associated with the old religion) and

⁴⁰ Julian Jacobs, op cit, p.153

protested against subscribing to *aksu* (feast celebrated by the Ao Nagas).⁴¹ J.P.Mills who had lived among the Aos as a district official from 1917 to 1937 relates the difficulty faced by the administrator when confronted with perplexing problems related to the religious scruples between the Christian and Non Christian Nagas. He said, "In the Ao Naga community both Christians and Non Christians live side by side, within such a unit problems arise which need careful handling. The principle followed by Government is that the adherents of the rival religions must tread on each other's corns as less as possible. The battle over the question of *amungs* was a stern one. The Christians said that they had 52 Sabbaths to keep in the year and would not observe *amungs* as well. The 'Ancients' said whether or not the Christians kept their Sabbaths was their own concern, but that the "*genna*" (taboo) was equally broken whether a Christian or an 'Ancient' left the village on an *amung* day. Eventually it was decided that the Christian in each village must observe a reasonable number of *amungs*".⁴² The difference in the Government and Mission's attitude towards the old Naga religion and culture is perhaps also expressed in the fact that the missionaries termed the adherents of the Naga religion as 'heathens' while the latter day British administrators began to term them as 'Ancients' which seemed a comparatively less derogatory term.

A record of the Political Department of the years 1898-99 shows that religious disturbances already existed as a result of some people adopting to the new faith. The record contained a reply from the office of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the D.C of the Naga Hills regarding a petition of Christian Ao Nagas

⁴¹ W.C.Smith, op cit, p.418

⁴² J.P.Mills, op cit, p.407

⁴³ File No 36, 'Petition for the abolition of the *aksu* feast by certain Ao Naga Christians', Political Department 1898-99, Government of Nagaland

⁴⁴ Pangsa G.B versus Christians not observing *gennas*, 14th August 1929, Political Department files, Deputy Commissioner's office, Kohima Nagaland

forwarded by Rev.Clark for the abolition of the *aksu* feast. The Government seemed to have opted not to interfere in such internal feuds as long as it didn't directly hamper their administration. The Chief Commissioner's office gave a diplomatic reply and directed the D.C at Kohima, " not to abolish an ancient custom to which the people have been attached for so long, it also added that the Christians who lived in the village should pay their share for the feast. ⁴³

Several cases, which involved conflicts between Christians and 'Ancients', were brought before the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima. In 1929 a case was filed by the Gaonbura of Pangsa village against Christians for not observing *gennas* and Charles Pawsey the D.C had ruled that the non Christians should help the Christians to move and settle in a new village till their population numbered 20. ⁴⁴ In another similar case filed on 30th January 1938, the D.C had ruled that if the 'Ancients' do not help the Christians to build a new village the Christians were to be allowed to stay in the village without ascribing to any fees for the 'Ancient's' festivals. ⁴⁵ There seemed to have been a general trend following such cases for the Christians to either live in the village and pay for the "Ancients" feasts and observe the *gennas* or to shift out of the village and form a new village.

In 1906, Rev.Clark reported from the Impur field that the local Government officials had ruled that when the Christians were in a minority in a village they must bear their share of expenses of the 'heathen' worship of such a village, however when the Christians laid before the officials superior about the extreme hardship and

⁴⁵ Christians Versus Ancients, 30th January 1938, Pol Dept Files, D.C office, Kohima
⁴⁶ 92nd Annual Report, Triennial Number 1906, ABMU, Report of Rev. Clark, presented at the annual meeting held in Dayton Ohio May 21-22, 1906, The Fort Hill Press Boston Mess.

injustice of the case the decision was overruled and a general order seemed to have been issued that the religious scruples of the Christians should be properly respected.⁴⁶ Such increasing disturbances hampered the administrative functioning's of the Government and perhaps explains why the Government began to change its attitude towards the missionaries and their educational and religious enterprises.

Government-Mission Conflict

According to Milton Sangma, despite the liberty of conscience granted by the D.C in 1906, Christians were still forced to observe and contribute to all the non Christian festivals and *genna's* which gradually led them to view the local British officials as their worst enemy not only because of their antipathy to them and for overlooking the fault of the Dobhasies in depriving the Christians of justice and fairness in court proceedings but also because they simply ignored the action taken by the village headmen in fining them for refusing to attend the Sunday market at Mokokchung, and also for having taken out four boys from the Impur school when the examinations were on, and for fining them for refusing to take the 'heathen' form of oath. They also developed a grudge against the officials for not taking action on their appeal for complete exemption from all obligations to the religious customs of the 'heathen'.⁴⁷

The government perhaps realized that the missionary's interference with the Naga culture lay responsible for the increasing conflicts and tensions. This realization was probably why the Government vehemently started supporting all aspects of Naga culture much to the dislike of the missionaries and Naga Christians. The British policy-makers however united with the Mission in areas which benefited their

⁴⁷ Milton S.Sangma, op cit, p.234

administration such as in the abolishment of the practice of headhunting.⁴⁸ Haimendorf felt that, "the Government and the Missionaries took unfortunately exactly opposite views on what was good for the Nagas, and a great deal of confusion was caused in the minds of the tribesmen if one sahib praised their *morung* as the most excellent institution and the other decried it as an invention of evil spirits. Government's policy was then to avoid any sudden disruption of Naga culture, respect tribal custom wherever it did not prejudice the maintenance of law and order, and tamper as little as possible with the old village-organization. The ousting of the products of village crafts by foreign imports was discouraged, and Government interpreters were indeed forbidden to wear western dress".⁴⁹

An outcome of discussions on the issues on which the missionaries and the Government had differences was a change in mission policy regarding religious instruction, an important issue. The notes on the meeting of the ABFMS educational committee held in Jorhat in 1933 suggests that the Mission, probably after meeting the criticism from the Government regarding its policies, reconsidered its position in matters of imparting religious education to its students. The committee took a stand that religious instructions should not be imparted to pupils until they reached an age where they were mature enough to voluntarily decide for themselves whether they wanted to follow Christianity or not.⁵⁰ In 1940, Charles Pawsey the D.C recommended that the American Baptist Mission School at Kohima should be recognized by Government upto Class VIII, on condition that the Mission agreed not

⁴⁸ Richard M. Eaton, op cit, p.13

⁴⁹ C. Von. Furer Haimendorf, op cit, pp.56, 57.

⁵⁰ Notes on the meeting of the educational conference, Jorhat February 3rd & 4th, 1933, ABFMS Records FM-712.

to give religious instructions during the school hours.⁵¹ There also seemed to have been a revision of the Mission's educational curricula for the Naga Hills in 1935 by E.T.D.Lambert, Sub-Divisional Officer of Mokokchung. The revised curricula laid great emphasis on elements of Naga culture by including regular classes for teaching Naga folklore, Naga dances and songs.⁵² The 1941 Annual report of the ABFMS mentions the Government's efforts at curbing religious instructions in schools. According to the report the Government had disallowed Bible teaching in their schools although the Christian teachers, which were provided by the Mission, were allowed to take their pupils to church if they so desired.⁵³ This new policy of the Government was in discontinuance of its earlier policy where it had allowed the continuance of religious courses under the mission schools in the tribal areas of Assam, as they considered it neither "objectionable nor dangerous". Whereas in the rest of British India, with the transfer of power to the Crown in 1858, the authorities in England had felt that the missionaries had been no less responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny and had therefore ordered that religious courses should be removed from the educational curriculum of studies and missionary institutions had been ordered to be placed under the supervision and control of secular heads.⁵⁴

The question of clothing also became the focus of open controversy between the Mission and the Government. J.P.Mills statement reflects the view of the Government, he charged that, "hot baggy western clothing not only exposed converts to new diseases and interfered with their field work, but had the adverse

⁵¹ Atola Changkiri op cit, p.192 (authors source- Excluded (B), March 1940, No. 113G.)

