

**AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES AND MODERN  
EDUCATION AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS FROM 1879-1930**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY  
(HISTORY OF EDUCATION)**

**VISEMELIE TSOLO**



Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies

School of Social Sciences

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-110067

2011



July 25, 2011

**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that this dissertation entitled “AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES AND MODERN EDUCATION AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS FROM 1879-1930”, submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (HISTORY OF EDUCATION) has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my own work.



VISEMELIE TSOLO

(Candidate)

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



**Dr. Parimala V Rao**  
Assistant Professor  
(Supervisor)



**Professor Binod Khadria**  
**CHAIRPERSON**  
Zakir Husain Centre for  
Educational Studies  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I give thanks to Almighty God who has brought me this far in my academic life and blessed me in countless ways. During the course of this study, I have come across so many people who have encouraged and supported me in different ways. There were times when I felt that I was not heading anywhere but it is by divine grace that helped me to pursue it with rigour.

This work would not have been possible without the guidance of my research supervisor Dr. Parimala V Rao. I thank her for her intellectual inputs that have contributed in sharpening the arguments of this study. I am also happy she agreed to be a part of this journey with me although I was working on a region that was not too familiar with her. She always gave me the freedom to follow whatever path my curious mind took me. Her passionate supervision, comments, suggestions, criticisms and incessant encouragements have always provoked me to explore many issues.

I am also grateful to the Chairperson and the faculty of Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies for their guidance during the course work. They are in many ways a part of this study. I would also like to thank all the non-teaching staff at the centre for their timely assistance whenever needed.

I would like to make special mention of the Chief Minister of Nagaland Shri Neiphiu Rio for his support and encouragement. Thanks to all those who have encouraged and helped me when I was down and led me through the dark nights and also to see sunny days of my life. I would like to mention some people whom I am really indebted for their intellectual inputs: Niketu Iralu, Meneno Vamuzo, Easterine Iralu, Zapuvisie Lhousa, Rev. Ketsozeho Sale, Anand Perriera, Dr. Abraham Lotha and Vitso Yano. I also express my gratitude to Mr and Mrs. Lhoucalie Viya, Deputy Resident Commissioner, Nagaland House, Kolkata for his hospitality during my fieldwork in West Bengal.

In the course of my study, I have visited several archives and libraries, and I would like to give due credit to the institutions and people who granted me to use the library and archive whenever needed. I would like to thank the librarian and staff of CBCNEI, Guwahati, National Library of Kolkata, West Bengal, staff and librarians of Serampore College, West Bengal, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen-Murti,

New Delhi, Vidyajyothi library, New Delhi, Kohima State Archive and Library, and Shalom Bible Seminary library, Sechüma. The Jawaharlal Nehru University Central Library and Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies Library have also been a great resource and the place where my initial research took off.

Right from the beginning of this study, my close friend and classmate Bauna has constantly encouraged me and affirmed the value of my work. He is someone I could always turn to any time of the day for discussions. My sincere thanks to Neikolie Kuotsu for his help particularly, going through the whole work, proofreading and adding valuable corrections. I also thank Kevingulie Sechü for translating portions of Angami words to English. My heartfelt compliment also goes to Agnes, Francis, Afdesh, Zhoto, Ketu, Deto, Tali, Nometo, Kekhrie, Lhusino, Akhrienuo and Thejavituo for their challenging support in many ways.

Had it not been the support and co-operation of my family members, this dissertation would not have been possible. A few words of acknowledgement are insufficient to express their support and love. To my late Mom and late Dad, I thank you both for giving me life and showing me the way to undertake this journey. My brothers and all my in-laws, I thank you all your faith, prayers, encouragements, and countless instances of concern and support through phone calls and discussions. Last but not the least, I express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all my classmates of Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies for always been there.



## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ABCC	:	Angami Baptist Church Council
ABFMS	:	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
ABMU	:	American Baptist Missionary Union
CBCNEI	:	Council of Baptist Churches in North East India
DB	:	Dobashi
GB	:	Gaon Bura
KFBC	:	Kohima Field Baptist Centenary
NBCC	:	Nagaland Baptist Church Council
NEFA	:	North East Frontier Agency

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The Angamis like the other Nagas in general 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 identity has evolved to its present status. In regard to Evangelization works, the American Baptist Missionary activities in the Angami area can be traced back to 1872 when Rev. Edward Winter Clark, the first missionary to the Nagas marked the beginning of Angami evangelizing mission. Rev. Clark, who came to the Naga Hills and started formal education, was not interested in the Ao's alone but rather, to all the neighbouring tribes.<sup>1</sup> In his constant correspondence with the Board- American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABMFS) back home, he emphasized the “destitution of the hill tribes on the Naga range.” Here, Clark referred to the lack of organised religious and modern educational activities among the Nagas. So, in response to his request, the board appointed Rev. Charles Dewitt King as the missionary for the Angamis in 1879<sup>2</sup>. King's arrival thus marked the beginning of the Angamis trust with Christianity and the beginning of modern education. It also opened the door for the later missionaries to come into contact with the Angamis through the establishment of the mission field at Kohima. The American Baptist Missionary activity in the Angami region covers a period of 75 years with Rev. C.D King and his wife as the first missionary couple till Rev Robert F. Delano and his wife, the last missionary couple to leave the mission field in 1954.

Among many features, one of the most significant change in the Angami society was the introduction of evangelical education brought in by the American Baptist Missionaries. Christianity alongwith modern education brought about far reaching changes in every facet of their life and thoughts. The institutionalized education that was introduced to the Angamis was for evangelical purpose, and therefore, was limited to introducing literacy alone. However, it brought along changes that greatly altered the traditional Angami-Naga society. With the coming of the American Baptist missionaries (ABM), formal schooling began and the

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<sup>1</sup>V.K Nuh, *Naga Baptist Churches*, Council of Naga Baptist Churches (CNBC), Mek Computers, Kohima, 2006, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> The exact arrival date of Rev. C.D King in Angami area-Samaguting, now Chumukedima is on February 2, 1879

missionaries played a very significant role in the field of education. The American Baptist Missionaries who were the harbingers of western education thus did a commendable job in the field of modern education.

Prior to the coming of missionaries, like many other tribal formations, the Angamis had their own system of education. Before the missionaries and colonial intervention, there has been a contact between the Angamis and the peoples of the neighbouring plains (Assam) for trade and for mutual co-existence. However, there was no record of teaching and learning of any script and opening of any school. This is because of the fact that the Angamis does not have a script of their own. If education without literacy can be perceived, the Angamis had an indigenous institution to cater to the needs of those times for their survival and growth. There was no formal schooling. The only means of knowledge transmission amongst these people was through oral tradition that is, passing down of stories- normal, religious and social lessons from one generation to the next. They received an informal way of education through the institution called *Kichüki* (Morung) or bachelor's dormitory. The aim of this education was not for a profession but to provide a holistic training. It was purely to train young men and women to be perfect, well-disciplined citizens and to fully equip themselves with the knowledge of the customs and traditional practices. Hence, education simply implied the acquisition of those qualities and traits that made an individual into a responsible person and observe all the norms of society.

Although this study focuses on a single Naga tribe- the Angamis, it will be incomplete without reference to the other Naga tribes especially, the Aos and Konyaks, who shares a similar history with regard to social, cultural and most importantly, the evangelization mission. Interestingly, it was from the Ao region that Christianity alongwith modern education was made known to the Angamis. Though the study is specifically focused on missionary activities, the works of Colonial administrators cannot be ignored as they went hand in hand in fulfilling and executing their objectives. This research work will primarily focus on the transformation brought about by Christianity in the socio-cultural life of the Angami Nagas and in the field of education in particular. One should be clear that this work is not about Church history or Growth of a Mission. Rather, it is the study of the American Baptist Missionaries endeavour to educate the Angami Nagas by exploring various perspectives.

## **1.1 Aims and objectives of the study**

This study attempts to understand the evangelization process of the Angami Naga society taking into consideration their objects, contributions, policies and their attitude towards the society. It will focus on the process of education, the most effective instrument of the American Baptist Missionaries. It gives a detailed examination on how the period from 1879-1930 saw the arrival of American Baptist Missionaries in the region and inaugurated the birth of new community. As stated, the study will be an analysis of the Christian missionary activities among the Angami Nagas. It will take a look at both pre-colonial and traditional education system of the Angamis and the change brought about by the American Baptist Missionaries and the consequent impact, growth and development of modern education on the Angami society from 1879-1930. Also an attempt will be made to study the pioneering works of the missionaries in the Angami area particularly by Rev C.D King and Rev (Dr) Sidney White Rivenburg. The study will also take a look at the contribution of Rev. Joseph Eric Tanquist towards Angami society.

These objects unfold itself into a series of interrogations which this study tries to answer: What are the circumstances which led the Baptists of America to launch into foreign mission works and how did it reach the Nagas and the Angamis in particular? Before the intervention of Christian missionaries, how was education imparted among the tribes of the Angamis? How did the first attempt made by Rev. C.D King in 1879 come to an end? What were the circumstances that induced Dr. S. W Rivenburg to resume the Angami Nagas mission in the 1887 and how did the work start? What were the methods used by the missionaries? Why was their attitude to the Angamis cultural expression unsympathetic? What were the factors that influenced their work?

In addition to it, the research study is also conducted with the following aims and objectives:

a) To investigate the relationship between the American Baptist Missionaries and the Nagas in general with the establishment of modern education during the early encounters.

- b) To historically understand the traditional system of Angami-Nagas Education before the arrival of the Christian Missionaries.
- c) To investigate on the missionaries' reception and the responses meted out by the Angamis during the first sight of their contacts.
- d) To study the growth, development and impact of modern education on the Angami Naga society.
- e) To study the reception of the Missionaries' works and the responses of the Angamis during their initial contacts.

### **1.2 Scope of the present study**

The role of history is to investigate the past in a pursuit to enlighten the present and search for a better future for humanity. Like the Nagas in general, the worldview of the Angamis was limited within the domains of their own village and neighbouring villages before the advent of Christianity. Before they came in contact with the outside world, the Angamis had a very rich oral tradition. With colonialism at its peak throughout Assam and her neighbours, the expansion of British domination marks the beginning of the Angami Naga community's exposure to the outside world. In 1879, the American Baptist Mission (ABM) arrived in the region, Samaguting (now known as Chumukedima) with the project of a civilizing mission thereby heralding a new beginning of their history. The major argument in this research work is that pedagogy and curriculum introduced in the schools by the missionaries played a prominent role in transforming the culture and society of the Angamis which however led to the abandoning of traditional values, practices and traditional knowledge. The study thus unravels the American missionaries strategies of evangelization and healthcare, during the period 1879-1930.

### **1.3 Limitations of the study**

This research study is limited to a single Naga tribe-the Angami Nagas and does not cover the whole of Naga Hills. Though , there are several American Missionaries who worked on the soil of the Angamis with the primary aim of "civilizing" them,

however, the study focuses mainly on the first two missionaries as their works were seen to be the most important and visible. Unlike the other Naga tribes, the sources for studying the traditional system of Angami Naga institution of learning give only a few accounts primarily because of few written documents. The access to primary sources pertaining to missionaries too was limited in the study because most of them are located in United States of America (USA) and United Kingdom (UK).

#### **1.4 Methodology and sources of the work**

The study adopts a historical perspective and presents how the missionaries understood and approached the task of spreading Christian ideology and influenced the Angamis through education. Since the study is based on historical perspective, the methods implied into it are carried out with both primary and secondary sources. It critically analyzes the growth, development and impact of modern education with the coming of Christianity. It also depended on oral sources to understand the basic historical background of the Nagas' educational system and particularly, the transition of Angami traditional system of education to modern education. Thus, interviews with prominent personalities like the Village and Church elders, heads of some mission schools was conducted. Besides these, primary sources for the study also includes in the form of - discussions, church records and missionary reports. It also included early foreign writings on Nagas and the Angamis as well. Secondary sources includes both scholarly and non academic writings by various peoples on Nagas, Archival sources, newspapers, internet sources, research articles, monograph and unpublished reports.

#### **1.5 Nagas: An overview**

The state of *Nagaland*<sup>3</sup>-situated in the extreme Northeastern part of India is inhabited by sixteen tribes. Each tribe has an ethnic-cultural identity and practices of its own. The state is surrounded by the plains of Assam on the West, The Tirap Frontier Agency on the North, Burma in the East and Manipur in the South. The Nagas are

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<sup>3</sup>Present day Nagaland was known as Naga Hills or Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA). Until 1961, it was a district of Assam.

also found in Northern Manipur, North Cachar Hills, Karbi Anglong Jorhat and Sibsagar district of Assam, Tirap District of Arunachal Pradesh and in Somrat tracts of Myanmar or Eastern Nagaland<sup>4</sup>. Tuisem A. Shishak gives a broader and clearer statement saying, “The Nagas are tribals belonging to more than 40 tribes, living in hundreds of villages many of which are deeply buried in the jungle of Indo-Burma.”<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the pre-history of the Nagas, there are many theories so far about and on the origin and progress of the Nagas as a people. The only thing that could trace their history was thus through folktales and oral historical traditions which remain as the sole links between the past and the present. It is not known exactly how the Nagas came to settle in the lands they presently dwell. The exact traces of their migratory routes are lost in the mists of time because there are no historical documents for evidence.<sup>6</sup> Though no final word has been said on the derivation of the Nagas, it is certain that the name was given by the outsiders. The name was popularised and enforced by British colonial authorities during the nineteenth century with the introduction of their rule in the Naga areas.

## **1.6 The context of Angami Nagas**

### **1.6.1 Geographical background**

The Angamis known as ‘*Angami Nagas*’ by the Colonial rulers occupied Kohima-the state capital of Nagaland is bounded by Peren district and Manipur (Zeliangrong) in the South, Phek (Chakhesangs) in the East, Mokokchung in the North and Assam in the West.<sup>7</sup> Geographically, the district of Kohima lies in the southern part of Nagaland. Its language, Tenyidie is spoken by around 132,225 people (2001 Census). Even among the Angamis, difference in dialects, beliefs, practices, customs and ways of living are found. Keviyekielie Linyü, an Angami Naga theologian and writer states, “The Angamis occupy the most part of fine, open, rolling Hills and valley, bounded by lofty mountains.....blessed with the most fertile soil, well cultivated, drained and manured. The villages are mostly built at the hill-tops which indicate as a

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<sup>4</sup> F. Hrangkhuma, *Christianity in India- Search for liberation and identity*. CMS/ISPCK, Delhi, 2000, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Tuisem A Shishak in “*Nagas at Work*,” A Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD) Publication. 2006, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> V.K Nuh, *Origin of the Nagas*. Vision Press, Mission Road, Kohima, 2002, p.7.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.maharashtra.com/nagaland/cities/kohima/aboutkohima.html>. As seen in December 2010.

defence strategy in the past.”<sup>8</sup> The Angami tribe is a collection of around some 95 independent villages and Kohima is considered as the centre of the Angami villages.

### 1.6.2 Origin and migration-The land and the people

The origin and migration of the Angami-Nagas it is not clear, as the information recorded is based more on speculation in absence of any written records. However, several western sociologist and anthropologist like J.H Hutton, J.P Mills, Verrier Elwin, Christopher Von Furer Heimendorf and even scores of Naga historians too are of the view that the Angamis subscribe to the *Khezakhenoma*<sup>9</sup> legends as far as their origin is concerned. It is said that;

There was a couple who had three sons and a miraculous stone in that village and it had the power of increasing rice exposed on it. Everyday, they, the three sons use to spread paddy to dry upon a great flat stone, and at dusk a single load spread to dry become two loads for the stone was inhabited by spirit. The three sons used to take it in turns to spread their paddy on this stone, but one day they quarrelled bitterly as to whose turn it was and their parents fearing bloodshed, broke eggs on the stone, covered it with brushwood, laid faggots about it and set the whole on fire. The stone burst with a crack like thunder, the spirit went to heaven in the cloud of smoke and the virtue of the stone departed. The three sons then departed and became the ancestors of Angamis, Semas and Lothas.<sup>10</sup>

Hutton further states that, “of all the tribes inhabiting the Naga Hills, the Angamis or to give them the name which some of them, at any rate, give themselves (for Angami is apparently a corruption of the name “*Gnamei*” given to them by the Manipuris), Tenyimia occupy the largest area and are far the most numerous.<sup>11</sup> Hutton also speaks of the Angamis as intelligent, honest, hospitable, genial and also of being melancholic and less receptive than the other Naga tribes.<sup>12</sup> In a similar tone, Verrier Elwin also mentions that the Angamis are very cheerful, frank, hospitable, brave and wonderfully clean.<sup>13</sup>

From the very beginning, the Angamis were viewed as living a self governing life. Unlike the other Naga tribes especially the Konyaks and Ao’s, there was absence

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<sup>8</sup> Kiviyekielie, Linyü, *The Angami Church since 1950*. Khedi Printing Press, Kohima village, 1983, pp. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Legends and oral historical tradition tells that the tribe of Angami, Sema and Lotha came out from a stone at Khezhakenoma village. Presently, Khezhakenoma village is under Phek (Chakhesang) district.