⁵² *ibid*, p.191

⁵³ 1941 Annual Report, Impur Assam by B.I.Anderson, ABFMS Records FM-714

⁵⁴ H.K.Barpujari, op cit, p.xxxii

psychological effect of causing its wearers not to see themselves as Nagas, but in some way as foreigners".⁵⁵ According to Ricard.M.Eaton, the controversy had become so serious that British local officials refused to allow the Mission to start work in a new area until they agreed not to impose western clothing on their converts.⁵⁶ While children in Government schools were prohibited from wearing anything other than their traditional costume the Mission Schools pupils were encouraged to wear western outfits.⁵⁷

The Mission's attitude towards Naga culture is perhaps expressed to an extent in Mrs.Clark's statement where she in relation to the Naga dress says, "Amid these exhibitions of taste so degrading and repulsive we observe with encouragement and delight the slightest evidence of some innate refinement...The Assamese costume of jacket and body-cloth is now being adopted by many who have come under Christian influence, especially by pupils in the school".⁵⁸

According to Julian Jacobs, the Nagas were clearly caught between two alternative western views of what they should become, a missionary attitude which banned everything traditional but which offered education, 'modus' aspirations and freedom from the burden of communal obligations; and an administrative perspective which banned headhunting but was in favor of everything else traditional and came close to advocating the isolation of Naga society in an unchanging primitive past.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ J.P.Mills op cit, p.422

⁵⁶ Richard M. Eaton, op cit, p.14

⁵⁷ *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol 2, 17 Feb-27 Feb, 1936, p.1074

⁵⁷ *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol 2, 17 Feb-27 Feb, 1936, p.1074

⁵⁸ J.P.Mills op cit, p.421

⁵⁹ Julian Jacobs op cit, p.153

Paternalistic views

The early British administrators considered their rule to be a blessing for the Nagas as it brought about a stable and uniform policy of administration to the Nagas which helped to usher in an era of material and moral progress viz. encouraging the expansion of trade and commerce. Captain Butler who later became the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills in 1870 noted during his earlier tours in the Naga Hills that the Nagas in their agreements with the British Government promised not to molest their neighbors in future; to abstain from plundering excursions, and cutting off the heads of any Nagas of other clans; to refer all disputes to British authorities; not to commence hostilities with any clan without their sanction; and annually to pay tribute as a token of allegiance to the British Government, who, in return, would redress their grievances, protect them from aggressions, and secure their general welfare by such measures as would conduce to their happiness.⁶⁰ He also noted that the Nagas were not yet fully under British rule; though they nominally acknowledged fealty to the British Government. He noted, "At present there is little or no control over the Nagas, nor is there any likelihood of the Nagas becoming civilized within the next century, and desirous of a free intercourse being kept up with strangers".⁶¹

However all did not share the Government's paternalistic assumptions about 'civilization'. J.P.Mills writing as the District Commissioner in the 1931 Census concluded that the expansion of trade, contact with Plains people, administration (including education) and missionization had had almost entirely adverse effects on Naga society and culture.⁶²

⁶⁰ John Butler op cit, p.39

⁶¹ *ibid*, p.46

⁶² Julian Jacobs op cit, p.153

The later British administrators who began to champion the cause for the promotion of Naga culture and the preservation of the Nagas as a race also shared the same views as Mills and tried to implement policies such as the Excluded and Partially Excluded areas, Inner Line Permit etc, which they felt would protect the Nagas from getting exploited by external elements which were not conducive to the development of the Nagas. Although the later British administrators considered the earlier view of British officials as being of a paternalistic nature their view in turn was also interpreted as a paternalistic view by the Indian leaders and perhaps later on also by the modern Nagas. During the 1936 *Legislative Assembly Debates* on the subject whether the excluded and partially excluded areas should be brought within the administrative system followed in British India, Dr.Hutton who was posted as an administrative officer in the Naga Hills was accused by Mr. Joshi of trying to preserve the Nagas in their primitive conditions so that they as well as their heirs and successors could indulge in their intellectual pursuits. Mr.Joshi accused Dr.Hutton of remarking in one of his reports that, 'education for the Nagas was a means of doubtful remedy'. Joshi further added to his accusations saying that he had come across some of Hutton's Census reports as well as reports by other officers saying that reform in clothing worn by the Nagas had done some evil. He said, "Such officials were against the primitive sections wearing decent and civilized clothes".⁶³

W.C.Smith makes an interesting observation of the two extreme views towards the Nagas. He wrote, " The cynical view that in case it matters little what is done since an uncultured people is sure to perish when brought into sudden and intimate contact with civilization is scarcely more disastrous than the view that

⁶³ *Legislative Assembly Debates* Feb 17-27, 1936, Vol 2, p.1086

⁶⁴ W.C.Smith, *op cit*, p.x

whatever is regarded as good by or for the human product of the latter day west must ipso facto be good for a preliterate folk accustomed to totally different conditions of life, and must be thrust upon them as quickly as possible".⁶⁴

The General Report On Public Instruction In Assam for the year 1929-30 noted the fact that the administrative officers were being reluctant to adopt educational policies regarding the development of Higher Secondary Schools in the Naga and Lushai Hills based on the educational model of the Calcutta University, as it tended to reflect the influences of the spirit of the ongoing Indian national movement. The administrators seemed to have assumed that such developments were to be avoided as it was not true to the spirit of the Nagas and Lushais and therefore would not be beneficial to them.⁶⁵

Criticism of British attitude and policies

With the ascendancy of the Indian national movement a spate of criticism followed the attitude and policies of the British towards the Nagas. During the 1936 Legislative Assembly Debates Mr. C.H. Witherington an European posted in Assam, opposed the proposal for the application of ordinary administration to the *Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas* of which the Naga Hills formed a part, on the plea that the Nagas were ignorant of the administrative changes which was shortly coming to India, and it would be most unwise to thrust a sudden change of conditions in their lives as the Nagas disliked interlopers. To this Mr. Satyamurti a resident of Madras and another member, queried why then were the British extending their

⁶⁵ *General Report Of Public Instruction in Assam for the year 1929-30* by J.R. Cunningham, Esq, C.I.E, M.A, Director of Public Instruction In Assam, Shillong Printed at the Government press 1931, p.108

⁶⁶ *Legislative Assembly Debates* op cit, p.1062.

administration to the Naga Hills. Witherington suggested that any change of administration in the Naga Hills should be gradual, as he believed that a sudden and greater contact with the outside world with its different mode of living and outlook would have a very demoralizing and deteriorating effect upon the Nagas.⁶⁶

In the *1909 Report of the Progress Of Education In India*, H.W.Orange the Director General of education in India described the peculiar features that had existed in the education system of the hill tribes. First of all he pointed out the very large part played in it by the Mission and the system of grant-in-aid under which lump grants for whole classes of schools were made over to the missionaries. Regarding this system Orange had mentioned that the Government had tried to gradually introduce a capitation system which led to problems owing to the attitude adopted by several of the Missions who perhaps did not like the Government interfering with their work owing to the introduction of the capitation system. The other peculiarity was the insistence on the preservation as far as possible of the tribal languages as the medium of instruction and the production by the Mission or the Government of text books in tribal languages printed in the Roman script. He however believed that this system of the optional introduction of English at an earlier stage was justified in the case of the hill tribes, as the use of the Roman script for the vernacular texts rendered it easier for the hill tribes to learn English; moreover he felt it necessary for the hill tribes to learn English as it filled the need of a common language which would be necessary for any Naga if he were to be appointed in a Government post.⁶⁷ This contention that it was easier for the hill tribes to learn English seem contradictory to Rev.Dowd's report from the Impur field in 1919, where it was stated that English seemed harder for the

⁶⁷ *Progress of Education in India 1902-07*, Vol 1 for 1909 by H.W.Orange Director General of education in India, Calcutta Superintendent Government Printing Press, p.308.

pupils to learn as compared to Assamese since Assamese was spoken to some extent by most of the Ao Nagas and therefore proved easier for study.⁶⁸

The educational and administrative policies of the British have been accused for harboring political schemes and intentions. V.K.Anand (1980) tries to link the use of English in the Naga Hills as having political implications. He feels that the efforts of the Christian missionaries developed the spread of an education system which was inseparable from Christianity and produced two marked results. He feels that as English became the link language and medium of teaching and the local dialects having limited clientage came to be written in the Roman script, the Naga media stopped growing and since the pattern of education was being a funnel for influences that were entirely alien in origin, the Nagas started adopting traits of western culture.⁶⁹

A Quote from Surajit Sinha's *A common perspective for North-East India*, reflects the opinion of those who believe that the British Government through their administration and the American missionaries through their education and evangelization had deliberately tried to instill separatist feelings in the minds of the Nagas against the Indians. According to Sinha, "The British regime created a small cadre of educated persons who became interested in raising their standard of living after the British officers and the Christian missionaries. The regime tended to insulate the aspirations of the tribals from sharing a common destiny with the plainsmen".⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Education in the Impur field by Rev.Dowd, ABFMS records FM-714

⁶⁹ V.K.Anand, 1980,*Conflict In Nagaland*, Chanakya Publications Delhi, p51

⁷⁰ Surajit Sinha quoted from Ferdus A.Quarashi, 1987,*Christianity In The North-East Hills Of South Asia, Social Impact And Political Implications*, University Press Limited, p.27

Protection versus separatism

British administrators however argued that this action was necessary to protect the Nagas because had there been no restrictions, the Nagas would have been exploited by getting exposed to external influences. The British had since 1873 prevented the entry of outsiders into the Naga Hills without an *Inner Line Permit*. The *Inner Line Regulations* of 1873 had been set up, to control and limit the kind of intercourse between the tribal and plain people, that apparently was resented by both sides. Beyond the Line, the Nagas ruled themselves by their own customary laws, administered by their own tribal and village councils, in both civil and criminal matters. The laws made by the British Government for the rest of India did not apply. In the beginning the British called the areas beyond the Inner Line as *Backward Areas*, as laid down in the *Government of India Act of 1919*. By the recommendations of the Simon Commission, whose members found the phrase offensive; the *Backward Areas* became *Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas* under the *Government of India Act 1935*. "Exclusion" meant that no Act of the Central or Provincial Legislature applied to the Naga Hills unless the Governor so directed.⁷¹

This *Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Act* under the *Government of India Act 1935* was followed by heated debates in the Legislative Assembly in 1936 to limit exclusion as much as possible both in its local extent and in its degree. The growth of the Indian National Movement was encouraging a spirit of nationalism and the need of uniting the whole country for the common cause of independence. Under such circumstances the British policies such as the *Excluded and Partially Excluded Area Act* were considered divisive and the Indian leaders were pressurizing the

⁷¹ Bose M.L., 1979, *Historical And Constitutional Documents Of North East India (1824-1973)*, Concept Publishing Company Delhi, First Published, pp.162, 163,179,180,181.

Government against the implementation of such acts. During the 1936 Legislative Assembly Debates, Mr.D.K.Lahiri a landholder from Bengal accused the Government for its divisive policies, he said, "I have a shrewd suspicion that the real reason as to why this areas are sought to be excluded is that the demand of the people of this country for self- determination is rancouring in the minds of the British here and they want to keep a certain portion of India where they can give free play to their domination and they want to keep these poor people under their heels in the name of culture and education".⁷² Dr.J.H.Hutton supported the *Excluded and Partially Excluded Area* scheme on the grounds that the tribes of Assam were only geographically a part of India and shared no other similarity with the Indians. He felt that total exclusion should be followed by partial exclusion so that the tribes would be brought into line with the rest of the population in time instead of hurrying them which would result in having adverse effects.⁷³

The missionaries also have been accused of aiding with the British Government in fomenting political unrest amongst the tribal groups of Northeast India. Assam Chief Minister Bishnuram Medhi had said on December 2, 1953, "I cannot think of any demand for independent sovereign Naga State raised by a few handful of leaders mostly Christians. And probably this demand was raised by interested Christian missionaries to keep them isolated from the rest of India".⁷⁴ Prime Minister Nehru during his speech at the conference for scheduled tribes and scheduled areas in Delhi said, "The missionaries did very good work in the tribal areas and I am all praise for them, but politically speaking, they did not particularly like the changes in India. In fact, just when a new political awareness dawned on

⁷² Legislative Assembly Debates, op cit, pp.1065, 1084

⁷³ ibid

⁷⁴ M.Alemchiba, op cit, p.75

India, there was a movement in Northeast India to encourage the people of the Northeast to form separate and independent states".⁷⁵

H.K.Barpujari however feels that the missionaries did encourage Christianity and conversions and brought the tribes into contact with western thought through English education but there is hardly any evidence, barring perhaps a few individual cases, that the missionaries ever made any organized move to set up an independent state or instigated the tribesmen to unfurl the standard of revolt against the Indian Government.⁷⁶

According to the *125th Jubilee Anniversary Report*, when India became an independent nation, Naga political leaders expressed their desire to become an independent state. Political troubles started in Nagaland. The Government suspected the foreign missionaries for the Naga independence movement and some missionaries were ordered to leave Nagaland.⁷⁷

Although the Government and the Mission had occasional disputes and differences, they seemed to have had an underlying steady unity. A perusal of the Mission reports would reveal that they hardly acted in a manner as would embarrass the Government. The establishment of the High School at Kohima in 1941 was a joint effort of the Mission and the Government; it was the culmination of the relationship that had existed between the two agencies for several decades.

The Government's attitude towards education for the Nagas was never steady and tended to reflect the differences in attitude of the various officials and

⁷⁵ S.S.Sashi, 1990, *Nehru And The Tribals*, Speech delivered at the opening session of the scheduled tribes and scheduled areas conference held in New Delhi June 7, 1952, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi-59, p.26

⁷⁶ H.K.Barpujari, op cit, p.1vi

⁷⁷ *125th Anniversary Jubilee Reports of Baptist work in Northeast India 1836-1961*, p.46

administrators who sometimes seemed encouraging but sometimes discouraged any development work for the Nagas. The Government's educational policies were shaped according to their administrative conveniences and their efforts at education lacked the zeal and passion that inspired the missionaries to work steadfastly and unhindered by success or failure.

Chapter IV

Social Impact Of Missionary Education

The advancement and adoption of the missionary's evangelical education and the conversions to Christianity resulted in a disorganization and reorganization of the Naga society. According to Richard M.Eaton, the missionaries infused into their understanding of Christianity values acquired from their upbringing in the American Midwest, values which clashed very strikingly with Naga values, eg. prohibition of alcoholic drinks was a case in point.¹ Therefore the Christianity and the evangelical education system which the missionaries introduced to the Nagas being based upon their understanding of Christian values resulted in a conflict in their understanding of a Nagas traditional values and culture. In his *Philosophy for NEFA* Verrier Elwin says, "The Christian missionaries have produced a number of educated tribesman who are proving of great value to the country. Detribalization is simple and easy and sometimes works. But it has serious disadvantages. It is a break with the past not by an evolution from it. It tends to make the tribesman ashamed of his own culture and religion and creates an inferiority complex which is a social and political danger".²

The problem of opium and liquor consumption

The difference in values and significance which was attached to the different elements in the Naga culture posed a challenge to the missionaries in the framing of their religious policies, because what was right or wrong in their opinion did not necessarily seem to have any relevance in the context of the Naga culture. In the

¹ Richard M.Eaton, op cit, p.13

² Verrier Elwin, 1959, *Philosophy for NEFA*, Shillong, p.48

Jubilee Conference of the ABFMS at Nowgong in 1886, there was a discussion and debate in regard to the framing of policies for the Naga Christian converts under the theme 'Prevailing vices, our treatment of them'. This included the rules that needed to be followed in establishing the discipline codes for the churches in relation to the topics such as the use of opium, liquor consumption and Sabbath breaking.

Rev. Rivenburg who opened the discussion said that the excuse of the Molung Christians was that they used opium as a medicine for a number of diseases since it was found to be the best remedy known by them. He reported of thirty men who were habitual opium eaters in Molung and many who occasionally took it as a medicine.³ Captain John Butler's accounts of his travels in the Naga Hills describe an incident, which reveals the dependence on opium of a habitual opium eater. His cook, who seemed to have been a compulsive opium eater, fell ill and died during the course of the journey. Butler wrote, "He was a great opium eater and his stock of opium having failed, sickness prostrated his strength...there can be little doubt but that the poor wretch died from diarrhoea, a lamentable victim to the effects or rather the want, of opium."⁴ Rev. Rivenburg felt that opium meant to the Nagas what liquor meant to his people at home in America and therefore recommended the same grounds of discipline for its use and condemned the use of opium as he felt that it undermined character. He thus interpreted the problem related to the Nagas in the context of the understanding of his own society back in America.⁵

Regarding the consumption of the local homemade rice brew, the Mission seemed to have accepted no excuse. Rivenburg explained this as follows: They

³ The Assam Mission of the ABMU, Papers and discussions of the Jubilee Conference held in Nowgong, December 18-29, 1886, Spectrum Publications Guwahati, Delhi, 1992, p.227.

⁴ John Butler, op cit, pp.33, 51.

⁵ The Assam Mission of the ABMU, Papers and discussions of the Jubilee Conference held in Nowgong, December 18-29, 1886, op cit, p.227.

ferment the rice and it becomes eatable. So far so good; but as fermentation proceeds the liquid which trickles out is intoxicating. This they drink. It seems that the best thing would be to eat the fermented rice but not drink the liquid. But the former leads to the latter, so we think we must teach them to dispense with both, 'lest the temple of the Holy Ghost be defiled'.⁶ Rev. Clark presented the dilemma of not knowing how much a Naga should be allowed to drink as they were used to consuming their drink in large quantities and therefore did not seem to have got drunk easily thus posing a problem to the missionaries in setting a limit for its consumption as they could never know when the drunkenness began and just what was to be called drunkenness. In the face of such perplexities and difficulties, Clark thought that the best solution would be, if the Nagas were made to abstain from it totally.⁷

The rice beer of the Nagas, which formed a chief component of their diet, had nutritive values as it contained large proportions of proteins and vitamins. Before the coming of the missionaries drink was also a part of entertainment for the Nagas. Ceremonies were incomplete without pouring of libations and a festival drink was necessary at festive banquets. It also helped the Nagas to undertake arduous work and physical exertions.⁸ However the Mission's decision ruled out its consumption and made it mandatory for all the Naga Christian converts to abstain from it in order to ensure their inclusion into the Church membership.⁹ C. Von. Furer Haimendorf criticizes this policy of the missionaries as being too rigid. In his book *The Naked Nagas*, he wrote:

One of the main obstacles to any participation of Christians in village feasts was the American Baptist Mission's rigid enforcement of teetotalism. To the Ao a feast without rice beer is unthinkable for what wine is to the Italian and whiskey to the Scotchman rice beer is to the Naga. It refreshes him on hot days encourages him to

⁶ *ibid*, p.228.