<sup>10</sup> J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London. originally published in 1921, edited by Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> J.H Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp. 37-39.

<sup>13</sup> Verrier Elwin (edited), *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1969, p. 525.



of village chief. They belong to family first, then to the pfütsanuo- literally, children of one grandfather and from there, they belong to Chienuo or clan or to what W.C Smith calls it "*the Sib-System.*" The Angamis also have a characteristic called "*Mhoshuo*" which plainly can be called as self-honour.<sup>14</sup> It is because of this mhoshuo that a relative will not be allowed to beg and it is to maintain this mhoshuo that revenge are taken on enemies. There is no settled form of government amongst the Angamis. It was autonomous. John Butler wrote about Angami democracy that:

The Angami Nagas have no regular settled form of government. With them, might is right and this is the only form of law or the absence of all laws heretofore recognised among them. Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of purest democracy which is difficult indeed to conceive as existing even for a single day and yet it does exist here is an undeniable fact. In every village, we find a number of headman or chiefs, termed 'Pehümia' who generally manage to arbitrate litigants.<sup>15</sup>

Like any other Naga tribes, The Angamis too practice head-hunting. Killing was common among the hill tribe but the system was excessive among the Angamis. For them, life for life was the rule. The mainstay of Angami's economy is Agriculture. The Angamis have very fine qualities. One of the first characteristics that strike a visitor to the Angamis is their hospitality. They also drink one or another form of alcoholic drinks prepared from fermenting corn, millet, job's tear or rice called *Zu*. To an outsider, all the Angamis may look alike- their habits and customs, social practices, their religion, culture and so on. In appearance, the Angami Nagas is by no means unprepossessing. The young men are fine with well proportioned figures. Some tie their hair up in a knot on the head and some others allow it to flow loose which give them a very wild appearance. Their complexions are brown. No part of the body is tattooed as in the (Angami) custom with the Nagas of upper Assam. Women are short, stout and unprocessing in appearance.<sup>16</sup> Inshort, the young bucks are usually very fine, light, beautifully built, and powerful, though the men are generally made or rather heavier lines and are on the whole taller than the Eastern Angamis.<sup>17</sup>

### **1.6.3 Religious background**

Though the Angamis were Animists before the advent of Christianity, they were very religious. They remain faithful in their own "*Pfiitsana*" (ancestral religion). They also

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<sup>14</sup> Keviyiekielie, Linyü, *Christian movements in Nagaland*. N.V Press. High School road, Kohima, 2004, p. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, 1969, p. 525.

<sup>16</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, p. 284.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

believed in the existence of spiritual beings including the spirits of living and death that have no human origin.<sup>18</sup> For the Angamis, they designated their god as “*Ukepenuopfii*” which plainly means “*the creator deity or the one who bore us*” and believed this, Ukepenuopfii to be the source of all life- the creator, sustainer, and the guardian God. Taboos (Kenyü), Gennas (Penna) and ceremonies of various kinds were performed in regard to please to their God.

#### **1.6.4 Colonial encounters and Transitional Change**

One can write about the extensive history of the Angami Nagas because, the Angamis have been at the center of the political-historical drama of the Nagas. Whatever important event had happened to the Nagas, the Angamis were there to suffer and sometimes to lead. Before the coming of the Colonial administrators, history tells that the Angamis controlled much of the present Karbi-Anglong and even parts of North Cachar as far as Assaloo, a place near present Halflong in Assam.<sup>19</sup> Further, it says that the peoples living in these areas paid exacting tributes in livestock, iron implement, salt to the Angamis. With the commencement of nineteenth century, colonialism reached its peak having assumed control in most of the sub-continent. The shadow of Burma and China hung over the North-Eastern Frontier and the British then proceeded to promote their mercantile interests in the region- the Naga Hills. After the Anglo-Burmese war and the signing of the “*Treaty of Yandaboo*” in 1826, the British emerged as the dominant power even in the Naga Hills.

Since the British came in contact with the Angamis in 1832, they started writing their impressions on the Angamis. Lt. Col. Woodthorpe presents the Angamis as cheerful, frank, hospitable and brave. But at the same time he also stated that the Angamis were seen as blood thirsty, treacherous and revengeful.<sup>20</sup> In 1832, for the first time, the Europeans visited the Angamis when Captain Jenkins and Captain Pemberton travelled through the Angami territory who had been assigned to the Manipur royal court as political agents’ alongwith 700 soldiers and 800 Manipur

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<sup>18</sup> Rүүлhusono Mor, “*The contributions of Rivenburg and its implications to Angami Baptist Churches*”, An unpublished M.th thesis. COTR Seminary, Vishakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, 2007, p.48.

<sup>19</sup> Cited from “*the traditional Angami area*,” Angami Public Organisation (APO) silver Jubilee souvenir (private circulation), Padamawati Udyod, Calcutta, 1997, p.36.

<sup>20</sup> Verrier, Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century.*, p.55.

coolies or porters marched from Manipur through Naga Hills into the Brahmaputra valley of Assam.<sup>21</sup> The route they followed from Sekmai in Manipur passes through Popolongmai (Poilwa) to Samadguting (Chumukedima) and on the Dhansiri River, a tributary of the Brahmaputra River in Assam.<sup>22</sup> The purpose of the British expedition was to find a route from Manipur to Assam via Naga Hills so that their subject in Manipur and Assam could be protected from any further Burmese invasion. The Angamis opposed them determinedly and this was the first time the Angamis met with an equal enemy to content with them and who were with superior arms. On the other hand, the troops of the British Imperial army too recorded that the fiercest resistance to colonial rule was in the Angami hills of a Naga tribe.<sup>23</sup> Since then, the Angamis continued to fight the British and their allies till 1880 when they were subdued. A.J Moffatt Mills, a colonial administrator puts forward that it was only after ten fierce military expeditions that the Angamis were brought under the control of British.<sup>24</sup> Annexation thus brought the Britishers into contact with these tribal peoples of the Hilly region, the Angamis whom they considered and portrayed it as unpredictable, primitive and difficult to deal with.

### **1.7 Historical settings of American Baptist Foreign Mission in India and Naga Hills**

Who were the American Baptists? Where did they come from? What is the historical and ideological background that shaped their actions and outlook? In answer to these, Pheluophhelie Kesiezie, an Angami Naga writer and educationist in his biography book on S.W Rivenburg, *Chaha Ketsau Dze-1857-1936* stated how the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society was formed. Here writes:

In the year around 1790, there rose a group of Christian Americans who had a great zeal in propagating and sharing the Christian faith around the world. Many churches took active role with the primary aim to propagate the gospel. Churches whose doctrines fall under the *Congregationalist* and the *Presbyterians* set-up a board called American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in the year 1810.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Visier Sanyü, *A history of Nagas and Nagaland*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2008, p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> Easterine Iralu, *A naga village remembered*, An Ura Academy publication, N.V Press, H.S Road, Kohima, 2003, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>23</sup> See Ibid, p.xii. Also refer "Military expedition in the Naga Hills" by A.J Moffat Mills in the book *The Nagas in the nineteenth century* by Verrier Elwin's, p. 114.

<sup>24</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, pp. 114-145.

<sup>25</sup> Pheluophhelie Kesiezie, *S.W Rivenburg- Chaha Ketsau Dze*, ACLS Press, Kohima, 1998, p. 1.

Interestingly, Joseph Puthenpurakal's *Baptist Missions in Nagaland* in a similar tone states:

The year 1800 opened with a desire among the different denominations in America to form some kind of a common bond on a national level. It was the first sign of a countrywide co-operation. Likewise, the year 1810 was the year where American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions organized by the Congregationalist and the Presbyterians to which the Baptist too contributed was formed.<sup>26</sup>

With regard to the roots of American Baptist works in India, it is shown that they can be tracked back to a young Congregationalist Missionary couple from America by name Judson and Nancy who landed in Calcutta towards the end of 1812, gave up their Congregationalist allegiance and opted to be Baptists at the hands of the British Baptist working there thus became the first two American Baptists in India. After several vicissitudes, the Judsons founded a new home at Rangoon in Burma and eventually, Burma became the first foreign mission for the Americans. It was from Burma that the first group of American Baptist Missionaries came to Assam in 1836 following the generous invitation extended to them by Captain (later Major) Francis Jenkins-the commissioner and agent to the Governor General of Bengal in Assam and hoping to find a route to China from Assam, two missionary couples-Mr. and Mrs Nathan Brown and Mr and Mrs. Oliver Cutter, came to *Sadiya*<sup>27</sup> in upper Assam was later joined by Rev. Miles Bronson and Mr and Mrs. Jacob Thomas in 1837. It was in Jaipur, a low hill to the south of Sibsagar district of Assam that Rev. Miles Bronson came into *Namsang*<sup>28</sup> (Konyak area) for the first time.<sup>29</sup> In the course of time, American Baptist missionaries came in contact with the Angami Nagas in the year 1879 when Rev. Charles Dewitt King became the first American Missionary in the Angami area.

The nineteenth century thus witnessed the beginning of many new movements among the different denominations coming together and forming various societies and agencies for the missionary enterprises. Indeed, the American Foreign Mission Society (AFMS) have done a marvelous work and thus had laid the foundation of gospel in India especially, to the Nagas and the Angami tribe in particular.

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist Mission in Nagaland*. Firma KLM Pvt. Limited. Calcutta, 1984, p. 48.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist Missions in Nagaland*, p.50.

<sup>28</sup> Presently, Namsang is in Arunachal Pradesh.

<sup>29</sup> Rev. O.Alem. *From Darkness to Light*, p.34.

## 1.8 The Advent of Christianity and education

The nineteenth century witnessed an amazing growth of Christianity in Asia. It was the century of missionary zeal and expansion of the church in that part of the world. The most significant change in the Naga society during the initial years was the introduction of Christianity and education by the American Baptist Missionaries from the earlier part of nineteenth century headed by Rev. Miles Bronson (1838). However, the advent of modern education—formal and permanent educational institutions which began in the form of primary school commenced with the coming of Rev. E. W Clark and his wife in 1872 in an Ao village called *Molungyimsen* (Molung). The period during which Clark took up missionary task was significant and Stephen Neill termed it as “*heyday to Colonialism*”<sup>30</sup> This period was marked by new, great happenings in the world on various fields of human activities. There are several books, articles and reports dealing with Christianity and its transformation with the coming of the American missionaries where education occupies an important place. Evangelization alongwith Modern education brought by the missionaries thus laid the foundation of development in the Naga-Hills and thereby heralded a new beginning leading to new history of the Naga society.

The main motive of the missionaries was to spread Christian teachings, to teach the Nagas to read the Bible and sing Christian hymns which the Christian Missionaries termed as the first elements of the system of Modern education that was introduced to the Naga people. Mary Mead Clark in ‘*A corner of India*’ gives an account of her personal observation through years of association with the Nagas. She describes how the state of ‘darkness’ in which the Nagas were living was impenetrable during the initial years but arrives to mention later that the dawn of light has been shown upon the people as they have become ‘civilized’ through the introduction of “*Bible Schools*”<sup>31</sup>

In the case of the Angami Nagas, Christianization alongwith evangelization of modern education came alongwith the British rule. The American Baptist Mission had started its *Shan Mission* with its headquarter at Sadiya, Assam in 1836 and at Namsang in 1838. In 1872, the work among the Aos was started by Rev. E.W Clark

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<sup>30</sup> Stephen Neil, *The history of Christian Mission*, Pelican, 1966, p.322.

<sup>31</sup> Mary Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia. 1907, p.68.

before the British had annexed the areas. In the year 1878, the mission board decided to start their works among the Angamis by establishing a mission field at Kohima and by the early part of 1879 (February), Rev. C.D King, the first missionary to the Angami Nagas came to Samaguting (Chumukedima) alongwith his wife.

The Kings opened a school with the help of an Assamese convert Christian, name *Puniram*. However, a system of modern education per-se could not be established immediately due to the resistance offered by the local potentates. They had to flee from Samaguting due to attacks by the Angamis against the newly established British administration. Only when the revolt was completely put down, King was able to come to Kohima in the early part of 1881. He started a school in Assamese with the help of Henry Goldsmith and Sarbey and thereby heralded the beginning of modern education among the Angami-Nagas.

Apart from Rev. C.D King, a pioneering figure whose work is seen to be the most visible to the Angamis; whose contributions in education are seen to be of great height, it is none other than Sidney White Rivenburg. After King left Kohima in 1886, Dr. S.W Rivenburg became the missionary to the Angami-Naga tribe from 1887. Under evangelization mission, his prime objectives were to spread Christian teachings, to teach the Angami peoples to read the Bible and sing Christian hymns, produce literature and sharing the gospel through medical mission by curing the sick peoples among the Angamis and even beyond. Such evangelization strategies were greatly successful and the Angamis responded to it positively. The book *Great if thy Faithfulness* states that, Rev. C.D King is the first American Missionary to the Angami Nagas however, it was during Rivenburg's time that evangelization of education alongwith gospel gradually took its roots in the Angami areas.<sup>32</sup>

## 1.9 Review of Literature

The secondary literatures related to the study are as follows:

*The Angami Nagas* published by *Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London* is a monograph on the Angami Naga tribe by J.H Hutton, an administrator-anthropologist during the early part of twentieth century (1909-36). Hutton has tried to express his

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<sup>32</sup> Great is thy faithfulness, *Kohima Field Baptist Centenary (KFBC) 1885-1985 Jubilee souvenir*, 1985, p.29.

understanding of the socio-cultural, economic, religious and early educational way of life amongst the Angami Nagas from a close perspective. The monograph also throws valuable light on the attitude of the British administrators towards the Angami Nagas during the early part of twentieth century.<sup>33</sup>

Lal Dena's *Christian Mission and colonialism* shows that missionary work was not as innocent as it seems. It is a seminal work in the field of colonialism and Christian mission in which the interactions between the two is clearly described where they are not of different branches but are closely connected to one another. What was important here is the way Dena shows how Christian missions penetrates into the north-east regions alongwith colonial intervention. Both the missionaries and colonial administrators, while having different agendas and concerns, benefitted from the support of each other's presence and activities. To him, Education was one of the main area in which both missions and colonial structures were seen to be closely connected. Christian missions greatly depended on the goodwill and protection of the colonial administrators. The colonial administrators contributed to the missionary efforts through the system of grant-in-aid for educational institutions and other philanthropic works. The missions thus played within the framework of colonial structure. The works of the missionaries in terms of education and literature acted as instruments of social change and modernization. As such, mission seemed to manifest the socialization of the subjects into the colonial culture and improved its existing culture. Lal Dena also contends that missionaries in educational programmes are to be viewed as supplementary to the primary task of communicating the spiritual message to the people. The common consensus in the historiography among historians is that colonial administrators and missionaries thought that education imparted by the missionaries was effective not only in civilizing the natives but also, in making them peaceful and loyal subjects. Lal Dena's work is thus one of its kind as far as the historiography of missionary works in the Naga Hills is concerned.<sup>34</sup>

The book *The beautiful Tree: Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth century* where Dharampal too viewed that in India, attempts were made to bring people to an institutional, formal, law abiding Christianity as was earlier undertaken in Great Britain. This required literacy and teaching that would assist evangelical

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<sup>33</sup>J.H Hutton. *The Angami Nagas*. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London, 1921.

<sup>34</sup> Lal Dena, *Christian Mission and Colonialism*, Vendrame Institute, Shillong, 1998.

exhortation and propaganda to extent Christian light and knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

Aparna Basu's *Colonial Education, a comparative approach* argues that there were strong positive ties and programmes that bound colonizers and missionary together on matters of educating the natives or the colonized. However, she points out that the relationships was not always so clear or close as their goals were not identical. The missionaries were interested in converting the peoples through vernacular whereas; the colonial government was committed to instruction in the English language.<sup>36</sup>

According to Rev. M.A Sheering, he portrayed that the most influential impact of missionary activity was Christianity itself. Historically, in the book, *The history of Protestant Missions in India from their commencement in 1706-187*, he has shown what Protestant missions have accomplished in India since the commencement of their missionary activity in India in the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century. He also indicates that the minds of the natives were remoulded with the translation of the Bible in the native dialect.<sup>37</sup>

Among the church historians, F.S Downs who worked as a missionary for over thirty years in India with considerable focus on North-East India appears to be one who is trying to understand Christian movements in Nagaland as part of the North East. However, his writings turned to be apologetic. In his book *History of Christianity in India (vol.v)*, he tries to refute the double accusation that it was the colonial rulers relationship with missionaries that helped spread Christianity and the Christian missions are responsible for destroying the culture of the tribals. In doing this, he bases his arguments on the assumption that, "the primary agent of change in the North-East, the only agent with necessary powers to force change, was the British government and the hypothesis that it was Christianity which saved the process of change from becoming one of detribalisation in the sense that it helped the tribes to maintain their identity and self respect."<sup>38</sup> While this might be used to some extent, in

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<sup>35</sup> Dharampal, *The Beautiful Tree; Indigenous Indian Education in the Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1983.