⁷ *ibid*, p.230

⁸ Dr.H.Bareh, 1970, *Kohima District Gazetteer*, p.91

⁹ Narola Rivenburg, *op cit*, p.117.

carry the heavy harvest baskets many hundred of feet up the steep mountains to the village, loosens his tongue and makes him merry when on feast days, he sits with his friends around the fire. But he had to forswear it directly after he was baptized. Drinkers of rice beer converts were taught would burn in hell fire forever and the Naga impressed by the missionaries teaching and not knowing that since the oldest times wine and beer have been drunk throughout Christendom eschewed his cherished national drink. As a substitute for rice beer the Mission had introduced tea* which drunk without milk is greatly inferior.¹⁰

P.D.Stracey who was a forest official posted in the Naga Hills both during and after the rule of the British Government sees the benefits of the rice beer for the Nagas health. He said, 'Christianity has led to a diminution of drinking but it is also stated that this has resulted in a weakening of the physique. Certainly the non-distilled form of the drink has been found to have valuable food properties, and from this point of view it would be a pity if the generally healthy Naga should suffer because of any severe restrictions on his consumption of his native liquor.'¹¹

The problem of Sabbath breaking

The Mission's enforcement of the maintenance of Sabbath disrupted the Naga's economic setup. The Mission was faced with a dilemma regarding this issue since Sunday happened to be the only day when the Nagas could sell their products in the Sunday market at Mokokchung. On this issue Rev.Rivenburg's opinion was: The only thing that leads to Sabbath breaking is the Sunday market. Here alone they must sell their produce. It would be better if they could go on Saturday and sell on Sunday; but this is difficult. If we do not discourage this Sabbath breaking can we consistently oppose any Sabbath breaking? The Nagas have been opposed in this but to little effect. Rivenburg concluded on this saying that there was no other way but the

¹⁰ C.Von. Furer Haimendorf, op cit, p.53.

* Nagas observed an age long taboo against the use of Cow's milk as an article of food – W.C.Smith, op cit, p.181.

¹¹ P.D.Stracey, 1968, *Nagaland Nightmare*, Allied Publishers Pvt Ltd, p.17.

imposition of discipline which meant that the Nagas were asked to maintain Sabbath as a day of rest according to the regulations of the Bible.¹² The Government supported the Mission's work and policies only as long as it benefited their administrative functioning's. The Government began to resent the growing tension and conflict between the Christian and non Christian Community as it was beginning to interfere with the smooth functioning of their administration.¹³ The Government did not seem to have cooperated with the Mission regarding the case of Sabbath breaking. According to Milton S.Sangma, 'the Government officials simply ignored the action taken by the village headman in fining the Christians for refusing to attend the Sunday market at Mokokchung'.¹⁴

New wave of missionary work

The coming of new missionaries, Rev and Mrs.Perriene in 1892 and Rev and Mrs.F.A.Haggard in 1893¹⁵ led to an increase in the stringency of church rules. The missionaries arriving fresh from the United States were adamantly opposed to the compromises with Naga culture which Clark had allowed his converts to make.¹⁶ These new missionaries concentrated their work in a new field called Impur in 1895.¹⁷ It was in February 1896, Rev.Clark, Rev.S.A.Perriene and Rev.Haggard along with thirteen teachers and preachers had a consultation to form the Baptist Association with objectives to proclaim the Gospel, to open schools and to unite the Ao tribe through the association of churches. They decided to have association meetings every year and accordingly the first Association meeting was held at

¹² The Assam Mission of the ABMU, Papers and discussion of the Jubilee Conference, Nowgong 1886, op cit, p.228

¹³ Richard M.Eaton, op cit, p.13

¹⁴ Milton S.Sangma, op cit, p.234

¹⁵ *ibid*, p.229

¹⁶ Najekhu Y.Sema, op cit, p.31.

¹⁷ NBCC, op cit, p.50

Molungyimsen from 12th to 14th March 1897, under the leadership of Rev and Mrs. Clark, Rev and Mrs. Perriene the American missionaries, Benny, Zilly and Benjamin Simon, Assamese gospel workers, and Kilep and Samar, the native Ao leaders. The resolutions of this first meeting reveal the Missions involvement in reorganizing the Nagas culture according to the regulations of the Mission. The resolutions were as follows:

- To spread the Gospel to all villages
- To give for the kingdom of God by all Christians
- To wear dhoti by men and sari by women in place of traditional dress
- To stop tattooing of women
- To give up opium and liquor consumption
- To send all children to school
- To bury the dead bodies in graves
- To keep the body and house clean

The first Ao Association in 1897 became an annual association and was followed by the Angami Association, which was started in 1925, and the Sema Association in 1927.¹⁸

These associations that were organized by the Mission began to serve as forums for initiating discussions on social welfare activities as well as church policies and also served to integrate the Nagas of the same language group. The annual meetings of the various associations drew thousands from distant villages and therefore not only broke the earlier inter-village tribal barriers but raised to a much higher level the forum of discussion on issues formerly decided only at the village level.¹⁹ In 1927, the Ao Naga Association, which was held in the village of Ungma, had an attendance of 4, 033 Christians of whom 1,002 were Sema Nagas the rest being Ao Nagas.²⁰

¹⁸ *ibid*, pp.61, 62

¹⁹ Richard M.Eaton, *op cit*, p.12.

²⁰ *Impur Assam*, by R.B.Longwell, December 14,1927, ABFMS Record, Microfilm no FM-714

Pan-Nagaism versus psychological divisions

The Nagas for the first time were sharing a common bond through the medium of the English and Assamese language in the schools and the use of the Roman script for their tribal dialects. According to Benedict Anderson, language is the common factor for pasts to be restored, fellowships imagined and futures dreamed.²¹ In the case of the Nagas, the introduction of English and Christianity fostered in them a sense of fellowship and common concern for their future. A result of this effect was perhaps the formation of the Naga Club in 1918, which was the first institutionalized organization of the Nagas and consisted of men from different tribes. The members of the Naga Club were also the first to voice the political aspirations of the Nagas in a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929. The members of the Club speaking on behalf of the Nagas, demanded that the Nagas should be left alone as in ancient times to self-determine their own political future when the British left India.²² The 1937 report of the ABFMS remarks the impact that language and writing had upon the Nagas. The report read, ' In less than sixty years such change has come that a group of educated Nagas of various tribes meet together to present a petition for a high school where less than sixty years ago there existed no writing for any language, no language could be understood by more than one tribe, and no meeting tribe with tribe except in war'²³. According to Atola Changkiri the genesis of the Naga politics can be traced from the introduction of education, spread of Christianity, and the participation of the Naga soldiers in the World War which together

²¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London New York 1991, p.154.

²² Bendangangshi, *Glimpses of Naga History*, Published by Supongwati Ao, Printed at Saraighat Offset Press, Industrial Estate, Bamunimaidan, Guwahati, first published 1993, p.46.

²³ Report of the Naga Hills Training School Kohima, 1937, ABFMS Records, FM 716-3257 .

contributed to the emergence of a middle class who were the main founders of Naga politics.²⁴

Although the Nagas seemed to have been united under the common banner of Christianity and western education, which cut through clan, village and tribal divisions a rift remained between the Christian and non Christian Naga and also in a way between the educated and the uneducated, because the school going Nagas started dressing differently and also opted to refrain from agricultural works. W.C.Smith, noted that a number of the school boys who had been educated in the Mission School considered themselves above manual labour. He felt that this behavior resulted due to the influence of the missionaries, officials and the high caste Assamese who served as teachers in the school and as government clerks because to the Naga they seemed to refrain from manual labour since they were educated.²⁵

The decision taken in the first Annual Association to replace the use of the Nagas traditional dress by the adoption of the sari and dhoti encouraged the Naga Christian to abhor and abandon his national costume. According to C.Von Furer Haimendorf, the Mission and the Government took unfortunately exactly opposite views on what was good for the Nagas, and a great deal of confusion was caused in the minds of the tribesmen if one sahib praised their *morung* as the most excellent institution and the other decried it as an invention of evil spirits. Government's policy was then to avoid any sudden disruption of Naga culture, respect tribal custom wherever it did not prejudice the maintenance of law and order, and tamper as little as possible with the old village-organization.²⁶ The missionaries encouraged the abandonment of the traditional costume as Rev.Perriene remarked in 1899, "They

²⁴ Atola Changkiri, op cit, p.198

²⁵ W.C.Smith, op cit, p.196

²⁶ C.Von Furer Haimendorf, op cit, pp.56, 57

have adopted a more decent dress than the heathen".²⁷ J.P.Mills criticized this policy of the Mission since they were engraving this inferiority complex into the minds of the young students who were passing through their hands at an impressionable age.²⁸ He refutes Mrs.Clark's comment on the Ao dress and termed it as misleading since he felt that her description was based upon very scant knowledge. He quoted her description where she had said: Amid these exhibitions of taste so degrading and repulsive we observe with encouragement and delight the slightest evidence of some innate refinement ...The Assamese costume of jacket and body cloth is now being adopted by many who have come under Christian influence especially by pupils in the schools.²⁹ Mills also emphasized that the wearing of western clothes as well as dhoti and sari were not conducive to work conditions in the fields and would result in unhygienic conditions which would increase the spread of diseases since the Nagas were soaked daily with rain or perspiration. He warned that this would also result in another effect which would be more psychological as the Nagas would slowly start abhorring the prospect of a lifelong routine of going down a steep hill every morning, doing a days work in the fields and coming up a steep hill every evening.³⁰ W.C.Smith also recorded that the schoolboys soon adopted the costume worn by the educated Assamese and abandoned their distinctive Naga haircut and dispensed with their customary ornaments.³¹

Verrier Elwin condemned the abandonment of tribal culture in the Northeast India as a result of the policies of missionaries. In his *Philosophy for NEFA* he gave

²⁷ Minutes resolutions and historical reports of the fifth triennial conference Dibrugarh, February 11-19 1899, Report from the Ao Naga field Rev.S.A.Perriene, ABFMS records, Microfilm no FM-715

²⁸ J.P.Mills, op cit, p. 422

²⁹ ibid, p.421, authors source-Mary Mead Clark, *A corner in India*, Philadelphia 1970, p.54.

³⁰ ibid, p.422.

³¹ W.C.Smith, op cit, p.196

several suggestions to help revive and preserve the tribal culture. In regard to the promotion of tribal costumes and traditional haircuts in the schools Elwin wrote, 'The school children should be encouraged and allowed to wear their traditional costumes without being ashamed. An excellent blazer has been designed based on the Adi red coat which is hand-woven in the Adi loom but it is better tailored and has sleeves, a collar, buttons and two pockets. It remains fully tribal but is at the same time adapted to tribal needs. Khaki shorts are being discouraged and instead the boys are being given shorts of dark green, red or black, with a colored stripe of tribal pattern down the sides'.³²

Regarding the existence of a variety of traditional tribal haircuts in NEFA Elwin felt that it was wrong that in the past there had been a tendency on the part of some officers and specially the school teachers who mainly out of ignorance had persuaded the people to change their hairstyle. Elwin felt that tribal culture and tribal way of doing things should be respected and no rules should be enforced for the maintenance of any particular type of haircut. He gives an example of how the Sikhs, one of the most progressive communities in India are strongly attached to their traditional method of allowing their hair to grow long or how the South Indian Brahmins either shave their head, cut their hair in a fringe or allow a tuft of hair to hang down behind.³³

Rules and regulations of the missionaries

The insistence on the total abstinence from opium and the local liquor seemed to have been difficult for the Nagas; the candidates for baptism were required to pass a stiff examination on knowledge of Christian doctrine and furnish evidence that they

³² Verrier Elwin, *Philosophy for NEFA*, op cit, p.196

³³ Ibid, pp.196, 197.

had not participated in any heathen ritual, nor drunk any rice beer for three months.³⁴ Because of these conflicts between Naga culture and the norm upheld by the Baptist missionaries, many converts appeared to undergo good deal of wavering and wobbling in terms of religious allegiance.³⁵ In a discussion during the 1886 Jubilee Conference, Mr. Witter deplored the fact that the church was being injured because of the constant system of suspending and receiving back of Christians into the church. He suggested that converts should be suspended for their first offence of drunkenness, or open sin and instead of being hastily restored should be kept under a period of scrutiny under the watch and care of the church. He also suggested that it would be better if they were refused admission into the church. This suggestion of Mr. Witter seemed to have been refuted by Mr. Burdette who said, "I oppose a repressive method. Outbreaking sins must be punished by exclusion and after once expelled, greater care should be taken in receiving the person again. However we must be positive in our requiring them to attend worship. I cannot teach total abstinence from scripture". He suggested making the test for abstinence stronger during the first instance of receiving converts since if a convert is unwilling to give up the use of intoxicants then, there was little hope for him to do so later. Mr. Row who was working with the Assamese advised to allow the "tares and the wheat to grow together". He said that his experience of work with the Assamese had proved to him to be more lenient in matters of Church discipline.³⁶ The establishment of Impur and the enforcement of stricter rules of membership led to a fall in the number of church members.³⁷ Conversions picked up only in the early part of the 20th century and even

³⁴ Narola Rivenburg, op cit, p.117.

³⁵ Richard M. Eaton, op cit, p.15.

³⁶ The Assam Mission of the ABMU, papers discussions of the Jubilee Conference, op cit, p.231

³⁷ Dr. David Syiemlieh, *A brief history of the Catholic Church in Nagaland*, Vendrame Institutional publications Shillong 1990, p.33.

in 1901 nearly 96% of the population still seemed to have adhered to their tribal faith.³⁸

Rev. Perriene in 1889 reported of the Nagas as going further regarding the church rules than how much the missionaries had thought would be wise to advise them. He reported:

We have been permitted to see them go further than we felt it wise to advise them in the matter of drink the use of opium and false worship. They are building better houses for themselves and with rooms. Some of the Christians keep their persons and home and body comparatively clean, perhaps I should simply say cleaner than the heathen. They do not eat rotten flesh, and the money they once spent for drink opium and false worship is making them more prosperous. They are becoming more conscientious in their relation of the sexes and are discussing a number of other very important questions that make for righteousness.³⁹

Effects of missionary policies upon the Nagas

In a paper presented by R. Wickstrand in December 1933 on the 'Ao Naga church and discipline', many circumstances were revealed where the application of the Mission's discipline codes as understood by the Nagas seemed to have resulted in the Nagas developing an almost 'pharisaical outlook' in their views towards what was to be considered right and wrong. His report which gave accounts of the various instances where he felt that the Nagas applied their pharisaical outlook read as follows: A certain man was working in the plains on a tea garden to earn enough money to buy salt and a few other household necessities. Word came to him late Saturday night that his whole village had burned and people were in great trouble. He started out early Sunday morning for his village or what was left of it and didn't arrive until evening. He was promptly excluded from the church for having marched on the Lord's Day. He appealed to me and was later duly reinstated whereupon I was looked at with askance as a terrible liberal.

³⁸ *Gazetteer of Bengal and Northeast India*, op cit, p.471

³⁹ Minutes, resolutions and historical reports of the Fifth Triennial Conference held in Dibrugarh, 1889, op cit.

Another incident was in the village of M, September 1931. Four men were excluded from the church by vote because they went to their cultivations very early Monday morning before the cock crowed. The churches contention was that these men had violated the holiness of the Lord's Day. This surely smacks pharisaical, one can never tell, however; this might have been the immediate excuse for their exclusion while there might have been some other cause. Does it not all revert to the carnal state of believers? If the heart is right before God the actions and life of both church and individual will attest that fact.⁴⁰

R. Wickstrand also brings up the issues that were posing a complicated problem to the Church as it seemed to be beyond the scope of the general application of the rules as prescribed and understood by the church. He gives one such example where a Christian boy and girl of the same sib committed fornication. The girl gave birth to a child. According to the Naga village and tribal custom men and women from the same *khel* are absolutely forbidden to marry. Needless to state they were authorities. What should be done according to scriptural teaching? – a similar case had never occurred before. Again a Christian man's wife left him. Neither he nor the deacon's repeated entreaty for reconciliation availed. She despised her husband but remained faithful to him and led a good Christian life. They were not temperamentally compatible seemingly and no amount of persuasion could change her mind. The man was getting old, had nobody to cook for him and needed help on his cultivation. What could he do? To marry another would mean exclusion from the church and he wanted to die a member in good standing, so he said. Couldn't he make an exception to the rule in his case he queried?⁴¹

⁴⁰ The Ao Naga church and discipline, September 1933 by R. Wickstrand, ABFMS records, Microfilm no FM-714

⁴¹ *ibid*

Earlier headhunting was, according to the Naga belief, an indispensable part of all fertility rites and the headhunters when they had brought such skulls became elevated in status and fascinating figures, especially to girls for their acts of valour.⁴² The heads sought were not of a particular enemy it could have been anybody's from beyond their village, in fact female heads were more valued due to their long hair. In one old Ao Naga song, a girl pleads for mercy to let her head remain even if she is killed, to which the headhunter replied that when a man kills he does not spare the head of his victims for that was the trophy that made him a hero.⁴³ Headhunting was a means of increasing a person's social standing. Needless to say, with the coming of the missionaries and the British administration this system of headhunting became a crime while a person's education and other qualifications determined his social position.

The British administration and the missionary's education and evangelization process led to several changes in the traditional Naga society. For those who accepted the changes as a means to an expanded identity or an alliance of identities through which they could fulfill deeper aspirations, step in that direction was welcome, harbored the bliss of transcendence but for those who wanted to hold on to age old identities the experience was a traumatic one. Therefore, the evangelization and education process created conflicts and differences between the Christian and non Christian Naga.

⁴² *Kohima District Gazetteer Nagaland* by Dr.H.Bareh 1970, p.63.

⁴³ *The Arts and Crafts of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Government of Nagaland, Kohima 1968, p.114.