<sup>36</sup> Aparna Basu, *Colonial Education, a comparative approach, Presidential address, Section IV. Indian History Congress, 50<sup>th</sup>. Session, Gorakpur*

<sup>37</sup> Rev M A Sheering, *The history of Protestant Missions in India from their commencement in 1706-1871*, Trubner and co, London, 1975.

<sup>38</sup> Fredrick S Downs, *History of Christianity in India' (vol.v), part 5, North East India in nineteenth and twentieth century*, The Church history association of India, Bangalore, 1972.



the sense of preserving cultures and cannot be used to explain the Christian movements.

The other work of Downs, “*Administrators, Missionaries and a World turned Upside-down: Christianity as a Tribal response to Change in North-East India*” further argued that the conversion to Christianity in the four pre-dominantly christian states, that is, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and the hills of Manipur are the result of cultural disruption brought about by the British colonization. Downs claimed that the rapid growth of Christianity in these states cannot be attributed to large concentrations of effort on the part of Christian missions or to unique methods but is best understood as part of tribal response to the radical changes brought about as a result of the annexation of the hill areas by the British. He devoted much of the materials covering the Nagas, dealing with what he and other western writers have called the practice of headhunting and how its cessation came to impact the overall culture of the Nagas.<sup>39</sup>

Tenzilo Thong’s “*Thy kingdom come’: The impact of colonization and Proselytization on Religion among the Nagas*” analyzed the impact of socio-political confusion of Nagas and asserts that among the Nagas there is a correlation between the height of political violence and the rapid conversion to Christianity. The long history of colonial violence and suppression coupled with the undermining of Naga cultural values and practices by the process of proselytization, created an atmosphere conducive for conversion to Christianity and shaped the Nagas’ theological choices.<sup>40</sup>

Richard Eaton’s “*Study on the conversion to Christianity among the Nagas in the north-eastern region of India* is interesting.” It is a well-researched article on the introduction of Christianity and its influence to Naga culture. Eaton argued that the traditional Naga cosmology had greatly facilitated the process of Christianizing the tribal Nagas. Unlike Downs, he focused on the Nagas only however, essentially agrees with Downs that the conversion of Nagas to Christianity cannot be attributed to the activities of the missionaries or Colonialism alone. He stated that in addition to Christianity’s direct connections with education, literacy Western medicine and empire also stimulated the conversion. The key underlying reason is that the

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<sup>39</sup> F.S Downs, *Administrators , missionaries and a world turned upside-down: Christianity as a tribal response to change in North-East India*, 1981.

<sup>40</sup> Tenzilo Thong, ‘*Thy Kingdom Come: The Impact of Colonization and Proselytization (convert of one religion to another) on Religion among the Nagas*’. *Journal of Asian and African studies* 45 (6), 2010.

missionaries were able to mesh the Christian concepts with the cosmologies and worldviews of the Nagas.<sup>41</sup>

Achana Chakravarty's *History of Education in Assam' 1826-1919*, includes the Naga Hills which formed part of Assam but emphasizes more on the education system prevailed in the plains of Assam.<sup>42</sup>

*The American Baptist Missionaries in North East India 1836-1900* by H.K. Barpujari (1986) is a documentary study which gives reliable information on the background of missionary work among the Nagas. The book stated how the first American Baptist Missionary stepped his foot in the soil of the Nagas and decided to start a mission school followed by the other mission pioneers. Thus, viewing towards the works on the American missionaries in Naga Hills, he argued that the American Missionaries were the pioneer in the Nagas mission field.<sup>43</sup>

*A brief historical account of Nagaland* by M. Alemchiba is seen as one of the most valuable and well researched works written by a Naga author. The author has given a very comprehensive historical account on the Nagas and discusses the period of transition under the domains of colonial rulers and the impact of Christianity to the Naga Hills.<sup>44</sup>

Mary Mead Clark's *A corner in India* gives an account of her personal observation through years of association with the Nagas. She describes how the state of 'darkness' in which the Nagas were living was impenetrable during the initial years but arrives to mention later that the dawn of light has been shown upon the people as they have become 'civilised' through the introduction of *Bible Schools*.<sup>45</sup>

*A history of Nagas and Nagaland* by Visier Sanyü, an Angami-Naga historian, whose work represents the growing trend among the Nagas, of the need to strengthen their identity by tracing their traditional past. Though the book is on Nagas, he emphasized more on the Angami tribe. The book deals with the dynamics of oral tradition in village formation of the Angamis with special reference taken from two

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<sup>41</sup> Richard Eaton, "Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas, 1876-1971," *Indian Economic and social history Review*, 21,1, 1984, pp.1-52.

<sup>42</sup> Achana Chakravarty. *History of education in Assam, 1826-1919*. Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1989.

<sup>43</sup> H.K. Barpujari, *The American Baptist Missionaries in North East India 1836-1900, A documentary study*, Guwahati, 1986.

<sup>44</sup> M. Alemchiba, *A Brief Historical account of Nagaland*. Naga Institute of Culture. Kohima, Nagaland. Janambhumi Press, Jorhat, 1970.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Mead Clark, *A Corner in India*. American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia. Christian Literature Centre, Gauhati, Assam, 1907.

prominent Angami villages-Khonoma and Kohima village. The author also acknowledges the positive contributions of the American Baptist Missionaries towards the Nagas and particularly, to the Angami society.<sup>46</sup>

Milton S. Sangma *History of American Baptist Mission in North-East India* is seen to be an informative book about the works of the American Baptist Missionaries in North-East India from early nineteenth century to mid twentieth century. Milton stated that a number of historical works in the past have made the peoples of North-East India of what they are today. One great factor that added cultural dimension of the people of North East especially the hill peoples was the arrival and activities of various Christian Mission from the West. These Christian missions societies were not government agents rather, the societies were formed by the individual believers and supports of the missions. Initially they were invited by the Colonial rulers in their private capacity with a view to use them as instruments of taming and controlling those fierce and untameable tribes. This would make their works easier as administrators. Sangma points out that it was under these circumstances that the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society sent their missionaries to North-East India which was to play a great role in bringing about a cultural revolution, especially amongst the hill peoples.<sup>47</sup> 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. In viewing further, the book also gives a vivid picture on the evangelization of modern education to the Angami Nagas by the American missionaries from late nineteenth century till mid twentieth century.

*The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland* by P.T Philip is a very comprehensive and informative book about the church growth in Nagaland and emphasizes less upon the relationship between the missionaries and British administrators. In the book, Philip study on the role of ideas on Nagas converts has interesting findings to offer. In the book, he emphasized on how Christianity was introduced in the Naga Hills. In viewing through the book, Philip also depicted on how pioneer missionaries like Rev. C.D King and S.W Rivenburg encountered the

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<sup>46</sup> Visier Sanyü, *A history of Nagas and Nagaland- Dynamics of oral tradition in village formation*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 1996.

<sup>47</sup> Sangma, Milton S. (vol 1. 1987). *A history of American Baptist Missions in North-East India*. Mittal Publication, Delhi.

Angami Nagas under the evangelization mission. The book also gives a clear picture describing the prosperity of the Angamis after embracing to Christianity.<sup>48</sup>

*Christian movement in Nagaland* is a published work of Keviyiekielie Linyü. The book deals with both Colonial and Missionaries intervention in the hills. Viewing through the book, the author described on the socio-political life varying from liberal democracy of the Angamis to the powerful Ahng system of the Konyaks prior to the intervention of the Britishers and Missionaries. The book also gives a vivid picture on how Christianity penetrated into the Naga Hills and took its root in the region starting from the later part of nineteenth century that had changed the phase of Naga society to a new chapter.<sup>49</sup>

Joseph Puthenpurakal *Baptist Mission in Nagaland* deals with Baptist in general and about the American Baptist who worked in the Naga Hills from early nineteenth century till mid twentieth century. The book discusses how the natural obstacles did not deter the Christian missionaries to take up their works in Naga Hills. To be precise, the book gives a clear picture about the intervention of the missionaries in the Angami region starting with the arrival of Rev. C.D King in the year 1879 with the primary aim to Christianize the tribe of the Angamis and impart modern education in the area.<sup>50</sup> The book also gives a clear picture on Dr. Rivenburg contribution towards modern education to the Angamis through evangelization mission. The chapter on the Angami Naga tribe also present on how the first school was set up, pedagogy, print culture, curriculum, literatures, textbooks, establishments of mission hostels and so on were seen as a turning point which changed the phase of the Angamis to a new chapter is described in the book.

*The Angami church since 1950* is another book exclusively written about the history of the Angamis by Keviyiekielie Linyü. In the first instance, it depicts about the traditional life and character of the Angamis before the intervention of the Britishers and the Christian missionaries as well. It also gives a clear picture about the history of Christianity and the characteristics of Angamis in relation to the background of the peoples in order to understand the importance why and how church

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<sup>48</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*. Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, 1972.

<sup>49</sup> Keviyiekielie Linyü, *Christian movements in Nagaland*. N.V Press, High school road, Kohima, 2004.

<sup>50</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist missions in Nagaland, a study in historical and ecumenical perspective*. Firma KLM private Limited, Kolkata, 1984.

was established in the region. The book also shows about the impact of Christianity and the changes brought about in the Angami society with the introduction of Christian principles.<sup>51</sup>

*The Star of the Naga Hills* is an epistolary narrative of letters written between 1883 to 1936 is an edited work of Narola Rivenburg on letters of her parents Rev. Sidney and Hattie Rivenburg, Pioneer Missionaries in Assam from 1883-1923. The prime motive of the missionaries was to evangelize the native, teach them how to read and write. It is a very informative book and depicts how Rivenburg encountered the Angami Nagas. The book also describes the progress of the Angamis in different fields after embracing Christianity.<sup>52</sup>

## **1.10 Chapterization**

### **1. Introduction**

This total research work is classified into five chapters. The opening chapter is an outline of the introductory overview and issues developed under it are examined. The chapter dealt with the entry of both Colonial administrators and American Baptist Missionaries to the Naga Hills in a nut shell and then, to the Angami Naga tribe. Theoretical frame for the analysis of the missionary endeavour is described alongwith significance, scope of the study, limitations and methods for the study are undertaken. Brief review of some of the literatures is also undertaken in the said chapter.

### **2. Traditional system of education, Kichüki: A study of its significance prior to modern education.**

The second chapter focused on the Angami-Nagas pre-colonial or traditional system of education that is, before the commencement of formal educational system imparted by the American Missionaries. The main focus of this chapter is the social institution where under it, Thehouba (meeting place) which plays the role of the “*Kichüki*” among the Angamis or *Morung* in general, which was considered to be an important educational political and social institution where the Angamis learnt manners,

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<sup>51</sup> Linyü, Keviyekielie. (1983). *The Angami Church since 1950*. Khedi Printing Press, Kohima village, Nagaland.

<sup>52</sup> Rivenburg, Narola, ed. *The Star of the Naga Hills”: Letters from Rev. Sidney and Hattie Rivenburg Pioneer Missionaries in Assam (1883-1923)*. Philadelphia: Judson Press. (1904).

discipline, art, stories songs (poems), war tactics, religious and customary rites and rituals. The second part of the said chapter gives a vivid picture about the functions and duties performed in the Kichüki and Thehou as a social institution of learning and the gradual breakdown of these traditional institutions with the coming of Christianity.

### **3. Christianization and the growth and development of modern education among the Angami Nagas**

The third chapter portrayed on the missiological principles of education to the Angami Nagas. Here, the various policies and programmes of missionaries like pedagogy, curriculum, literature, textbooks, schools, mission hostels etc. which relates to the missionaries strategy of planting education is analysed. An outline of the early encounter in regard to modern education between the Angamis and the missionaries and colonial administrators during their first contacts is discussed here. The chapter also examined on how this understanding justifies the missionary views of evangelizing and giving modern education to the Angami Nagas.

### **4. Pioneering works of Sidney White Rivenburg on Angami society**

The fourth chapter presents on Charles Dewitt King and Rev (Dr) S.W Rivenburg contributions towards evangelization and modern education to the Angami Naga society from 1879-1923 in a detailed manner.

### **5. Conclusion.**

This chapter mentions the challenges, achievements of modern education on Angami society and also dealt with the shortcomings.



## CHAPTER II

### ***KICHÜKI*: A STUDY ON THE ANGAMI TRADITIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION**

#### **2.1 The institution of *Kichüki*<sup>1</sup>**

No human society exists and grows without education of some sort. The Angamis like the other Nagas tribes have adopted their own system of education method before the coming of missionaries. They had their own way of recording, narrating and passing on their history. This was largely done through oral narratives-stories, songs and folktales. According to J.P Mills, every village had a body of traditions which narrated the origin of clans, the doings of their ancestors and the feasts of some of their prominent ancestors hosted. While some of these stories were of purely local interest, some were common to the tribe as well.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, J.H Hutton in his work on *The Angami Nagas* also refers to the importance of stories as carriers of history. He states that stories were of three kinds. First, there were traditions which recounted stories of village feuds. Second, there were the legends, which recounted the early history of villages and clans. Finally, there were stories known as *contes*, which were not meant to be a recording or a narration of history, but a collection of fables about animals and human beings. These three kinds of story telling may not have maintained a strict separation from each other and could have overlapped.<sup>3</sup> Many of these stories were narrated during festive occasions when the whole village came together. Some other were also narrated during a march or around a camp fire which the Angamis called it Thehou/Thehouba.<sup>4</sup>

The Angami Nagas did not have a tribal organization but they had their own system of socio- cultural institution. Since there was no tribal organization to deal

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<sup>1</sup> Kichüki is the term used for the word Morung or bachelor's dormitory by the Angami-Naga tribe where socialization for the young boys and girls was shaped.

<sup>2</sup> J.P Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Oxford University Press, 1973 (originally published in 1926), pp. 410-424; Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf, *The naked Nagas*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1946, pp. 51-62.

<sup>3</sup> John Thomas, *Missionaries, Colonialism and the writing of history among the Nagas*, Paper presented at the Asian Borderline Research Network Conference on North-East India and its transnational neighbourhood, held at Guwahati, 17-18 January, 2008. p.3. Also refer J.H Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, 1969 (originally published in 1921), p. 253.

<sup>4</sup> J.H Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London, 1921, p.253.

with the need of the tribe as a whole, each Angami village became solely responsible for its own economic, social, spiritual and political needs. They had indigenous schools of learning and from these schools emerged the perfect citizens of the village-state who could shoulder social responsibilities. This was a school where the students were taught with practical method: learning by doing and by imitation. Such needs required that the young folks be taught and trained within the village community. Several writers and scholars in regard to it called as dormitory<sup>5</sup> where many boys sleep together. But it signifies something much more; perhaps its local name is more be-fitting. The Angamis call it *Kichüki*, the Aos call it *Ariju*, the Semas call it *Apuki* for the bachelors and *Iliki* for the girls, The Chakhesangs call it *Thepumi Chiethichie*, *Jambo (Champo)* among the Lothas, *Longshim* among the Tangkhuls, *Ban* among the Konyaks, *Khruchozu* for the boys and *Chulozu* for the girls in Maos.<sup>6</sup> Generally speaking, it is known as *Morung*<sup>7</sup> or *Bachelor's dormitory also called as youth hostel* referring to all aspects of Naga culture.

Interestingly, E.B Taylor defines culture as:

That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, moral, laws, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.<sup>8</sup>

According to Penrose St. Amant:

Culture means the patterns of values by which communities define the meaning of their existence. This means their taste, their beliefs, their commitments, their definitions of what is good. It is thus a secondary environment which man super-imposes upon the natural order. Culture is what man does with nature as he transforms it in terms of the values he espouses. Culture is a constellation of values. The actualization of these value issues in civilization. From this point of view, civilization is the outward expression on the inward values of a community.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Tuisem A. Shishak "*Nagas and education*" in Nagas at work. Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD) Publication. 1996., p.28.

<sup>6</sup> Takatemjen, *Studies on theology and Naga culture*. CTC Mokokchung and ISPCK, Delhi, 1998., p.2. Also refer "*From darkness to light*", a publication of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) on the occasion of the celebration of 125 years of Christianity in Nagaland., p.9.