Naga resistance movement

The adoption of the new religion led to an abandonment and deterioration of Naga culture and social practices, since the missionaries interpreted the Naga culture as a reflection of the old religion which they wanted the people to completely abandon. Enamel mugs and plates replaced the old bamboo and wooden cups and plates which were often skillfully carved. Aluminum pots substituted the indigenous earthen pots. Hymns replaced old songs and dances were being forgotten. The cessation of headhunting and the gradual disappearance of the various kinds of feasts of merit led to the decay of the *morungs* and maintenance of village gates as a result of which woodcarving suffered. There was no longer the need to weave particular shawls for a particular clan of warriors or rich men. Decay in the preparation of indigenous dye due to availability of cheap colors in the market.⁴⁴

The increasing conversions and disruption of the traditional culture and society not only led to conflicts and resistance movements within Naga society. According to Dr.H.Horam, "Some powerful Naga chiefs realized the influence of the missionaries as dangerous game and were therefore eager to avenge the presence of the new creed".⁴⁵

The most popular form of resistance movement among the Nagas was initiated in the Zeliangrong Naga area by Jadonang as a result of which he was hanged on 29th August 1931 at the orders of the British authorities. He had resisted the changes and the threat that was being introduced into the traditional Naga life and religion by the British administrators and Christian missionaries.⁴⁶ According to Asoso Yunuo, 'Gaidinliu his niece carried the movement forward and was

⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.119.

⁴⁵ Dr.H.Horam, *Nagas Old Ways New Trends*, Cosmo Publications New Delhi, 1988, p.96

⁴⁶ Asoso Yunuo, 1982, *Nagas struggle against the British rule under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu 1925-47*, Leno Printing Press Kohima Nagaland, p.79.

appreciated by the Nagas for her stand for reviving the old Naga religion but was criticized for her opposition to Christianity which was viewed as unhealthy and primitive without a sense of modernity and indegenisation of Christianity and an absence of a spirit of mingling with humanity in love and peace'.⁴⁷ The author Ursula Graham Bower describes the movement of Jadonang and Gaidinliu as follows, "Their programme was an attractive one, the very blue print of a Naga heaven- the millennium was at hand, the faithful were to spend everything in one stupendous feast, massacre the Kukis and live in plenty ever after on their God's miraculous bounty; and cash and converts came rolling in". She described Gaidinliu as the figurehead and hub of a money spinning god racket.⁴⁸ According to Julian Jacobs and his study team the Gaidinliu cult made a conscious emphasis on, though not the introduction of Hindu concepts from the neighboring plains such as constructing temples, idol worship, *pujas* and even reference to a god called Kangrellung who Jacobs and his team believe was a form of the Hindu god Vishnu. According to Jacob a set of notebooks belonging to Gaidinliu filled with regular and repetitive symbols resembling writing but in no known language have been deposited in the Pitt River Museum at Oxford. Jacob's wrote, "It is said that Gaidinliu used these pages to enhance her power: they were sent as messages to her network of followers, though of course they also required translation by the messenger. This magical or preliterate attitude to literacy is of significance. The more or less conscious adaptation of an outside symbol system in the context of an indigenous movement of resistance

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p207.

⁴⁸ Ursula Graham Bower, 1950, *Naga Path*, Printed in Great Britain by Butler and Tanner Ltd, Frome and London, p.46.

suggests that the Gaidinliu rebellion can be thought of as a crisis cult or millenarian movement".⁴⁹

The following account by the Sub Divisional Officer in 1932, gives an estimate of the popularity of Gaidinliu's resistance movement and the challenges that were faced as a result of her opposition to British rule:

On 17th March, a government patrol party encountered a group of Nagas in the Jhum fields who on seeing the sepoy instantly fled back through the path they had come from. After about a mile they found a house recently vacated and on further inspection realized that Gaidinliu had fled on being alarmed by her men. The S.D.O apparently burned down the house and seized the properties left behind. He then tried to collect information from the Hangrum village but not a soul was found as all the villagers who were probably Gaidinliu's supporters had fled to the jungle to avoid interrogation. Gaidinliu seemed to have had a strong control over the villagers because a subsequent interrogation over the villagers revealed that Gaidinliu had come to Hangrum from Manipur and the villagers had built her the house in the jungle where she had stayed until discovered on the 17th morning. In the evening she had returned to the village and had held a sacrificial offering of a large number of pigs and goats and assured her followers that they would be safe. However as per the S.D.O's reports the patrol party opened fire and several Nagas were hit and the whole village of Hangrum ordered to be burnt on 22nd March 1932.⁵⁰

Gaidinliu movement lost its popularity with her arrest as she was imprisoned for a good many years of her life; she was released on the insistence of Nehru, who felt that she had contributed her share to India's freedom movement against the British Government. She enjoyed the protection and secular policy of free India, her statement of 8th May 1979 supporting the *Freedom of Religion Bill* of Arunachal Pradesh is a reflection of her beliefs. She had said that, 'the foreign missionaries with the help of their henchmen among Indians had been virtually trading in human souls destroying their indigenous faiths and traditions with the outmost contempt'.⁵¹ Although Gaidinliu's movement lost its dynamism, it represented and characterized

⁴⁹ Julian Jacobs op cit, pp. 161, 162.

⁵⁰ Account of Recent events at Hangrum by A.H.Y.Ali S.D.O North Cachar Hills, 24th March 1932, General Department files, 1932, Record Room, Naga Institute of Art And culture, Kohima Nagaland

⁵¹ Asoso Yunuo, op cit, p.199

the efforts of the Nagas to revive and promote their religion and culture against the growing influence of Christianity and British administration.

However, those who chose to adopt Christianity believed the new religion to be a blessing, for instance, Rev.O.Alem the principle of Clark Theological College who feels that the period of the introduction of Christianity was marked by emerging changes that were taking place among the Nagas in general which helped them to awaken to a better life. He said, 'Religiously the Nagas were going through a crisis of faith. People were beginning to question the effectiveness of their age-old religious beliefs and practices. The expensive ceremonials, especially in the case of sickness, were becoming unbearably burdensome to many. Silently they were looking forward to one who would provide answers to the mystery of suffering; a deliverer from the bondage of the spirits and the judgment of God.'⁵²

Missionary's adoption and rejection of elements in Naga religion and culture

Considering the fact that the missionaries despised everything connected to the old Naga religion and culture, it is interesting to note that the missionaries drew upon certain concepts pre-existing in the Naga's old religion. In 1881, Rev.Clark in his letter to J.W.Murdoch wrote, "The old religion of these people furnishes a splendid basis for Christianity. The fundamental ideas are there, perverted it is true, but there. And most of the needful terms are there".⁵³ According to Richard M. Eaton, for all their condemnation of the social dimensions of Naga religion, the American Baptists leaned very heavily on its cosmological dimensions.⁵⁴ In his opinion there always existed certain fluidity in the Naga religious system due to the absence of a script, which provided the opportunity for a more stable religious system to evolve.

⁵² NBCC, op cit, p,31

⁵³ Richard Eaton, op cit, p.26, Authors source-American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Rochester, New York, Correspondence Reel no FM 59.

⁵⁴ *ibid*,p.26.

As a result of this fluidity local cults changed overtime, incorporating particular deities of another Naga group. He suggests that the Naga religion, already in a process of evolution made further adaptations in their encounter with Christianity so as to incorporate it and in the process to transform Christianity from an alien religious system into an indigenous one.⁵⁵

Naga religion has been described by sociologists to be animistic which lays emphasis on the existence of the defied manifestations of nature and propitiation of spirits both benevolent and malevolent.⁵⁶ But old Naga folk tales reveal that the Nagas also followed theistic principles and there was always the general belief that there existed a malevolent god and a benevolent god.⁵⁷ The missionaries seemed to have adopted only those elements in the Naga cosmological dimensions which proved helpful in simplifying their interpretation of Christianity. The benevolent spirits were made to correspond to god almighty and his angels whereas the malevolent spirits were denoted as Satan or the devil.⁵⁸ Thus the Naga's conversion into Christianity was not really an abandonment of the old faith but rather the adoption of an indigenous form of Christianity and a continuity of the principles of the old Naga religion into the new one.

✓ Although the missionaries depended upon some cosmological concepts in the old Naga religion in their promotion of Christianity, they were adamantly opposed to the continuity of the elements of culture related to the old religion. As a result of this, there was a considerable loss of Naga culture; tribal songs, dances, sacrifices,

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p.6.

⁵⁶ *Kohima District Gazetteer*, op cit, p.61

⁵⁷ R.Luikham, 1987, *Folklore and Tales of the Nagas*, Emmanuel Publishers and Printers, 17 Darya Ganj, New Delhi, p.17.

⁵⁸ Asoso Yunuo, op cit, p.32

celebrations of various kinds, construction of houses, feasts of merit, use of *morungs*, weaving of particular garments inspired by headhunting and crafting of certain accessories etc, slowly disappeared in the life of a Christian Naga. In the opinion of Dr. Joseph Puthenpurakal the missionary's antagonism to Naga traditional culture was partly due to the pressure to evangelize and convert the 'heathen'. In the system in which missionaries function a major preoccupation of each missionary couple was to report to the home Board the success of their labors in terms of the number of adherents. That apart their upbringing in the Baptist church is to be considered: their conscience seemed to have been dictated by what they believed to be their Christian duty to put a stop to all 'heathen practices'.⁵⁹

The missionary's application of their personal values in the understanding and interpretation of Naga culture and religion led to tensions and conflict between the Nagas and the missionaries as well as within the Naga community itself. The attempt by the missionaries was to infuse a particular westernized conception of Christianity into Naga society. It resulted in a psychological conflict between the Christian Naga and a non-Christian Naga. However, Christianity and the new education system introduced a new form of unity for the Nagas which cut across previous barriers of clan, tribe and village and fostered in them a sense of Naga unity.

⁵⁹ Dr. Joseph Puthenpurakal, *op cit*, p.79.

Conclusion

The introduction of education in the Naga Hills by the American Baptist missionaries under the patronage of the British Government brought about far reaching changes and consequences for the Nagas. Like most of the tribal societies the traditional culture and religion of the Nagas was interrelated and interdependent and therefore any change in either had an implication on the other. The advent of Christianity in the Naga areas consequently influenced Naga culture, as new elements and ideas associated with Christianity got incorporated into Naga society. The introduction of an education system by the American missionaries greatly facilitated their evangelical mission into the Naga Hills. It was also instrumental in encouraging and effectively introducing the new culture associated with the Christianity that was introduced by the missionaries.

The missionaries felt that the British Government had failed in their basic obligation of providing primary education for all its subjects and therefore considered it to be their humanitarian duty as well as a legitimate mission policy to promote education as part of their evangelical work for the Nagas. The British Government's efforts in the promotion of education in the Naga Hills prior to the coming of the Mission had been temporary and unsuccessful; it had lacked the firm determination, spirit of sacrifice and humanitarian zeal, which accompanied the missionaries' efforts and tireless pursuits in their goal of evangelizing and educating the Nagas.

Besides the difficulties usually associated with missionary works, the missionaries in the Naga Hills faced the peculiar challenge of the existence of numerous different tribal dialects and the absence of a script. This made it difficult for the Christian principles and ideas in the Bible to be accessed and understood by

the Nagas. Much of the missionary's time and efforts were spent in trying to introduce the Roman script for the tribal dialects and in the translation of the Bible. For the initiation of Mission work the spread of literacy became more and more pertinent and as work progressed the need for establishing a comprehensive educational system became imperative; thus followed the system of evangelical education for the Nagas which eventually resulted in manifold consequences for Naga life, culture, religion and society (chapter two).

The introduction of education among the Nagas resulted in the growth of a new class of educated elite among the Naga community who usually acted as the link between the Nagas and the missionaries, and the British bureaucracy. Spread of literacy and school level education not only helped in encouraging and promoting evangelization but also confronted the Nagas with new ideas. Among these ideas was a new conception of Naga identity, at first fragmented in terms of tribal divisions, but in the long run promoting a new sense of unity of the Nagas as a people. The introduction of English and Christianity also promoted a feeling of oneness and unity among the Naga's who were earlier separated by clan, *khel*, village, tribe and language distinctions and awakened in the Nagas the consciousness of a common Naga identity (chapter four).

The missionaries and British administrator's had received a lot of criticism especially from Indian leader's and politician's, who felt that the development of the Naga's political agenda of a sovereign state particularly since the 1940's was chiefly due to the influence of foreign elements chiefly the missionaries. Due to the divisive administrative policies of the British administrators and the missionaries instigating into the Nagas the fear of being submerged by the larger Indian Hindu and Muslim population a feeling of Naga separateness did develop. The missionary's promotion

of an evangelical educational system was also perceived by Indian nationalists as a funnel for western influences which alienated the Nagas from the mainstream of the Indian nation.¹ Dr.Aosenba, a Naga scholar, refutes the view that the foreign missionaries intentionally created political tension between the Nagas and the Indians, he says: “It is not true to say that foreign missionaries instigated the Naga movement. Their efforts was confined to providing religion and modern education which made the Nagas aware of his surroundings and his ethnic identity and political rights and of the universal rights shared by all human beings”.² According to Dr.B.K.Roy Burman, ‘If Christianity has become associated with restlessness among the tribal people, it is not because there is anything inherent in Christianity to promote restlessness, but because it became an instrument in the phase of expansion of the identity of the local communities and also a medium for the expression of their ethnic aspirations and of their urge for modernization’.³

The role of the missionaries remains a highly debated issue till today. In the 1973 editorial of the *Highlander*, a journal dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Naga culture, M.Alemchiba Ao, the then Deputy Director of the department of Cultural Research and State Museum, expressed concern over the need for the preservation of Naga culture; he wrote, “Unlike any period of their history the Nagas, it goes even without mentioning, are now faced with an unprecedented arena of changes in every walk of life. As an inevitable sequel to this, not only faith in old

¹ V.K.Anand, op cit, p.48.

² Dr.Aosenba, 2001, *The Naga Resistance Movement Prospects of Peace and Armed Conflict*, Regency Publications, New Delhi, p.22.

³ *Highlander* Vol 1, No 2, September 1973, edited by M.Alemchiba Ao, Bi-Annual research bulletin, Department of Art and Culture, Kohima Nagaland, Article by B.K.Roy.Burman *Perspective of Nagaland*, p.5.

⁴ *ibid*, Editors column by M.Alemchiba Ao.

⁵ Visier Sanyu, op cit, p.117

ways of life and traditions have been shaken seriously, giving rise to psychological conflicts and tensions, but also the traits of the age old culture are heading towards oblivion at an alarming rate". As a remedy for the deterioration of culture, Alemchiba suggested two methods, firstly to arrest the obliteration of the original traits of culture before it was too late, and secondly to help direct the waves of changes in the right path and direction.⁴ This statement of a section of Naga opinion in recent times emphasising the need to revive and retain the lost traditions and culture of the past. At the same time, it is rare to find feelings of resentment against Christianity among the new generation. Visier Sanyu, a prominent Naga scholar probably expresses and represents the general sentiments towards Christianity among most Nagas. When he says: "Christianity was a most organized and reasonable religion and it carried in its wake other social activities and benefits. In remote areas the combination of medical care and education coupled with teachings of morality and fellow feelings could not be ignored. It was a time when other countries of the world particularly in Europe were making great advances in science, technology and particularly in education which taught people to reason and overcome traditional prejudices".⁵ Thus Naga opinion in recent times was characterized by an ambivalence towards the impact of the Christian missionary intervention.

Many observer's among the anthropologists and sociologists feel that the missionaries in their zeal to promote their evangelical education and conversion policy proved totally unsympathetic and inconsiderate towards the cause of the preservation of Naga culture as we have noted earlier. C.Von Furer Haimendorf, Verrier Elwin, J.H.Hutton, J.P.Mills etc have criticized the missionaries for being

responsible for the abandonment and loss of elements of Naga culture ranging from folksongs, weaving, dances, ornaments, weapons etc to the institutions and beliefs that went into the making of the tradition that went into the making of their way of life. Elwin accused the missionaries of encouraging the tribesman to be ashamed of his own culture and religion. In consequence of breaking with the past instead of evolving from it, developed a feeling of inferiority.⁶ On the other side of the fence, Bendangangshi, a contemporary Naga author, reflects the attitude of some section of the Nagas who accept Christianity as a blessing. Bendangangshi says, “Before the dawn of Christianity our country was a dark country where useless superstitions and customs such as headhunting and slavery existed without any goodwill within the tribes and even between villages. In those days we were told that it was not the policy of the Government to open schools for us but to leave us in our old order of social life and to keep the culture preserved for ages. However the American missionaries with boundless love towards the ignorant Nagas decided to open schools, paving a new way to social and cultural progress based on Christian education.”⁷

Captain John Butler, during his tours of the Naga Hills, had predicted that there was no hope of the Nagas becoming ‘civilized’ and desiring a free intercourse with strangers even within the next century. Contrary to Butler’s dismal prognosis, the coming of the American missionaries with their evangelization and education process, greatly accelerated changes in the Naga society within less than a century. It did result in a sudden break with the traditional past and culture instead of an evolution from it, to use Elwin’s phrase. Hokishe Sema, ex-chief minister of

⁶ Verrier Elwin, *Philosophy for NEFA*, op cit, p.48.

⁷ Bendangangshi, op cit, pp.23,24.

Nagaland and a prominent Naga leader, expresses the need for the preservation of Naga culture since much had been lost with the introduction of Christianity. According to Hokishe, the Nagas, inspite of the initial restrictions and discouragements enforced by foreign missionaries not to wear traditional clothes as they were considered to be 'heathenish,' continued to use and value their traditional shawls. He suggested that, " The Nagas will have to preserve their cultural identity. This can be done by observing their important festivals like *Sekhrenyi* for the Angami's, *Moatsu* for the Ao's, *Tuluni* for the Sema's etc"⁸

According to Subhadra Mitra Channa, "The question is not of change or of preserving traditions. The question is of choice. The Nagas are not unrealistic as to cling to an archaic past. But what they want is a free choice to choose their own path. The Nagas for example have by and large adapted the western dress, although they retain some traditional articles like shawls as embellishment. They also prefer the English language as a means of communication with others though not among themselves". Subhadra Mitra Channa corroborates to the fact that Christianity and western influence have been conducive to the growth of the political aspirations of the people. She says, "The Christian and westernized image projected by the dominant Naga leadership is purposeful and is a negation of the identities based on traditional tribalism. The latter are not conducive to the political aspirations of the Naga people as it is divisive rather than unifying"⁹ Christianity and education have

⁸ Hokishe Sema, 1986, *Socio-Economic and Political Transformations and the Future*, Vikas Publishing House pvt ltd, Delhi, pp.57, 58.