<sup>7</sup> *The term Morung is not a Naga word. It is derived from an Ahom word. Here, the word morung is referring to Nagas Traditional institution.*

<sup>8</sup> E.B Taylor, *The origin of cultures*, New York. Harper and brothers, 1958, p.1.

<sup>9</sup> Duke K. Mc. Call (edt. In chief), John Joseph Owens, Ernest J. Loessner, *Review and Expositor*.vol.LXI. Winte,No.1.A Baptist Theological Quarterly, published by the faculty of the Southern Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, 1964, p.501.



Ahu Sakhrie, an Angami Naga researcher and sociologist states that the most important social institutions in the Naga society is the Kichüki (Morung) or youth dormitory.<sup>10</sup> Abraham Lotha opines that the prime education centre in the Naga society was the Morung.<sup>11</sup> John Wilson argued that this morung, Bachelor's house is a training ground in all respects, but it intra or inter tribes organization of the society, whether or not that society has anything which might be recognized as a school.<sup>12</sup>

In the words of R.R Lolly,

.....This dormitory, which was considered as their educational institutions, the bachelors learnt the art of handicrafts, weighing war, social ethics, folk-tales, folk dances and songs the girls, also learnt the art of spinning, weaving embroidery, social etiquette and manners, folk-tales and songs.<sup>13</sup>

Verrier Elwin observes the Morung as a guard house, recreation club and centre of education, art and discipline and has an important communal purpose. He further writes that some morungs house the great wooden drums which are beaten to summon for war. The pillars are carved with striking representations of Tigers, hornbills, human figures, monkeys, lizards and elephants.<sup>14</sup> Elwin also suggested that Morung was instituted to save children from witnessing; the primal scene and from being an embarrassment to their parents.

According to Peal, the Morung possibly is a survival of the communal house from which private dwellings split off.<sup>15</sup> Shakespeare, a colonial educationist observed that the object of the dormitory was to prevent incest.<sup>16</sup> Sociologically, it is the key institution of Naga society, though its importance varies between the different groups and tribes<sup>17</sup> Kekhrie Yhome and Inotoli Zhimomi on similar lines speak of the Morung as the centre of all social, religious and cultural life.<sup>18</sup> Thus, every Naga

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<sup>10</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. An unpublished M.Phil dissertation. Centre for the study of Social systems. School of social sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1982, p.48.

<sup>11</sup> Abraham Lotha, "Nagas conversion to Christianity and modernity in Colonial India" in *Nagas today: An Indigenous discourse*, Naga Students Union Delhi Publication, 2010, p.216.

<sup>12</sup> John Wilson, *Education and changing, West African culture*, New York, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> RR Lolly, *The Baptist church of Manipur*, Modern Printers, 1985, p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland*. Spectrum Publication, Guwahati, 1961, p.8.

<sup>15</sup> S.E Peal, *On the Morung- A relic of pre-marriage communism*, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol.22, p.224.

<sup>16</sup> T.C Hudson, *The Naga tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, p.86.

<sup>17</sup> Julians Jacob, *Hill peoples of North East India. The Nagas*. Thames and Hudson, 1990, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Kekhrie Yhome and Inotoli Zhimomi, "Indigenous education and the formation of Naga identity, International conference on *Impact of Globalization, Regionalism and Nationalism on minority peoples in South East Asia*, University of Chiang Mai, Thailand, 15-17 November, 2004.p. 18.

village had one or more morung and among some tribes, it is organised in terms of clans which may have more than one.

The word *Morung*, it is not a Naga word. M .Horam postulates that the word Morung is probably an Assamese origin and was not used by Naga tribes as each tribe has its own name for its dormitory<sup>19</sup> and thus refers to the Naga traditional institution which was responsible for indigenous Naga education. B.B Kumar in a seminal work states that the word morung is not a Naga word. It is an *Ahom* word which is used by the Nagas for their bachelor's dormitories, although different Naga tribes have different words for the same.<sup>20</sup>

For several tribes-especially the Konyaks and the Aos, Morung in the real sense of the term connotes big hall, built separately for young men to sleep and keep a vigil at night against the enemies. Unlike them, as in the case of tribes like Angamis, Chakhesangs, Semas, the Morung which is called as Kichüki, Thepumi Chiethichie and Apuki are not known to be used for keeping against the enemies' attacks. Rather it is in the morung where the young folks, especially the male members set their foundation for socialization.

The girl's dormitory, among the Angami tribe known as "*Rüü Kichüki*"<sup>21</sup> is the seat of traditional learning for young unmarried girls.

Morung is found not only within the domain of the Naga tribes and that it is found throughout north-east belt and even in many other parts of the world. V.K Anand observes that "dormitory system similar with that of Naga's Morung is found in Burma, Philippines, Borneo, New Guinea, Australia, Africa, Polynesia, among the Eskimos around Bering straits so on."<sup>22</sup> He further argued that some of the social customs and traits of the Nagas are quite similar and sometimes even just the same when compared with other corresponding cultures which are separated by thousands of miles and have had no inter-communication among them for many centuries. Verrier Elwin points out that such institution are widely distributed among

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<sup>19</sup> M. Horam, *Social and cultural life of Nagas*, B.R Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1977, p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> B.B Kumar, *An introduction to the Naga tribes*, Pragati Prakashan, Meerut, 1995, p.18.

<sup>21</sup> *Rüü kichüki is the dormitory for the young unmarried Angami girls. They were sent in the dormitory after they attained the age of puberty. For the Angamis, mostly, it is located in the house of widows.*

<sup>22</sup> V.K Anand, *Nagaland in transition*. Associated publishing house, New Delhi, 1967, p. 16.

communities of the Austro-Asiatic cultures.<sup>23</sup> In India, we find the institution of bachelors dormitory or men's house among a larger number of tribes such as *Gothul* of *Murias*, *Dhumkuria* of *Oraon*, *Nodrong* of *Dimasa Kachari*, *Mare* or *Terang* of *Mikir's* and *Moshup* of *Adivasi*.<sup>24</sup>

W.C Smith, a colonial Anthropologist to the Naga Hills too argued:

This institution-Morung (Kichüki) is found among the Kushei-Kuki clan; among the Rengma and Lotha Nagas although in these instances it is not a very imposing-looking building; among the Kaccha Nagas, where it is an important feature of the village; among the Aroong Nagas of Cachar; and among the Nagas of Manipur; among the Kukis; among the Chins; among the Abors; where this house was occupied by all the bachelors, both freeman and slaves; among the Garos; among the Singphos and Mishmis; among the wild tribes of the Chittagong hill tract; among the Lalungs, the separate sleeping houses for the unmarried youth and maidens are still present in the remote villages which have not been too much touched by the Hindus of the plains; Among the Eastern Nagas and among the Ao Nagas.<sup>25</sup>

Bendanglila, an Ao Naga researcher writes, "dormitories, that is, youth houses have been reported to be existent in pre-literate societies from all parts of the world."<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2 Structure of Morung: Kichüki

Morung is very important in relation to Naga tribal education. It is usually a large building and the most imposing structure in the Naga villages. In the case of the Aos, J.P Mills had described the structure of Morung, *Ariju* as follows, "near each gate, but inside the fence stands a morung- a really fine building, often over fifty feet long and twenty feet broad with a front gable thirty feet above the ground is rebuilt every six years, being repaired once in every interval."<sup>27</sup> Normally, women are forbidden to enter. For the Ao tribe, the *Ariju* was located at the village entrance or on a spot from where the village could be guarded most effectively. Takatemjen states that "their posts were curved and painted with the figure of men, tiger, hornbills, etc. Arranged around the walls were skulls of men and animals. Near the morung would be an open shed in which stood the log drum, formed of hollow trunk elaborately curved, generally to represent a buffalo's head painted in front and furnished with a straight

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<sup>23</sup> M. Horam, *Naga Polity*. B.R Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1975, p. 66.

<sup>24</sup> B.B.Kumar, *An introduction to the Naga tribes*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, W.C. (1980). *The Ao Naga tribe of Assam*. Delhi Gain Publishing. pp. 125-126.

<sup>26</sup> Bendanglila.(2005). *The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*. An unpublished M Phil dissertation, Zakir Hussian Centre for educational Studies (ZHCES). School of Social Sciences, JNU, p.23.

<sup>27</sup> Mills, J.P, *The Ao Nagas*. Macmillan Co.Ltd. London, 1926, p.73.

tail at the other end is used for raising alarm during emergency and also for ceremonial purposes (drum) during festivals.”<sup>28</sup> In the case of the Angamis, Hutton postulates that “a noticeable feature of Angami villages is- *Thehou or Thehouba*. *Thehouba* is built by stones and are arranged with tiers of seats one behind the other normally in circle shape. They vary in height from three or four feet to twenty feet or more which can be use as a meeting place for general purposes and ceremonial occasions of the village.”<sup>29</sup>

### **2.3 The importance of Morung: Variations in its usage**

Though each Naga tribe would have a specific term of its own that is, in regard to youth’s dormitory system, the most common generic term is “*Morung*.” The nature and reason for the use of Morung were manifold and varies from tribe to tribe but a morung has various functions that is absolutely necessary to the Nagas. This house of learning was the central part of socialization, education and formation of the Naga as Nagas. Most Naga tribes thus had separate or special term to be used as morung.

Chubatola Aier has observed that dormitory system was not uniform among the tribes in India and is more closely associated with the tribes of North-East.<sup>30</sup> Ahu Sakhrie writes, “there is a variation in the degree of value attached to and the organization of morung among the different Naga tribes. In the case of tribe like the Angamis, *Kichüki* does not play much important role except for social life, special religious festivals and other important political discussions. Hutton’s study of the Angami Nagas suggest that the Morung or Young Mens house which is called as *Kichüki*, which is such an important feature of most Naga tribes but was insignificant in the Angami villages.”<sup>31</sup> Further, he stated “in many of the Angami villages, there is not even a nominal *Kichüki* (Morung) and one finds a house definitely set apart for the young men. More often, one finds a house definitely set apart for them, but is in reality built and accompanied by a family in the ordinary way. Though it is recognised as being also the Morung house and is furnished with a large wooden

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<sup>28</sup> Takatemjen, *Study on Theology and Naga culture*.p.4.

<sup>29</sup> Hutton,J.H, *The Angami Nagas*. Macmillan and Co. London, 1921, p.47.

<sup>30</sup> Bendanglila, *The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*. An unpublished M Phil dissertation, Zakir Hussian Centre for educational Studies (ZHCES). School of Social Sciences, JNU, 2005, p.28.

<sup>31</sup> J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p.49.

sleeping platform in the outer compartment which is absent for the ordinary house, or in some cases with among the Angami Naga tribe, the Kichüki (Morung) is not habitually used by the young men, as it is in the Ao and trans-Dikhu tribes, but it is used in the occasions of ceremonies and gennas.<sup>32</sup>

Julian Jacobs "*The Nagas*" has shown the importance of Morung that varies from group to group. He stated that for some tribes such as the Angamis, the Morung is an unimpressive building and membership of it is of minor significance.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, P.T Philip holds the same opinion and writes: "a Morung is the largest house in the village and the Angamis use such houses on ceremonial occasions and observance on days of prohibitions."<sup>34</sup> M. Horam states that Morung might have fallen into dis-use among some Naga tribes at the time Hutton began to study the two tribes- the Angamis and Semas: but it has always been an institution of great importance.<sup>35</sup> However, Ahu Sakhrie states that more than being a defence technique, the *Thehou* which plays the role of Kichüki was the centre of the Angamis cultural and social life.<sup>36</sup>

The Aos set great value in her morung, *Ariju*. Writings of the Morung among the Aos, Haimendorf says, "one may agree or disagree with the principle of giving boys training in community spirit outside the individual family; but there can be no question that the Morung is one of the main pillars of the Aos social order".<sup>37</sup> J.P Mills in *The Ao Nagas* describes the Morung as both a guard house and club house that played the most important part in the social life of the village. Takatemjen, a noted academician observes that in the olden days the villagers (Ao) were always in fear of a war and it is necessary to have a disciplined band of young warriors ready in case of emergency.<sup>38</sup> Given the war prone atmosphere, Morung served as 'guard house where young men stay together ready for eventuality'.<sup>39</sup> This is most evident in the Ao areas where the Morung is situated at the gates and strategic sites of the

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<sup>32</sup> J.H Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*. 1921, p. 49.

<sup>33</sup> Julian Jacob, *Hill peoples of North East India. The Nagas*. p.28.

<sup>34</sup> P.T. Philip, *The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*. Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, 1976, p.31.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in Bendanglila, "*The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*". p.28.

<sup>36</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. An unpublished M.Phil dissertation. Centre for the study of Social systems. School of social sciences, 1982, p.48

<sup>37</sup> Christopher Fürer- Haimendorf, *The naked Nagas*, Thacker Spink & Co. Calcutta, 1962, pp.50-52.

<sup>38</sup> Takatemjen, *Study on theology and Naga culture*, p.3-4.

<sup>39</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. p.48.

village. The Arijū thus serves as a guard house to warn the villagers in times of war. It is a respiratory for the implements and trophies of war and the spoils of the chase. During festivities and other social occasions, the boys of the Arijū serve the public. Thus to them, one of the primary reason was protective and disciplinary. The other important purpose for the establishment of *Arijū* for the Aos was the training of the young people in all spheres of life.

In the case of the Konyaks, its Morung called *Paan*- a social institution established in sector wise even in a village plays a pivotal role in the social set up. Traditionally, in the case of the Konyaks, Paan constitute a single clan and even with the collective members of the community. Interestingly, A Yanang Konyak argues that Paan is the institution where the Konyaks received traditional education. For him, two things can be called as Paan- the visible house or dormitory, and its members.<sup>40</sup> B.R Choudhury also described that an important institution among the Konyaks is the men's club-Paan. This institution is not only for young boys, but for men, warriors and all. The Paan can belong to a clan in the village. The warriors of a Paan can go on a warpath. It can also have its dependent and allied villages.<sup>41</sup> A. Peihwang Wangsa also states that Paan is considered as a branch office or a divisional office of the village administration. Certain rules and regulations related to the welfare of the people are controlled or looked over by the Paan authority- *Ahng* or head in every Paan appointed by the chief Ahng and his councils.<sup>42</sup>

Some morungs like those of the Angami's Kichūki, Longshim among the Tangkhuls and Apuki among the Semas are housed in a person house mostly or house in dwellings built and occupied by families unlike Morungs of some other tribes like the Aos (Arijū) and Konyaks (Paan) that are housed in different buildings. Ahu Sakhrie argued that the Semas have no separate house set apart or built to be used as morung but they use the chief house which usually was spacious enough to serve the

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<sup>40</sup> A Yanang Konyak, *From darkness to Light, A story of Baptist works among the Konyak Nagas*, Christian Literature Centre (CLC), Guwahati, 1986, p. 11.

<sup>41</sup> Choudhary, B.R, '*The Konyaks: An anthropo-social study*' in Sebastian Karotempel, ed. *The tribes of North East India*. Shillong. (hereafter Choudhary, *The Konyaks*), 1984, p.161.

<sup>42</sup> A. Peihwang Wasngsa article "*A brief account on the traditional Konyak Naga society*" in Konyak Union Silver Jubilee souvenir, 2005, p.67.

purpose.<sup>43</sup> P.T Philip in a similar tone too stated that for the Semas, the village chief house serves both as a morung, Apuki and even as a place for ceremonies.<sup>44</sup>

Thus, the role of the morung in Naga society is likely to be misunderstood until ardent Naga researchers like Ahu Sakhrie, Kevi Liegise, Keviyiekielie Linyü, Buno Zetsuvi, Leno Peseyie Maase, Chubatola Aier, Takatemjen, M.Horam, Tuisem A. Shishak etc. pointed out its different possible roles.

### **Some of the Naga tribes and the functions of their Morung**

<u><b>Name of the tribe</b></u>	<u><b>Functions of Morung</b></u>
1. Angami ( <i>Kichüki</i> )  (Kenyü).	Not habitually used, used occasionally during the Ceremonies and gennas
2. Ao ( <i>Ariju</i> )	Affects all domain of existence and also set great value in the society.
3. Konyaks ( <i>Paan</i> )	Here, powers and decisions are taken by the youth.
4. Lothas ( <i>Champo</i> )	Essential institution which affects all life.
5. Rengmas ( <i>Rensi</i> )	Essential institution which affect all life.
6. Sema ( <i>Apuki</i> )	For special religious festivals.

Though anthropologists like J.H Hutton, J.P Mills, W.C Smith identified morung as a permanent institution that differs in their functions and roles yet persons like Buno

<sup>43</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. 1982, p.51.

<sup>44</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*, 1986, p.31.

Zetsuvi, R.P Shukla, Ahu Sakhrie, Tuisem A Shishak etc. identified that the institution of Morung was common to all the Nagas.<sup>45</sup> Though the system of morung differs from tribe to tribe, yet, their main general objective was education in all forms.

#### **2.4 Political activities under Kichüki**

The day an Angami boy entered *Kichüki*, he becomes a member of his community with equal rights to participate in the affairs of his village. Thus, his civic set-up gave him a sense of belonging to his community.

Naga society presents varied patterns of near-dictatorship and extreme democracy. In Naga society, the village, not the tribe was the sole political unit.<sup>46</sup> According to Wati Longchar, “The village organisation, for all purpose is formed on the basis of clanship. The village council is the high authority. The pattern of administration, civil, criminal and political matters of the village was settled in the village court. Indeed, the Naga tribes do not have sophisticated government machinery; a democratic way of life is the essence of people’s living. Thus, high-handedness, chauvinism, corruption, bribery, autocracy and inequality were condemned in all political machinery.”<sup>47</sup> Among some Naga tribes like the Semas and Changs, there is a system of hereditary chieftainship. The Konyaks have very powerful Chief-Ahng, who is regarded as sacred and whose words are law. The Aos have bodies of elders who represent the main family groups in the village and tribes like the Angamis, Lothas, Rengmas, their system of governing and rules in the Morung are highly democratic.

The way the Angami Nagas governed themselves was unique. This sense of justice and equality was of a high order.<sup>48</sup> J.H Hutton remarks that it is difficult to comprehend how, in view of Angamis peculiar independence of character, their villages held together at all before the coming of British government.<sup>49</sup> From the very beginning, the Angami tribe was seen as loving a self governing life. Before the

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<sup>45</sup> R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*. Manas Publications, 2006, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Tuisem Shishak, *Nagas at work*, Naga Students Union Delhi Publication, 1996, p.24.

<sup>47</sup> A. Wati Longchar, *Interaction between Gospel and Culture among the Nagas (ed.)*, Jorhat: Tribal study Centre, ETC, 1999., p. 53.

<sup>48</sup> Zapusie Lhousa, *Traditional history of the Nagas*, (private circulation), 2011, p.2.

<sup>49</sup> Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1961, pp.6-7.



advent of colonial rulers, there was no formal village administration by village council. Unlike the other Naga tribes, there was no village chief. Justice of every individual was a vital part of their social equality, which has been passed down from past generations.<sup>50</sup> Every man was his own master and they would commit themselves to mutual decisions if it would be good for the whole community. Any important village decision was arrived at not by means of voting, but through deliberation among elders, leaders and warriors who did their best to resolve issues with fairness, truthfulness and justice for the welfare of the village. The village council was the highest law making body of the village whose activities were concentrated round the Thehou (Kichüki). Regarding governance, although peoples were governed by gerontocracy, in such a system any decision is reached through consensus when a group of village elders sits together. The people sought compromise for any important matters to be discussed and decided. The fact is that in every Angami village, Thehou is being led by *Peyu/Peyumia*<sup>51</sup> who have a high respect with their moral character and thought to be teachers. For the Angamis, all the cases whether civil or criminals were settled by this village council, comprise of village elders headed by the Peyumia. To quote Moffat Mills:

Every Angami villages has a polity of its own; their government is decidedly democratically although each village community has a nominal head or chief; it is evident their chiefs have no absolute power over the people. They do not collect any revenue; neither can they issue any orders with any chance of being obeyed if the measure or act is not popular....as the village assemble together in Thehou and decide on what is to be done.<sup>52</sup>

He further goes on to say that, "Theoretically, with the Angamis, every man is his own master and avenges his own quarrels."<sup>53</sup> John Butler, a political administrator too gave a very clear insight about Angami democracy and wrote:

The Angamis have no regular settled form of government. With them, might is right and this is the only form of law- or the absence of all law- heretofore recognized among them. Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of purest democracy which is difficult indeed to conceive as existing even for a single day and yet that it does exist here

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<sup>50</sup> Dierhekolie Iralu, "*A historical study of the growth of Baptist churches among the Angami Nagas with special reference to its impact on their culture*", p.11.

<sup>51</sup> For the Angamis, Peyumia refers to the quality of a person rather than position and status. Perhaps a person who speaks the truth in settling cases, who knows the history of the, village, peoples, leadership qualities and who has diplomatic and oratorical skills were called or regarded as Peyu or Peyumia.

<sup>52</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*. Oxford University Press, 1969, p.285.

<sup>53</sup> See *Ibid*, p.526.

is an undeniable fact. In every village, we find a number of headman or chiefs termed “Pehūmia” who generally manage to arbitrate litigants.<sup>54</sup>

V.K Nuh’s, “*My native country; the land of the Nagas*” also writes:

The Angami peoples are of good administration and we live under a system of pure democracy. We are capable of managing our country without having anyone to worry or fear. We have chiefs in many places, but no chiefs can do things against the will of the people. There are no federal chief but only head of the people. All the villages are under the Panchayat system of its own and they are quite independent having nothing to worry for interference in all the internal matters.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, the Angamis without having an institutionalized form of government with even titular head govern themselves.

Any practice or act considered as *Kenyū*<sup>56</sup> (taboo/forbidden/prohibition) was a life and death matter. Since anything considered as bad or evil was acknowledged, condemned and feared by all, smooth administration was possible and peaceful co-existence prevailed among the peoples. Some *taboos* that were usually discussed in the institution of Thehou-which guided the lives of the people’s are:

- i. It is forbidden to eat before elders.
- ii. It is forbidden to eat the meat of animals which died an un-natural death.
- iii. It is taboo to use animals with deformed or missing parts in sacrifices.
- iv. It is forbidden to kill a sleeping animal.
- v. It is forbidden to attack or kill an enemy even during war that enters your house seeking protection.
- vi. It is forbidden to attack or kill one’s enemy furtively or without prior warning.
- vii. It is a taboo to raise hands on the parents.
- viii. For an Angami, it is forbidden to revenge accidental killing.

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<sup>54</sup>Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, p. 525.

<sup>55</sup>V.K Nuh, *My native country; the land of the Nagas*, Kohima, 2002.

<sup>56</sup>Here, the term *Kenyū* is to do with prohibition or forbidden.

ix. When a man die, it is a taboo for the Pfutsanuo (literally childrens of one grandfather) to go to field for five days.<sup>57</sup>

Besides these, more regulations/taboo discussed under the political arena in the Thehou are:

- i. Anyone convicted of theft is fined seven times the value of the thing stolen.
- ii. Accidental killing is punished with seven years banishment from his/her village.
- iii. As per the Angami customary law, adultery, rape or sexual assault is punishable with any befitting action. Also, theft and false allegation of theft are treated as equal offences.
- iv. For the Angamis, every village –big or small is governed by its own distinctive customary laws and as such, a village cannot impose its own laws on the other villages.<sup>58</sup>

## **2.5 Social life and social institutions**

The Angamis like the other Naga tribes maintain their own social institutional system, settling their disputes justly and are self governed. Everybody who entered Kichüki or started taking part in its activities thus becoming a responsible member in the society and will have a sense of duty towards his society. In those days, the Nagas' social unit is not the tribe, but the village. Each village is inhabited by two or more clans, usually occupying its own areas.<sup>59</sup> There were many important works which called for community labour and cleaning of the village like wells, village roads etc. and that the works were allotted according to clans, age-groups. By performing the duties assigned to them both for the village and the seniors in the Thehou and within the social structure society, the young boys develop a sense of discipline and duty towards his fellowmen, his seniors and his community as a whole.

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<sup>57</sup> *Khwünomia Nanyü Dze*, Centenary Mission Society, Excellent Offset Press, Kohima, 2007., pp.1-2.

See also Zapuvisie Lhousa, "*Traditional history of the Nagas*," a private circulation, pp.2-3.

<sup>58</sup> *Khwünomia Nanyü Dze*, 2007, p.2.

<sup>59</sup> Tuisem A Shishak, *Nagas at work*, 1996, p.23.

## 2.6 Thehou

One of the most important features of social structure among the Angamis is *Thehou*<sup>60</sup> or *Thehouba*- a different term for *kichüki* (morung) or a village Community House in Tenyidie though both are usually situated under the same roof or very close by. It is an open space located in front of the elder. Unlike the girls, the role of Thehou is an important educational institution especially for the Angami boys and that the activities of boys are well defined here. Thehou is a social institution generally associated with a bon-fire for warmth, and organized along the lines of localized clans. It nevertheless serves the purpose of what a morung does in other Naga tribes. Milada Ganguli on her visit to an Angami Village- *Khonoma* viewed and stated that “the Khwehu (Thehou) is used as a meeting place by the men of the village for discussions of communal affairs.”<sup>61</sup> The sitting place in front of the *Kemevo*'s house is called *Tehouba* and is used as singing and dancing place during festivals by the Angamis. Leno Peseyie states that “*Kichüki* was used under the umbrella of *Thehouba* where it is a conglomeration of all male members of different age groups, including elderly peoples.”<sup>62</sup> Since there was no script, their customs, traditions and cultures were transmitted from generation to generations through the media of folksong and dance, music, folktales and oral historical traditions, wood carving, designs which were all used and discussed in the Thehou. Thehou thus existed as the centre of social, religious and cultural life for the Angamis. All social functions in the village were carried out through the efforts of the members in the Thehou.

Zapuvisie Lhousa, an Angami Naga emphasized on three main important social institutions of the Angami Nagas- *Thehou* (community open hall), *Rüü Kichüki* (girls dormitory) and *Thesü* (Age-group) where young boys and girls were moulded through traditional way for an able socialization. In regard to Thehou, he points out that, “It is a gathering place for the clan as well as for boys’ dormitory where boys after attaining seven or eight years of age go and participate in the affairs of the village and sleep. For the Angamis, Thehou is more than a dormitory. It is an informal school for the Angamis where sitting around a big fire in an outer space and talks on various topics

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<sup>60</sup> Each Naga tribe has its own name for *Kichüki* (Morung). The Aos call it *Ariju*, the Sema call it *Apuki*, *Konyaks*, *Paan* etc. In the case of the Angamis, *Thehouba* or *Thehou* plays the role of morung like the other naga tribes and *Kichüki* falls under the umbrella of *Thehou*.

<sup>61</sup> Milada Ganguli, *A pilgrimage to the Nagas*. Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, 1984, p.35.

<sup>62</sup> V. Leno Peseyie Maase, *From head hunter to soul winner*. Kandid Litho Co. Covina, CA. United States of America, 2005, p.16.

such as customs, traditions, religion, history etc. were discussed and debated. Thehou is located in an open space. There is no restriction to become a member and that young boys take parts in different activities of Thehou effectively.”<sup>63</sup> In the Thehou, importance is given to the elderly persons to share their views. On the other hand, the youngsters listen, ask questions and learn. It is also a place of social gathering where young and old mix freely and share the same jokes, partake in the same conversation and listen to the same stories and news. Moreover, it is a council where options on various matters relating to the interest of individuals, clans and village are voiced, discussed and decides. Early and constant exposure of the young to ideas, discussions and situation helps them to mature early mentally and socially.

According to the Angami traditional society, Thehou/Thehouba was thus the only formal institution outside the home where the youth learned everything informally as they grew up. The old peoples tell the young members about the great deeds and stories of the past in the Thehou and each generation was taught to carry out the old traditions for the future. Ahu Sakhrie postulates that it was in the Thehou that the youths get trained for the future independent life and were imparted life lessons on community living.<sup>64</sup> Interestingly, Rev. Keviyiekielie, another Angami theologian and academician further states that the Angami men usually gather at the Thehouba- an open space or an elevated place in front of 4-5 houses where the meeting itself is called Thehou. Here all the village affairs are discussed. Every mother will urge her sons to go to Thehou so that he/they will be knowledgeable. It was in the Thehou that some kind of leadership training takes place and that young peoples learn their histories, diplomatic skills and oratorical skills from Thehou.<sup>65</sup> The men folks usually used their chief's house as Thehouba. Generally speaking, Thehouba is of great interest from the point of view of technique of symbolism and of variations upon adopted themes.

## 2.7 Membership

The membership of Morung in most of the Naga tribes is an elaborate affair. Some tribe even have age prescriptions and specified course in various age groups of the

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<sup>63</sup>Zapuvisie Lhousa, *Traditional history of the Nagas*, p.4.

<sup>64</sup>Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*, 1982, p.48.

<sup>65</sup> Keviyiekielie Linyü, *Christian movement in Nagaland*, p. 28.

Morung. Upon reaching the age of puberty, both boys and girls were admitted to their respective dormitory and members have to take part in numerous activities. In regard to this, Bendanglila writes, “every boy accompanied by his father used to go to Morung where the father offered prayer for prosperous and healthy living of his child”<sup>66</sup> The same case is not prevalent among the Angami tribes though their functions are almost the same. The Angami Thehou is located in an open space and that membership is voluntary for both young and old. M. Horam explains that the actual initiation is preceded by a period of probation which enables young members to get to know what is expected of them as members of the Thehou.<sup>67</sup>

## 2.8 Activities in the Thehou/Kichüki

The day a boy entered *Kichüki* or become a member in the *Thehou*, he begins to spend his nights in the company of other bachelors and participate freely in the village activities and programmes. There are several social activities, restrictions and practices that were imparted by the elders in the Thehou and Kichüki and that the young boys have to pass or go through it till they attain adulthood and be admitted to full membership in the village. Ahu Sakhrie states that the Kichüki (Morung) curriculums are mainly for the youth and it also involved the whole society.<sup>68</sup> Normal activities at the Thehou were seen to be less prevalent as they were spontaneous and members responded naturally.

Thehou thus serves both moral and practical objectives. The members learnt not only history, values and customs of the people but also learn to compete with each other in sports and in accomplishing the best forms of handicrafts such as basket making, carving, smithy works and so on. Viewing it generally, the most important curricular activities is where the men folks work out strategies and modalities for community activities such as raid on another village, festivals, religious functions.<sup>69</sup> Tuisem A Shishak informs that some very popular sports and games such as wrestling, tug of war, javelin throw etc. were performed daily informally and

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<sup>66</sup> Cited in Bendanglila's, *The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*, 2005, p.32.

<sup>67</sup> M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, B.R Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1975, p. 63.

<sup>68</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. 1982, p.52.

<sup>69</sup> Bendanglila, *The nineteenth century Christian Missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*, p.34.

competitively during village festivals.<sup>70</sup> Inshort, the young boys were exposed to history in Thehou under all these spheres.

### **2.8.1 Folktale and historical traditions**

The Roman script was introduced to the Angamis and the Nagas in general after they came in contact with the missionaries under the patronage of colonial administrators. Before that, there was no written document about the past and in the absence of any such written documents, folktales and oral historical traditions remain as the sole link between the past and the present. Abhraham Lotha states that around the fireside at home and Thehou as well, one often found the elderly peoples telling stories to a group of childrens. It appears that in the early days, story telling at the Thehou was more organised.<sup>71</sup> To the Angamis, folktales and oral historical traditions are more inclusive than folk music in their content, and thus cover more extensive areas. Thus, Folklore and oral historical traditions have been more or less the primary means of teaching village and tribal history and that one acquires the skills of learning folktales by the most assiduous cultivation of the memory.

### **2.8.2 Music and Dance**

Folk songs and dances were essential qualifications which an Angami boy or girl had to acquire and that these sort of things were taught mainly in the *Thehou*. All Angami folk songs talk about the historical background of the tribe, the community, the village, the clan and certain well known individuals. Tuisem A Shishak talks about the common characteristic of the Nagas about their love of music and dance. According to him, he postulates that Nagas literature, arts and music consist of folk tales, folk dance and folk music.<sup>72</sup> Every Naga is thus expected to participate in the celebration of life. Folk literature and songs were sung by all. For the Angamis, they have different songs in different tune or music for every occasion. They were marked by *Thupfheü*- shepherd's songs, *Tsanui*-music of the forest, *Nuozepfhe*- lullabies, *we-*

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<sup>70</sup> Shishak, Tuisem, *Nagas at work*, Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD).p28.

<sup>71</sup> Abraham Lotha, in "*Nagas today: An indigenous discourse*", Published by Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD), 2010, pp.216-217.

<sup>72</sup> Tuisem A. Shishak, "*Nagas and education*" in *Nagas at work*, Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD) publications, 1996, p.25.

*ü-o-a* two sided music for boys and girls to communicate through singing, *Thekrü-* lamentations, *Tshazepfhe-* music for cotton spinning and different songs for all different works.<sup>73</sup> In particular, one of the most important event where young Angami boys and girls were marked by dance, music and songs was during *Thekranyi* festival and Genna. This festival is marked by dancing and singing by young men, boys and girls of the different age groups who were unmarried or even married but who have no children. Here, they sing in groups and sometimes, one man leading and the group follows. There were also songs for solos, duets, trio, quartet.