⁹ *Naga Journal of Indigenous Affairs*, Naga People's Forum Publication, Dec-May 2002, Vol 1, No 1, Article on *Cognitive Boundaries and Political Realities: Reflections on Naga Ethnicity* by Dr.Subhadra Mitra Channa, Department of Anthropology, Delhi university, pp. 24,25.

therefore motivated the Naga's to develop a consciousness of an identity, and have been conducive to the political aspirations of the people by negating and replacing the earlier fragmented identities based on traditional tribalism. It has also as in Mitra's opinion, helped them to assert their distinctiveness from the Indian mainstream with its dominant Hindu symbols.¹⁰

It has been said that globalization also encourages the creation of identity consciousness leading to nationalist assertions.¹¹ While globalization in the usual sense of the term is a recent development, the emergence of a Naga identity consciousness began to manifest itself with the introduction of the Nagas to the larger world brought about by the British administration, the World Wars and the missionary's evangelization and education process. The formation of the Naga Club in 1918 was the culmination of the initial identity consciousness that was dawning upon the Nagas. However, it was the post independence period which saw an upsurge in the assertion of Naga identity leading to a political struggle, a complex process occurring in a period which is beyond the preview of the present dissertation.

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship- A Liberal theory of Minority Rights*, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1995, p.185.

Appendix-A

Curriculum for Primary Schools in the Naga Hills

E.T.D.Lambert, Sub-divisional Officer, Mokokchung, prepared the curriculum in 1935, which was approved by Director of Public Instruction*

Curriculum for primary schools in Naga Hills, Class... Subject's, Course of study...Books prescribed...

Class 'A'

- (1) Points of compass: - 4 cardinals; to know left from right, names of common birds and insects and beast in own vernacular.
- (2) Arithmetic: - Numeration and notation of 1 to 100. Addition of numbers whose sum does not exceed 20. Substraction of not more than four figures sum in which the substrahend is smaller then the minus end.
- (3) Singing and dancing: - As per village custom
- (4) Simple lesson in the use of *dao*.
- (5) Writing: -To form letters and simple words and sentences (containing not more than three words on the slates).

Class 'B'

- (1) Direction of villages from the school not more than 20 miles away. Names of common birds beast, and insects and habit of the commonest.
- (2) Arithmetic: - Numeration and notation of numbers 1to 1000. Addition of numbers whose sum does not exceed 1,000. Substraction of bigger figures than Class A. Simple problems in mental arithmetic, figure of one digit only.
- (3) Reading: - Second A,B,C, book and to give meaning of simple words contained therein, simple sentences written on black board.
- (4) Hand writing: - 3\4" in size on the slate.
- (5) Spelling of three lettered words.
- (6) Singing and dancing: - As per village custom.
- (7) Use of *dao* and the hoe, how to tie with bamboos and with cane.
- (8) Drawing: - Copying from printed book on the slate.

Class-I

- (1) Arithmetic: - Numeration and notation of numbers 1 to 10,000. More complicated addition and subtraction problems in solving inches, feet and yards and Rs., As Ps. Idea of every simple fractions $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$, with the assistance of local subjects.
- (2) Geography: - Names of nearby villages, rivers and hills and fields and geography of their own village.
- (3) Drawing: - Copying from printed books and inanimate objects.
- (4) Easy writing: - Brief description of local objects, animate and inanimate objects.
- (5) Handwriting: - $\frac{1}{2}$ " on slate.
- (6) Reading: - (a) *Tanur Medener Kaket*
(b) *Khaden Kako*
(c) *Simitsa Kaku*
(d) *Tefudze*
(e) *Leka Patna*
- (7) Spelling: - Five lettered words
- (8) Dictations: - From (a), (b), (c), (d) or (e) above
- (9) Nature study: - Names of trees and shrubs, birds, beasts and insects and habits of same.
- (10) Dancing and singing: - As per village custom.

Class-II

- (1) Arithmetic: - Multiplication and division of numbers by the assistance of every day Problems, in addition and subtraction involving Chattaks, seers, maunds, Rs., as Ps, miles, furlongs etc...
The addition and subtraction of simple fractions such as $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, with the aid of local objects.
Mental arithmetic: - Simple everyday problems.
- (2) Geography: - A general study of the physical features of the Naga Hills, its boundaries and political divisions of tribes and clans. The work and duties of the various government officials in the Mokokchung, Kohima subdivision. Methods of communication with the plains. To draw a plan of the school room and their own village.
- (3) Drawing: - Copying animals of the village from life, also more difficult inanimate objects.
- (4) Handwriting: - In copying books on lines drawn on slate.
- (5) Composition: - Simple object of everyday village life.
- (6) Spelling: - More difficult every day words.
- (7) Reading: - (a) St. John Gospel until better book is provided.
(b) *Nkolo Eram Motsu*
(c) *Pasi Keshu* (till a more suitable available)
(d) *Thadow Thushim*
- (8) Dictation: - From (a), (b), (c), (d), or (e) above.
- (9) Nature study: - Drawing of plants and collecting and naming of different species. Habits of animal's birds and insects.

- (10) Dancing and singing: - As per village custom.
- (11) Basket weaving.
- (12) History of the village.

Class III

- (1) Arithmetic: - Addition, subtraction, Multiplication and division involving the use of Rs., as, Ps, Miles, Furlongs, etc. Days, minutes etc., maunds, seers, etc. acres etc and practical work with same general dealing with shopkeepers.
- (2) Geography: - A general study from the map of the physical and political divisions of the province of Assam with particular reference to Naga Hills. The work and duties of official and some idea how the province is run by the Government.
- (3) Drawing: - Memory and as for class II
- (4) Composition: - Letter writing, composing of a new song.
- (5) Handwriting: - Without assistance of lines.
- (6) Spelling: - Proper and village names.
- (7) Reading: - (a) Ao Naga Reader
(b) Lotha Reader
(c) Sema Reader
(d) Ruvimiadze
(e) Ruhumna.
- (8) Dictation: - Unseen and from (a), (b), (c), (d) or (e) above.
- (9) Nature study: - As per class II.
- (10) To construct a house.
- (11) Dancing and singing: - Extemporizing songs and as per class II.
- (12) History: - Village tribe and surrounding tribes. A little political history of the Naga Hills
the coming of the government.

Note: Naga games for all the classes. All classes should also be taught to keep the school compound and building in order. A certain amount of agricultural training could be introduced later.

* Source: Edu (a), September 1935, Nos. 1-5. (Atola Changkiri, 1999, *The Angami Nagas and the British 1832-1947*, Spectrum publications, Guwahati, Delhi, pp.241, 242,243)

Appendix – B

Chronology of missionary service*

Impur (Ao)

1. E.W.Clark, and Mrs.Clark	1876-1911
2. S.W.Rivenburg, and Mrs.Rivenburg	1885-1889
3. S.A.Perriene, and Mrs.Perriene	1892-1905
4. F.A.Haggard, and Mrs.Haggard	1893-1899
5. W.F.Dowd, and Mrs.Dowd	1900-1902
6. W.A.Loops, and Mrs.Loops	1905-1909
7. Miss E.G.Miller	1906-1907
8. R.B.Longwell, and Mrs. Longwell	1906-1927
9. J.R.Bailey, and Mrs.Bailey	1910-1928
10. W.M.Smith, and Mrs.Smith	1912-1915
11. Miss E.M.Stevenson	1918-1931
12. Miss E.Masales	1919-1930
13. Miss E.M.Stever	1920-1923
14. Miss A.Geisenhener	1923-1925
15. R.R.Wickstrand, and Mrs.Wickstrand	1929-1933
16. B.I.Anderson, and Mrs.Anderson	1936-1948
17. C.E.Hunter, and Mrs.Hunter	1948-1950
18. A.S.Truxton, and Mrs.Truxton	1952-1954

Kohima (Angami)

1. C.D.King, and Mrs.King	1879-1886
2. S.W.Rivenburg, and Mrs.Rivenburg	1887-1923
3. H.B.Dickson, and Mrs.Dickson	1906-1908
4. Miss Narola Rivenburg	1908-1910
5. J.E.Tanquist	1913-1947
6. G.W.Suplee, and Mrs.Suplee	1922-1949
7. B.I.Anderson	1951-1954

Wokha (Lotha)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. W.E.Witter, and Mrs.Witter | 1885-1888 |
| 2. H.Houston, and Mrs.Houston | 1947-1954 |

Aizuto (Sema)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. B.I.Anderson, and Mrs.Anderson | 1948-1950 |
| 2. R.F.Delano, and Mrs.Delano | 1950-1955 |

*Source: P.T.Philip, 1976, *The Growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland*, Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, p.229

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