### **2.8.3 Games and Sports**

The Angamis are great lovers of games and sports. Within the domain of Angami games, Wrestling (*Kene*) is termed as the most important sports event. The foundation of wrestling-the skills and tactics were taught from the Thehou by the elderly folk members. Besides wrestling, traditional Angami games and sports also consists of high jump, javelin throw, tug of war and many more. Most frequently, it is in front of the Thehou/Kichüki that the boys perform sports. There were sports competitions on major festivals between inter-clan, inter-morung or inter-age-group.

Family pride and personal arrogance had no place in the Thehou. Rich or poor everybody was equal in the membership of the Thehou/Kichüki. Not only discipline but it also provides physical training in games, sports and warfare and lessons in arts and handicraft from the weaving of basket to constructions of houses of various kinds. War dances were also taught here alongwith war tactics.<sup>74</sup> It is the place where the Angami youth gets trained for the future independent life and were also imparted with lessons of community living. The young boys were also acquainted with their history, culture, folklore, moral codes, customs and traditions, songs and dances of the village. They inculcate value of honesty, truthfulness, and are ready to bear the responsibilities of a matured man. They learn the art of using spears, machete and shields. In this way, a boy picks up his culture of machete from an early stage. It was in this Thehou/Kichüki that proper habits and manners were also taught where all-round development of a boy takes place which R.P Shukla and Buno Zetsuvi rightly

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<sup>73</sup> Keviyekielie Linyü, *Christian movements in Nagaland*.pp.24-25.

<sup>74</sup> R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*, B.R Publishing Corporation, Delhi,1996, p 24.



calls a practical school. In this regard, Prakash Singh said, “It was in these dormitories that the younger generation of the village was reared to manhood in the tradition of that particular tribe”<sup>75</sup> Obedience is strictly demanded in the Thehou and inside the Kichüki as well. The activities in Thehou/Kichüki were further described by V. Leno Peseyie, an Angami educationist and writer argued, “Singing and dancing were essential qualifications which the Angami boys and girls had to acquire and these were taught in the Thehou/Kichüki. Naga Folk songs talk about the historical background of the tribe, the community, the village, the clan and certain well known individuals. Dancing was a serious affair and it was always accompanied by singing and shouts of some kind (*mepfü*). It was performed during festivals and religious ceremonies.”<sup>76</sup>

In regard to responsibilities at, the senior members assume heavier responsibilities in connection with the administration and running of Thehou. Ursula Bowers gives a comprehensive view of a morung graduate when she wrote:

They are the tougher fibre and the rough corners have been rubbed off. They are more self reliant, with common sense and better discipline and above all, their loyalty and sense of service to a corporate body is well developed. They have not lost the individualism but they have a view of the world in relations to themselves, a group of mutual duties as well as rights and a way of giving a fair deal for a fair deal.<sup>77</sup>

All the boys thus after attaining the age of puberty were required and thus sent in the social affairs of the Thehou. A boy joins and partakes in the affairs of Thehou after he become fit for manual works. They were taught and disciplined by the elder members in Thehou. Once the boy entered Kichüki, which falls under the umbrella of Thehouba, it was required for him to speak like a man. He becomes a full-fledged member in the society. Inshort, their entire heritage was imparted orally and practically to the learners from Thehou. R.P Shukla and Buno Zetsuvi have rightly stated, “it is here- Thehou that the foundations of each generation are laid, moulded and built up. The growing youth is taught the meaning and significance of traditions, told of the valour and heroic deeds of the earlier generations and that it is in the glory of the past that the seeds of the future have sprouted.”<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Prakash Singh, *Nagaland*. National book trust, Delhi, 1977, p. 68.

<sup>76</sup> Leno Peseyie Maase, *From Headhunter to soul winner*, p.18.

<sup>77</sup> Ursula G Bowers, *The Naga Path*. Reader's Union, London, 1952, p.79.

<sup>78</sup> Cited in R.P Shukla & Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*.p.24.

## 2.9 Festivals

The activities in Thehouba amongst the Angamis also include festivities and leisurely discourses. For every major event in their lives, a festival was held. For example, *Sechüma* village- one of the oldest village among the whole Angami villages have about eight major festivals. They are:

### 2.9.1 Sekrenyi/Phousanyi (Male purification festival)

The first, foremost and the biggest Angami festival in a year is *Sekrenyi* also called as *Phousanyi* in other name is celebrated in the month of February (*Kezie*) and is celebrated to ensure good health to village community throughout the coming year. This festival is celebrated for ten days. A characteristic of this festival is the ritual of purification of males. Keviyekielie Linyü describes that this is the sanctification festival for the lives of the male members.<sup>79</sup> During the Phousanyi/Sekrenyi, groups of young people of the same age groups come together and have a song festival called *Thekrahe*. A house is renovated and than decorated with *daos*, *spears*, shields, guns and so on. Usually, a group of 50-60 young boys and girls, attired in the festival dresses sits and sing for normally three days. It is also during this festival that what is called *Rünakinyi*<sup>80</sup> is held. In this, all the male members of a village who can walk will be ceremoniously dressed and go to another neighbouring village for friendship feast. Old friendships are strengthened and new friendships are established between villages and individuals.

### 2.9.2 Ngonyi (Festival of sowing seeds)

Ngonyi is held in the month of April. Falls on the third day of the full moon of the month-ketshü (April) marks the completion of sowing seeds in the newly prepared jhum fields.<sup>81</sup> The duration of the festival varies according to villages. For example, the *Khonoma* village, celebrate this festival for about twelve to fourteen days but villages like Kohima village- *Kewhimia* and *Viswema*, the duration of this festival varies for only five days.

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<sup>79</sup> Keviyekielie Linyü, *Christian movements in Nagaland*, 1996, pp.17-18.

<sup>80</sup> Keviyekielie Linyü, *Christian movement in Nagaland*, p.18.

<sup>81</sup> J.H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p.198.

### **2.9.3 Thekranyi /Kerunyi (festival of transplantation)**

This festival of transplantation falls in the month of May or June. It marks the beginning of paddy transplantation and with the festival, the Angamis busiest season begins. In this festival, especially the members of the age groups are counted and accordingly, arrangements are made by dividing the age group into smaller numbers to work in different fields.<sup>82</sup>

### **2.9.4 Tsünyi/Chadanyi (millet festival or path cleaning genna)**

At the end of the rainy season, *Chadanyi* or Millet festival is generally celebrated in the last part of September which marks the completion of millet harvest. During this festival, men, women, boys and girls and even young children go out in groups to clear the village roads and paths leading to fields, which are overgrown by thick grass and undergrowth.<sup>83</sup> It continues for five to seven days.

### **2.9.5 Liekhwenyi (festival of watching field)**

This festival-*Liekhwenyi*-the genna “for scaring crow”<sup>84</sup> is usually celebrated for three days in the month of October.

### **2.9.6 Liede (festival marking the opening of harvest season)**

For Milada Ganguli, this festival-*Liede* marks the opening of paddy field harvests which begins and takes place in the month of November. This Liede festival lasts for two days.<sup>85</sup>

### **2.9.7 Tiekede (Festival marking the conclusion of harvest season)**

*Tiekede* festival is celebrated in the last part of November as a conclusion of the harvest season. The granaries are full and it is time to enjoy the fruits of one’s labour. This festival also marks the completion of yearly cycle.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*, pp.17-18.

<sup>83</sup> Milada Ganguli, *A pilgrimage to the Nagas*. Oxford and IBH Publishing, Delhi. p.45. Also refer J.H Hutton, “*The Angami Nagas*”, p.198. & R.P Shukla and Buno Zetsuvi, “*Education development in Nagaland*”, p.18.

<sup>84</sup> Malida Ganguli, *A pilgrimage to the Nagas*, op. cit. p. 45.

<sup>85</sup> Milada Ganguli, *A pilgrimage to the Nagas*, p.46.

<sup>86</sup> R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*, 1996, p.18.

### **2.9.8 Terhünyi (the harvest festival)**

This festival falls in the month of December. This is one of the biggest festivals like Sekrenyi or Phousanyi of the Angamis and the celebration last for about 10 days. The celebration is meant to show their expressions of joy and thanksgiving for the fruitful crop that they have harvested. During this festival, *Feast of merit* is given and religious rites are also observed.<sup>87</sup> The whole community come to feast on the wealth of the rich man house. But it is not simply feasting, but it is also a prayer in itself. This feast is also not simply feasting-it is based on an attitude as Verrier Elwin comments:

The feast of Merit which bestowed so much distinction on their donors showed that it was the distribution of wealth rather than its possession that was important. And this distribution included everyone, not merely one's own relations and rich friends, but the poorest and least important.<sup>88</sup>

Likewise, every Naga tribe has its own festivals which they celebrate with pageantry and feasting. Ever aspects of community life are guided by ceremonies. Though festivals are related to seasons on slogans of agricultural operation, they are woven with spiritual sentiments and the predominant theme of all the festivals is offering prayer to the supreme one whose name differs from tribe to tribe.

### **2.10 Dicipline**

Imparting values of practical education to the youth was undoubtedly a major achievement in Thehou and Kichüki. In every Naga tribal youth dormitory, there are set of laws and rules for the members as well as the outsiders to follow for the smooth running of the administration.<sup>89</sup> The members understandably come within the pale of the village authority and are liable to punish the person within and outside the village who goes beyond any traditional and customary laws.

### **2.11 Restrictions in the Kichüki/Thehou**

The above discussion has made it amply clear that Kichüki/ Morung enabled the members to bring about distinct changes in the society. It is also significant to mention here that the tribes did not exclude women though administrators like Mills have shown that the Morung fulfils a variety of functions.

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<sup>87</sup> Keviyekielie Linyü, *The Angami church since 1950*, Khedi Printing Press, Kohima, 1983, p.18.

<sup>88</sup> Verrier Elwin, *Nagaland*, Shillong, 1961, p.104.

<sup>89</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*, 1982, p.52.

Even though there is no class distinction in the Angami society yet, women do not enjoy the same status as that of men. It is a taboo for the women to enter into male dormitory. Ahu sakhrie states that Kichüki (Morung) is exclusively for men and that women are prohibited from entering a morung or its premises.<sup>90</sup> Such a taboo was strictly adhered to by most of the tribes. This is due to the existence of the made belief that by so doing ill-luck may (will) occur to the male, the whole community in times of war and hunting. M. Horam too points out that, morung is out of bounds of women. If a woman enters it she renders, according to belief and custom, the entire village unlucky.<sup>91</sup> Interestingly, R. P Shukla and Buno Zetsuvi further states that Kichüki is a sanctuary for the man and no girls were allowed to enter it.<sup>92</sup> However, Kevi Liegise in this regard says that Morung is a name given to the dormitory of young unmarried boys and to some tribes, dormitory for the girls too is prevalent where it served as a complete institution for their education.<sup>93</sup> Beating and fighting are not allowed within the domains of Kichüki and Thehou. Crimes were also not committed inside the Morung. Property can be left lying about in one with safety, for it is a taboo to steal in the Kichüki. Any stranger entering morung as a rule was treated with hospitality and could in no account be refused a night shelter.

### **2.12 Röö Kichüki: Girls Dormitory prior to learning**

A similar institution exists for the girls like the Morung given to the Male folks is the girl's dormitory. The Angami called it *Röö Kichüki*, the Aos called it *Tsuki* (züki), the Semas *Iliki*, *Thenomi Chiethichie* for the Chakhesangs and Rengmas as *Katsen*. Girl's dormitory/Kichüki was where the unmarried girls use to sleep during night. The girls sleep together according to their respective age groups in a huge room which is generally attached to a prominent person in the village. Here they stay till late at night and do various kinds of handworks. Zapuvisie in his '*Traditional history of the Nagas*' states:

Röö Kichüki is a dormitory for the girls, a counterpart of Thehou. When girls attained the age of seven or eight years, they are sent to sleep wit girls of the same age-group in the house of an elderly women, man or couple. Their evening was partly work and partly social. They spin, do needle works, wind yarn and so on. Their occasional social life

<sup>90</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*, 1982, p.50.

<sup>91</sup> M. Horam, *Naga polity*, p.65.

<sup>92</sup> R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi. *Education development in Nagaland*, 1996, p.25.

<sup>93</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*. p.53.

which consists mostly of conversation and singing is conducted in the presence of the house owner. Decency, courtesy and good manners are very much emphasized and young Angami girls learn them mostly from here.<sup>94</sup>

Buno Zetsuvi and R.P Shukla explained that in the Naga society in earlier days, the responsibilities of the entire household clothings rests upon the girls so they would bring their weaving materials, raw cotton, spinning wheels and threads and weave in the dormitory at night. Here, the elder ones teach the younger ones to learn in weaving, embroidering, designing works, handicrafts and spinning wheels. On the other hand, the elder members in the girls' dormitory too will improve upon their mate and try to excel one another in the art of weaving.<sup>95</sup> In regard to it, Takatemjen observes on the activities in the girls dormitory that the girls were trained to weave, brew and prepare rice beer and to do their household work of home. During the night, they stayed in their dormitory doing light works, such as separating seeds from cotton and spinning.<sup>96</sup> In the absence of the boys, they would discuss their own problems and share their experiences with each other. Their stay in the dormitory was a time of learning such acts as would make them worthy and useful housewives. The main function of Röö- Kichüki is thus moulding a girl's future, building up her character and facilitating selection of partner and finally shaping her to shoulder motherly responsibilities and become an effective citizen. Leno Peseyie cites a very clear statement saying:

The most important goal of this institution-Röö Kichüki or in other word girls dormitory was to mould and to built up their character as well as to help them in the selection of their partners. Röö Kichüki was the place to prepare them for their future responsibilities as a mother.<sup>97</sup>

The boys from the Kichüki visit the girls dormitory often and there, they sing folk songs together. As stated before, in the life of the young Angami boys and girls, men and women, every activity in their lives is marked and accompanied by folk songs that we find is in a way a kind of instructions and a kind of education.

Besides folk songs, story telling in the *Röö-Kichüki* too forms a very important part in their activity at night. R.P Shukla and Buno Zetsuvi argued that these folktales and oral historical traditions of the Morung and girls dormitories have been the best

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<sup>94</sup>Zapuvisie Lhousa, *Traditional history of the Nagas*, (private circulation), p.5.

<sup>95</sup>R.P Shukla, Buno Zetsuvi. *Education development in Nagaland*, p.26.

<sup>96</sup>Takatemjen, *Study on theology and Naga culture*, p. 10.

<sup>97</sup>V.Leno Peseyie Maase, *From head-hunting to soul winner*, p.18.

and the most effective means of transmitting events of the past to the present.<sup>98</sup> Thus, we find that education was very much part of their lives prior to the advent of the westerners. Generalizing it, Christopher Von Furer Haimendorf remarks on Naga women that:

Many women in more civilized parts of India may well envy the women of the Naga hills- their high status and their free and happy life; and if you measure the cultural level of a people by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as savages.<sup>99</sup>

### **2.13 *Thesü*, The Age-Group system**

Inter-related with Thehou is another important social institution, *Thesü* or the “Age-Group” system. For most of the Naga tribes, this age-group system act as the determinant factor for recruitment of membership into the village citizen through the socialization process of the Morung. Among the Aos, every male child born within the same age group of 3 to 7 years is eligible to enter the morung and replace and free the seniors of the tradition-bound responsibilities. And on the expiry of 3 years, they are again replaced by a new set of recruits. A boy remains in his original age group till he dies. Girls too have their age group but the system does not play a very important part in female life.

In the case of tribe like the Angamis, age group system is more of work and socializing orientation. Therefore, in this system-*thesü*, boys and girls together form groups not strictly on any criterion. However, general membership in the age group among the Angamis comes within 4 to 5 years. When a child is able to do serious works in the field or take in the social activities, the age group is marked and he is free to join his group. Here, the members of the age group-*thesü* works together especially from one field to another throughout work seasons. This system besides other functions serves important roles. (i) Boys and girls of the same age group come to socialize and thus matches for matrimony are easily arranged for marriage. (ii) The solidarity and integrity of the society is perpetuated in the close interaction of the groups. (iii) This age group system creates a progressive sense of competition amongst the various age groups in their contributions to the multi-dimensional

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid, pp.26-27.

<sup>99</sup> C. Von Furer Haimendorf, *The naked Nagas*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition, Thacker Spink & Co, 1933, p.101.

responsibilities of their communities. For the Angamis, to belong to a reputed age group is a great pride which every member strives to maintain whether in terms of service or in social control. (iv). Members of an age group displays solidarity and meet the tradition bounds obligation in times of a member's marriage, death or misfortune. (v). The system of working together leave no member to lethargy and irresponsibility.<sup>100</sup>

Zapuvisie also asserts that “on attaining roughly 12 to 15 years of age, the Angami boys and girls are put under the care of a responsible and matured man to form a ‘thesü’(age-group) and his house becomes the centre of their social activities. The group functions both as a social organization and a work force in agriculture or in development activities of the village. During major festivals such as “Thekranyi and Sekrenyi/Phousanyi, they put on colourful ceremonial dress and entertain the peoples through folksongs, folkdances and various kinds of ancestral games and sports.<sup>101</sup> Even during sowing and transplantation seasons, the age groups divide themselves into smaller groups and then works in the field. For the Angamis, this Thesü, age-group is a school for leadership training and that training is done by giving responsibility to youngsters under initial guidance where the age group organise themselves for various social activities and that they are trained, developed and moulded from their early age.

The benefits of Thesü can thus be viewed under the given points, First, it accelerates social maturity and sophistication. Second, it helps in learning man-management, especially tact and diplomacy. Third, it helps in learning to speak in public and to articulate ones views and opinions with eloquent, power and ease. Fourth, it helps in developing thinking capacity by learning how to reason and think, analyse and access, argue and persuade, discuss and decide, imagine and visualize. Fifth, it helps in building character by learning how to accept responsibility. Sixth, it helps in developing public spirit to work for the common good.

Apart from the above mentioned roles and functions, ‘Thesü’ also promotes good morality as both sexes during their most formative years learn to mix freely to work in the field or sing and dance for public entertainment during festivals with

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<sup>100</sup> Ahu Sakhrie, *Naga movement: A study in the sociology of social movement*, 1982, p.54.

<sup>101</sup> Zapuvisie Lhousa, *Traditional history of the Nagas*, p.5.



perfect naturalness, freedom and decency. Regarding the discipline freedom, Stracey remarks:

There is complete freedom for women and equality among the sexes and a refreshing absence of false prudery; at the same time there is no semblance of anything resembling light behaviour in public. The two sexes move, talk and laugh freely in a wonderful camaraderie. Women are perfectly safe to move about, no matter how lonely the road and how isolated the field, without the slightest fear of being molested. In this that is, age group systems, the Nagas have some of the highest standards of morality in the world.<sup>102</sup>

The same standard prevails even today.

## 2.14 Changes under missionary influence

In the present age, Kichüki/Thehu or Morung system does not hold the same position for the Angamis and the Nagas in general. One important reason is the influence of Christianity which has brought about a new concept of belief from that of their traditional belief. Christopher Von Furer Haimendorf, an anthropologist to the Nagas who by seeing the depressing sight of Kichüki/Thehou among the Angamis or Morung in general usage commented as follows:

The missionaries encouraged their converts to disregard tribal laws and customs even in spheres not directly connected with religion. The bachelor's hall is an institution much like the English Public School .....There can be no question that Kichüki or Thehouba-which plays the primal role of Morung is one of the main pillar among the Angamis social order.....Seeing his own customs condemned by the missionaries, he learned to despise his own tribal and cultural inheritance.<sup>103</sup>

Verrier Elwin in a similar way remarks that the activities of the Baptist mission among the Nagas have demoralized the people, destroying tribal solidarity and forbidden the joys and feasting, the decoration and romance of communal life.<sup>104</sup> As has been discussed above, Kichüki was a social institution and centre of all the Angami Naga social life. With the coming of American Baptist Missionaries in the region, they forbade Baptist boys to use the Kichüki on the ground that they are heathen institutions<sup>105</sup> and who had the deep insight understands the dynamic force of Kichüki and Thehouba especially for socializing activities before time immemorial. P.T Philip argues that the native missionaries have made their

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<sup>102</sup> P.D Stracey, *Nagaland Nightmare*, 1968, p. 73.

<sup>103</sup> C. Von Furer Haimendorf, *The Naked Nagas*, pp.53-55.

<sup>104</sup> Chandrika Singh, *The Naga society*, Manas Publications, New-Delhi, 2008, p.114.

<sup>105</sup> V. Leno Peseyie Masse, *From Head hunter to soul winner*, 2005, p.19.

churches indigenous, self-governing and self-propagating. The Churches established by them need not look into foreign countries for man and money.<sup>106</sup> The above statement is an example illustrating that Naga's preacher knew the value of his own culture and made use of the Kichüki /Thehouba as a very good place for preaching the traditional moral and values. However, seeing their own customs condemned by the western missionaries, they, the Nagas learned to despise their own cultural inheritance.

Taking the case of Ao Naga tribe, Panger Imchen in *Ancient Ao Naga Religion and Culture* argued, "Missionaries did so many good things for the Aos. But they did some bad things also. They created a destruction in the social and cultural life of the Aos...They failed to differentiate the socio-cultural aspect and religious aspect of the life and culture of the Aos. Along with the worship of Satan, they buried our culture....."<sup>107</sup> Takatemjen, another noted Naga writer states that with the abandonment of the Morung and nothing to offer in its place, the Nagas have lost the most valued disciplinary agency which was responsible for giving education in the Naga community. All activities relating to the morung came to a halt and Nagas culture began to dis-integrate.<sup>108</sup> Mills, an anthropologist and Deputy Commissioner the Naga-Hills who by seeing the depressing sight of Morung-Ariju in an Ao village commented as follows:

The missionaries encouraged their converts to disregard tribal laws and customs even in spheres not directly connected with religion. The bachelor's hall is an institution much like the English public School.....there can be no question that morung (Kichüki/Thehou) is one of the main pillars of the Nagas social order.....Seeing his own customs condemned by the missionaries, he learnt to despise his own tribal and cultural inheritance<sup>109</sup>

Also, Buno Zetsuvi and R.P Shukla argued that, "it was inevitable that the Kichüki should incur the condemnation of the Baptist mission which put a band on it as heathen institution without trying to understand its social implications."<sup>110</sup> The article contributed by Kekhrie Yhome and Inotoli Zhimomi too gives an insightful attention stating, "Christianity is partly responsible for this loss."<sup>111</sup> This fact is of special significance in view of the contacts of the Nagas with Christianity. Bendanglila in a similar voice writes, "after the advent of Christianity, the importance

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<sup>106</sup> P.T Philip. *The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*, 1976, p.139.

<sup>107</sup> Panger Imchen, *Ancient Ao Naga Religion and Culture*. New Delhi: Har-Anand, 1993, p.162.

<sup>108</sup> Takatemjen, *Studies on Theology and Naga culture*, p.12.

<sup>109</sup> J.P Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, 1926, p.43.

<sup>110</sup> R.P Shukla & Buno Zetsuvi, *Education development in Nagaland*, 2006, p.27.

<sup>111</sup> Kekhrie Yhome & Inotoli Zhimomi, *Indigenous education and the formation of Naga identity*, p.19.

of this institution-Kichüki/Thehouba (Morung) was considerably reduced.”<sup>112</sup> Leno Peseyie too reflects that with the arrival of Christian missionaries, Thehouba/Kichüki, one of the main pillars of the Angamis social order and the most significant place of leadership development was mis-understood and thus rejected by the foreign missionaries.<sup>113</sup> With the opening of mission schools, Christian boys refused to sleep in the Kichüki in order to study at home. Thus, an increase in the school enrolment was followed by a decrease in the Kichüki membership on the one. Social activities and moral values and ways of education at Thehouba during pre-colonial period too had degraded to a great extent. Soon, Kichüki and the activities at Thehouba became dying institutions and its might and glory were of less importance as compared with traditional or so to say, Pre-Colonial times.

The spread of Christianity and the imposition of new civilization process brought by the American Christian missionaries badly affected ancient social, religious and cultural values of the Angamis. For an understanding of the missionary attitude towards the Angami Nagas and their transformation, the subsequent chapter seeks to explore on the Missionary attitude which had created a base for the expansion of their network in the Angami region, followed by the growth of modern education in the Angami society.

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<sup>112</sup> Bendanglila's "*The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga hills*", p.36. See also J.P Mills, *The Rengma Nagas*, p.49.

<sup>113</sup> V. Leno Peseyie Maase, *From head hunter to soul winner*, 2005. p.19.

## CHAPTER III

### CHRISTIANIZATION AND THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGAS

*“How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news”<sup>1</sup>*

The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) was established in the year 1814. Before the arrival of American missionaries, the Colonial administrators started intervening in the affairs of tribes in India however, they were unable to deal with the tensions associated with the hill tribes, invited the American Baptist missionaries hoping that Christianization alongwith humanitarian services would bring a peaceful solution to the problem. With this hope, the American Baptist Missionaries came to Naga Hills and thereafter, to the Angami region. The Angamis were portrayed by the missionaries as head-hunters, barbaric, naked, un-civilized, pagan, so, one of their main aim was to civilize the Angami natives by spreading Christianity and installing them with modern educational thoughts and value

For an understanding of missionary attitude on the Angami Nagas, the basic objective of missionary movement was, first of all, to secure converts through evangelization, education, literature and medical works- and then mould those converts through training into a team of medical cadre groups who would actually carry out the evangelizing and other related activities. The advent of Christianity thus affected not only the people’s perception of the world, but also brought about changes in all aspects of their life. According to Khrieleno Terhüja, an Angami noted theologian, “If one responsible dynamic factor were to be singled out for an overall change in the life of the Angamis, it would undoubtedly be the introduction of Christianity alongwith modern education”<sup>2</sup> Christianity thus brought a new worldview, western culture, politics, science and technology, schools, and literatures to the Angami-Nagas society.

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<sup>1</sup>V.Leno Peseyie-Maase, *From Head-Hunting to soul winner*, United States of America, Kandid Litho,Co,Covana,p.32.

<sup>2</sup>KhrielenoTerhüja, *“The Christian Church among Angami Nagas” in Tribal situation in India, Vol.13*, edited by K.S Singh, Simla, 1972, p. 294.

The attitude of Angamis towards the missionaries was very hostile from the beginning. Those who consciously or unconsciously got converted to Christianity were persecuted or excommunicated by their Angami brethren from their clan or village.<sup>3</sup> In this connection, it would be worthwhile to examine the underlying agenda and attitudes of the American Christian Missionaries towards the Angami Nagas among whom they worked before enquiring into the method they used to convert this native tribal into Christianity and setting on the task of civilizing them. Question of importance that needs to ponder are: How did the missionaries' view the Angamis in projecting the notion of civilizing mission? How the early missionaries view the Angamis when they encountered them at first sight? What are the strategies used under the process of evangelization policy? Did modern education imparted by the missionaries widen the mental horizon of the Angamis? What are the impacts of missionaries influence on Angami Naga society?

The study will be based on these questions. A careful study of the mechanisms, changes, and forces that were involved in these processes of transition shall figure in this chapter. The chapter thus seeks to respond to the question to what extent the missionary perceptions of Angami society created the base for installing a new system of education. The colonial and missionary narrative towards the Angamis under the notion of Christianizing and evangelizing strategy cannot be ignored as both went hand in hand in expanding their missions wherever they went.

### **3.1 Education and conversion**

Conversion has been the subject of considerable theorizing. It has ever been and still is defined in terms of ideological, philosophical or other pre-disposition. Some see conversion as a consequence of persuasion, as the cognitive act or commitments of a free will which usually calls for total transformation of one's world view, value system and behaviour. For others, conversion is understood to be a miraculous, supernatural event experienced by a single individual person or group of persons totally transforming the personality of a person(s) concerned and thereby producing a different understanding of ultimate reality, along producing a different understanding

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<sup>3</sup>This persecution of the Christian converts by their Angami clansman continued even until 1950's.

of ultimate reality alongwith new beliefs, new doctrines, new principles and behaviours and new norms and conducts. To quote Robert Eric Frykenburg, “conversion is a change from one view or way of life to another; from a set of beliefs or opinion to another.”<sup>4</sup>

From the Christian point of view, Lal Dena states that conversion is of three kinds: Religious, Psychological and Spiritual. Religious conversion is a process by which one migrates from one religion to another with new religious community. Psychological conversion is a deep appreciation of the doctrines or teachings of a particular region by rejecting the other. What was most striking here was the spiritual conversion in which one underwent a mental anguish resulting from conviction of sin and then came upon Christ as his saviour and master. The missionaries view about the process of conversion ultimately amounted to the whole theory of social change. Their view about the tribal’s mentality, customs and the structure of the tribal society led them along certain lines of understanding.<sup>5</sup>

The process of conversion should also be seen in terms of the technique the missionaries had evolved. Among a number of western techniques, the two levels of techniques that were effectively used by the missionaries during the mission period were; the spoken word which was used in personal conversation and public preaching. This was a two way process, involving the missionary to study the native language and urging the native peoples to study the language of the missionaries. The other was the written word. The early missionaries who came in contact with the Angamis during the time reduced the language they study to writing which infact carried revolutions in communications. This immediately served the needs of the new education which the missionaries introduced and also enriched the literature of the people. The medical works again supplemented these two levels. Thus, the material comforts and advancement, which the new religion had brought with it, was really crucial in the minds of these native peoples.

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<sup>4</sup> R.E Frykenburg, “on the study of conversion movements.” A review article, Indian Economic and social history review, Volume 17, 1980, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup>Lal Dena, *Christian Missions and colonialism, A study of missionary movement in North-East India with special reference to Manipur and Lushai Hills 1894-1947*, Vendrame institute, Shillong, 1988, p. 86.

From the initial days of mission, education and evangelization had always been the two primary objectives of the American Missionaries meant for the tribal's. The need for educating the natives in reading and writing became a sole necessity in order to open up the Bible and vast Christian literature through Mission Schools to enable them to understand and accept Christianity since literacy in any form was largely absent among the Naga tribes. Also, the American missionaries felt that the British government had failed in fulfilling its necessary obligations of providing primary education and that the mission thought it to be a necessary and legitimate part of their missionary works to provide educational facilities. In 1885, Rev S.W Rivenburg, who was helping Rev.E.W Clark, the pioneer missionaries the Ao Mission Field at Impur remarked:

I have no hope for this mission unless the native learn to do the work. A foreign may instruct and guide but never lead as would a member of the company.<sup>6</sup>

The 1899 conference of The American Baptist Missionary Union however comments on the subject of education in a different way that nearly all the Baptisms have come out of the schools and the school works and there hardly seemed to be any village where there was Christian without schools.<sup>7</sup> A later report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) 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.<sup>8</sup> This belief seemed to have formed an elementary principle of the mission's policy and in 1916, the Annual report of 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 gathering.<sup>9</sup> Mission works were thus divided into various fields. Usually, each mission field was denoted to work for a particular tribe occupying a certain area such as the Angamis, with its centre at Kohima, The Ao field with its

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<sup>6</sup>Narola Rivenburg (ed.), *The star of the Naga Hills*, Letters from Sidney Rivenburg to his father and mother in America from Molung, Assam, June 25, 1885, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup>Karen Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, An unpublished M. Phil dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, Centre for Historical Studies (CHS), New-Delhi, 2003, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid*, p.35.

<sup>9</sup>122<sup>nd</sup> Annual Report of the ABFMS, Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 1916, p.42.

centre at Molung (later it was shifted to Impur) Lotha field with its centre at Wokha. In the Kohima field, Rivenburg resorted to the help of the native evangelists. A description of the application of this policy is best expressed in Narola's letter to her Aunt and Uncles in America where she in 1910 described her father's work as follows:

Among the school boys are representative of eight different tribes, each 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 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 young people, the one missionary may multiply his talents by a hundred-fold.<sup>10</sup>

The use of native evangelist not only helped the missionaries to overcome the barriers of the difficult tribal dialects but over the years as mission progressed; the missionary in many cases multiplied his abilities by taking the aid of the native evangelists to reach out to the Angami-Nagas and neighbouring tribes where Christianity was still unknown.

### **3.2 Agents of change**

The American missionaries' along with colonial administrators firstly introduced education among the Angami Nagas. The British administrators found that the Angami Nagas who were deeply religious in their animistic faith could become good Christians as much as they had been brave fighters, once they were converted. It was Captain Sir James Johnstone (later rose to Major General) who actively encouraged bringing missionaries to Angami country and that he said:

I pointed out that they were highly intelligent and capable of receiving civilization that with it, they would want a religion and that we might just well give them our own and make them in that way a source of strength by thus mutually attaching them to us. A fine interesting race like the Angamis, might as a Christian tribe occupy most useful position in our eastern frontier and I feel strongly that we are not justified in allowing them to be corrupted.....the Angamis would have made a fine manly set of Christians of a type superior to most Indians native converts.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, Narola's letter to aunt and uncle in America from December 1910, pp. 114-115.

<sup>11</sup>*Great is thy faithfulness*, Kohima Field Baptist Centenary (KFBC) souvenir 1885-1985, 1985, p.4



One of his main strategy was to introduce Christianity alongwith opening Christian School. It was not only by force that the British administrators succeeded in subduing the Angami Nagas, but their powers of persuasion, their sense of duty, religion and other welfare activities made their task easier.

The first Europeans to enter the Naga Hills-Captain Francis Jenkins and Captain Pemberton, who marched through the Angami territory in 1832 with the primary aim to connect a safe passage road between Assam and Manipur 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 person's skilled in the languages of these tribes and devoting all their times and attention to humanise these rude races will not fail to bring useful to us and them.<sup>12</sup>

This reveals that the early Colonial relationship with the tribes was one of conflict. Fredrick S Downs in regard to this remarked that the detailed knowledge of Naga society was obtained through the observations of the Europeans and Christian Missionaries. He stated that the links between the Christian missionaries and the government cannot be overlooked as their projects were mutually supportive.<sup>13</sup> Piketo Sema, argues that from the early observation of Naga society, the British had realised the importance of propagating Christianity amongst the Naga tribes whom they portrayed as backward and uncivilized.<sup>14</sup> Home Raikhan has put, "the dichotomy that manifested itself in the nineteenth century colonial encounters between the West represented by the British Colonial administration and the American Baptist Mission (ABM) and the Nagas was that of "civilized" west and "primitive Nagas."<sup>15</sup> Evidence of colonial motives in their expansion policy is marked through the declaration made in 1882 by C.A Elliot, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, exhibiting the willingness to assist the missionary endeavour in the establishment of schools at Kohima with government's grant-in-Aid.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Alemchiba a noted Naga writer pointed out that Captain Jenkins had held that the missionaries could assist in

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<sup>12</sup>M.Alemchiba, *A brief historical account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of culture, Kohima, Nagaland, 1970, p. 154.

<sup>13</sup>F.S Downs, *History of Christianity in North-east India, Vol. 5, part V, "North-East India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,"* Bangalore, The Church History Association, 1992, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup>Piketo Sema, *British Policy and administration in Naga Hills*, Scholars Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, p, 67.

<sup>15</sup>Home, Raikhan, *Christian missionaries and social change in Naga Hills*, An unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Centre for historical studies, JNU, New Delhi, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup>Foreign Deptt.,Pol.A, National Archive of India, Unpublished, January 1882, No.135.

humanizing the rude tribes who were known to them, including their knowledge of the Naga language and their dedication towards the tribes.<sup>17</sup> Mary Mead Clark too reported that, “a secular event of considerable importance is the territory of the tribe being formally annexed to the British empire.....mission works can now be prosecuted anywhere in the tribe with all safety.”<sup>18</sup>

So it was in the year 1879 that the Mission Board back home decided to work among the Angamis. Rev. E.W Clark, who was working with the Ao Nagas thought that a mission field at Kohima will help them in strengthening their evangelization process so, he requested the board back home to sent a missionary to the Nag Hills. In compliance with the earnest request of Rev. E.W Clark, labouring among the Ao Nagas, Rev. C.D King was appointed as the missionary to the Angami Naga Hills with permission to plant a station wherever he thought best.<sup>19</sup> He was followed by eminent missionaries like Rev.(Dr) Mr and Mrs S.W Rivenburg, Rev. Mr and Mrs George W. Supplee, Rev Mr and Mrs. Joseph Eric Tanquist etc. The period of missionary works among the Angami Nagas covers a period of seventy years with Rev Mr and Mrs. Delano as the last missionary to leave the field in 1954.

The American Baptist missionaries of ABFMS who came and worked among the Angamis from the later part of nineteenth century till mid twentieth- century were thus products of this political and religious milieu, which ascribed a providential role of the white missionary in the redemption and progress of humankind. They saw no contradiction between religious and political expansion. Somewhere, they felt both the projects were intrinsic in their manifest destiny. In places like the Angami areas, as long as British rule was helping them to serve their religious ends, the American Baptist Missionaries welcomed the expansionist Colonial projects. Infact, they felt that British rule would subdue the savagery inherent in the Angami Naga society and ushered in an era of peace thereby create the ideal environment for evangelization.

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<sup>17</sup>Alemchiba, *A brief historical account of Nagaland*, Kohima, Naga Institute of Culture, p. 153.

<sup>18</sup>*The Baptist missionary magazine*, Vol. LXIX, No. 7, American Baptist Missionary Union Publications, Boston, July, 1889, pp. 259-260. Mary Mead Clark is the wife of Rev. E.W Clark. They were the first missionary couple to the Ao Nagas.

<sup>19</sup>Rev. S.W Rivenburg, “Historical sketch of the Angami Nagas” in Papers and Discussion of the Jubilee Conference, held at Nowgong, Dec. 18-26, 1886, p. 84. See also Linyü, *The Angami Church since 1950*, p. 40.

### 3.3 First attempt and problems encountered

Karen Sema argues that, right from the initial contacts with the Naga tribes, the missionaries took the challenging task of educating and civilizing them.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, when the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) started their works for the Nagas under Rev. Miles Bronson, efforts were also made to overcome the traditional Naga education system. Bronson established a school for the *Namsang Nagas* (Konyaks) and prepared a spelling book and simple catechism in Namsang dialect.<sup>21</sup> However, this promising work had to be abandoned owing to the death of his sister-Rhoda Bronson and ill-health and circumstances that broke out in the family as well. An entry on October 2, 1840 of Mrs. Bronson's journal also mentioned:

Sickness has nearly suspended all missionary works. The school has continued under the care of the native teachers, 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.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the first phase of education and evangelization of modern education in the Naga Hills ended. This episode however reveals and confirms the later policy statement that Christianity and education have always gone hand in hand from the initial days of the mission.

Education was a necessity and pre-requisite for evangelization and mission works to progress mainly because the ability to read and write was the only way to enable a proper understanding of the Bible. As mission works progressed, this initial need of introducing literacy slowly developed into more ambitious plans of developing higher grades of education. The Naga Mission Field was probably considered as the most challenging of any under the auspices of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) anywhere they go. Under this domain, one primary and foremost challenge that missionaries faced was the ignorance of tribal dialect. Verrier Elwin, a Colonial anthropologist, who spent years in the Naga hills, after examining the peoples and culture describes the problem of finding a common Naga language which could act as common medium of instruction.<sup>23</sup> Before the

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<sup>20</sup>Karen, Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, 2003, pp, 10-11.

<sup>21</sup>Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), *From Darkness to Light*, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup>Cited in H.K Barpujari, *The American Baptist missionaries and North-East India 1836-1900 A.D*, Spectrum Publications, Gauhati, 1986, p, xiv.

<sup>23</sup>Karen, Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, 2003, p.11.

intervention of western missionaries, the only language that was comparatively familiar to both the missionaries and to some Nagas was the Assamese language.

When the first missionary C.D King tried to begin his work of educating and evangelizing the Angami-Nagas, he found out that there was absence of script in Angami dialect. Thus when the first school at Samaguting was opened, the missionaries thus gave their instructions in Assamese and gradually assigned the Roman script to the Angami language, *Tenyidie*.<sup>24</sup> For the first time, with the efforts of the early American missionaries like S.W Rivenburg, the Angami language came to be written with the Roman script as was the case with the other Naga sub-tribes.

The other hindrance to mission work seems to have been the dearth of funds due to the financial crunch of the home board back in America. More funds did not imply sufficient funds because, unlike the Catholics, throughout the history of Baptist mission, there always seemed to have been a perpetual scarcity of funds. The board had therefore recalled some of its missionaries or go deeper in debt. At the Kohima Mission Field, the American Baptist Mission Board recalled Rivenburg, inspite of his hard labour encountering with the native Angamis. They even refused to aid any financial assistance to him. The situation was unpromising during the first five years of his encounter with the Angamis as no conversion took place and the mission Board refuses to pay his salary and asked him to return to America.<sup>25</sup> Generalizing it, Milton S Sangma argues that in America, the Baptist Churches in the South, following anti-slavery agitation and impending civil war withdrew from the union and therefore, the board could neither extent its mission fields nor maintain even the existing ones as this had adversely affected the finances of the Northern Mission.<sup>26</sup> This perhaps explains the suspension of activities of the American Baptist missionaries to the Naga Hills and the mission field at Kohima in particular because of the insufficient financial help.

The early British administrators had made initial attempts to establish schools prior to the coming of American missionaries in the Angami region. Before the

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<sup>24</sup>Reports of the training school at Kohima, 1937, Microfilm Reel number, FM-715.

<sup>25</sup>Leno Peseyie, *From Head hunter to soul winner*, United States of America, Kandid Co.Covina,2005, p.36.

<sup>26</sup>Milton S Sangma, *History of American Baptist Church in North-East India, Volume 1*, Mittal Publications, 1987, p.218.

intervention of Christian missionaries, a school was opened by the government at Samaguting, now Chumukedima, a station headquarter in later 1870's (1876-1877) which was attended only by company official children and some local Angamis. However, the locals were apathetic to any system of education.<sup>27</sup> When C.D King, the first American Missionary to the Angamis came to Chumukedima, he was pleasantly surprised to find some young boys and girls in their early teens singing an English song "*There is a happy land*" in perfect English tune and pronunciation. Some boys recited to him the whole English alphabets from A to Z. When he asked them who taught them, they replied to him that an English "Doctor Saheb" taught them.<sup>28</sup> The administrative reports of the Naga Hills, 1877-1878 also mentions the existence of a vernacular school at Chumukedima for some years which later closed down due to wants of funds.<sup>29</sup>

According to an annual administrative report of 1876, men of *Mezoma* village begged to have a school opened in their village and the American missionaries at Sibsagar were applied to for a teacher but none was found willing to come to the hilly region.<sup>30</sup> Captain John Butler, one of the early British administrator shares in his tour diary reads, "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 trail; they have no caste or prejudices of creed to deter them from adopting Christianity."<sup>31</sup>

Prior to the intervention of western missionaries, written form of any script was unknown to the Angami peoples. If they had any education, it was all informal. A traditional educational system was however imparted through the institution called *Morung* which the Angamis called it Kichüki. This traditional system of education is meant especially for young unmarried boys and girls. Here, they learned manners, discipline, art, stories, songs (poems), war tactics, diplomacy, religious and customary rights and ceremonials. According to Tuisem A. Shishak, a noted Naga academician, he argues on the general view of the Naga's traditional system of education stating:

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<sup>27</sup>Dr. H. Bareh, Kohima District gazetteer, Nagaland, May 1970, p.190.

<sup>28</sup> KFBC, *Great is thy faithfulness*, p.4.

<sup>29</sup>Karen Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, 2003. p. 14.

<sup>30</sup>P.J Carnegie, *Annual administrative report of the Naga Hills political agency 1875-1876*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup>Capt. John Butler, *Travel in Assam*, Manas publications, Delhi, 1994, p.67

It would be rather naive to believe that the 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 of all stages of human life and very much in the interest of the cohesion of the village communities.<sup>32</sup>

Though education in an informal manner existed among the Angamis even before they came into contact with the western world, yet permanent and institutionalized education was brought in the region by the American Baptist missionaries with the entry of promising and enthusiastic missionaries like C.D King and S.W Rivenburg.

The missionaries realised that if the gospel is to be imparted to these native tribes, it is necessity to translate the scripture into the tribal dialect. When we look at the Impur mission field, Rev. E.W Clark- the first missionary to the Ao-Nagas took tremendous task to learn the Ao-Naga dialect and then to reduce it to the Roman script.<sup>33</sup> Having mastered the Ao language and transformed their dialect into Roman script, in the later part, Clark could come out with some positive works. He produced a dictionary, primer, catechism, translated some portions of the Bible into Ao dialect along with hymn books.<sup>34</sup> The same situation was prevalent even at the Kohima Mission Field, among the Angami residents. When the Rivenburg's were transferred from Impur to the new mission field, they found out that the Angamis do not possess written alphabets of their own. However, after having mastered their language, he did a lot of commendable and humanitarian works despite terming the Angami dialect as the toughest of all the Naga dialects.

Missionaries also faced a risk to their lives in entering the Angami Naga Hills. In 1884, when Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Rivenburg were sent as re-enforcement to replace the Clarks by the board back home, the British officials incharge of Sibsagar, Assam refused to grant them permission on account of disturbances caused by the recent conflicts between the Nagas.<sup>35</sup> Hattie Rivenburg, in one of her letter states "It was only in the year 1885 when the situation was somewhat under control that the

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<sup>32</sup>Dr. Tuisem A Shishak's, "*Nagas and education*" in *Nagas at work*, Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD) publication, 1996, p. 29.

<sup>33</sup>*From darkness to light*, A publication of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) on the occasion of the celebration of 125 years of Christianity in Nagaland, Kohima, 1997.p. 47.

<sup>34</sup>*Historical sketch of the Ao Naga Mission* by Rev. S.W Rivenburg, ABFMS Record Room, Mission Compound, Guwahati, pp. 81-82.

<sup>35</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, pp. 26-27.

Rivenburgs were permitted to join the mission.<sup>36</sup> The Rivenburgs were also aware of the reluctance of administrators allowing the missionaries to work among the Angamis. Hence, it was with some impatience that the Rivenburgs found themselves forced to step into the hilly region where the most war-like people, the Angamis dwelled. The other problem seemed to be the difficult mountainous terrains, the bad weather condition and the absence of doctors which made it more difficult for the gospel to reach the peoples. This is clearly depicted in one of Rivenburg's letter to his near one's back home telling them about the cold climate of India by saying, "In this country, travellers are supposed to carry beddings with them."<sup>37</sup>

In spite of all these challenges and problems, the missionaries started their evangelization works in the Naga Hills with Molung as the base under the care of Clark in 1876. In the Angami Mission Field, Rev. C.D King was the first person to start mission works in 1879. However, the real work of evangelizing mission to the Angamis was taken during the time of S.W Rivenburg and with it, the American missionaries continued their evangelization mission till mid 1954 with Rev. Mr. and Mrs. D.H Delano as the last missionary.

### **3.4 Pedagogic agenda**

According to the objectives mentioned in the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) policies in their programme of evangelizing the world, Christian education occupied an indispensable place. Their primary educational aim was to develop a strong Christian community with an adequately trained leadership and an intelligent and responsible laity. Basing upon this objective, it was decided that the system of Christian education that was to be followed for atleast sometime should conduct schools of all grades from the lowest to the highest viz. Kindergartens, Primary, High and Normal schools, Vocational schools, Colleges, Bible schools and Theological institutions. Following this policy, the missionaries working in the Angami Hills encouraged the converts to acquire responsibility towards the working of the mission- the ultimate aim being clearly to turn over the works to a large body of

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid, p.43.

<sup>37</sup>Narola Rivenburg(ed.), p.25. Also refer R.S Lungalang "Rev.Sidney W. Rivenburg", p.11.

educated men who could lead the educational and administrative works. As the mission work progressed, there seemed to have developed the need to extent education for the peoples as well.

The absence of script and the difficulty in mastering the tribal dialect poses a serious challenge for the missionaries. The book *Christianity in North-East India* by F.S Downs reveals that the hill tribes of North-Eastern states do not posses any written script that needed to be undermined by the missionaries or western culture as a preparation for receiving the gospel, but education was nevertheless seen as useful in breaking down the “mythologies” of the traditional worldview.<sup>38</sup> The absence of common vernacular among the Nagas thus encouraged the missionaries to introduce the use of English as a common language. With the coming of missionaries and colonial power, the Angamis started to maintain a written record that was not there before. Rivenburg introduced the Roman script by recording the native Angami language, Tenyidie into written form.<sup>39</sup> By 1905, he had translated a primer-the first book of any kind written in Angami dialect, a book on arithmetic, hygiene and some books of the New-Testament in the Angami dialect. Rev. D.F Delano, the last missionary to the Angamis also states that, “the Angami Mission was considered as probably the most challenging field of the American Baptist Mission Society. Here, the works of the missionaries- besides the regular work of preaching and teaching also included engineering, agriculture, dairy farming, journalism and architecture.”<sup>40</sup> The introduction of Roman script thus effectively helped the missionaries to expand their evangelizing mission far and wide. The mission’s ultimate success in this hilly region is undoubtedly due to the work of pioneering missionaries like Rev. S.W Rivenburg, Rev. C.D King and J.E Tanquist.

Along with the mission works, came about a sense of appreciating western music. The new system of education also introduced music lessons, which seemed to have been very helpful. The missionaries realised the Angamis natural love for music. In her letter to her mother and sister in America, Hattie Rivenburg from Kohima mission field remarks, “Chanting should be popular with these peoples, for it

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<sup>38</sup>Fredrick S.Downs, *Christianity in North-East India*, ISPCK, Delhi, 1983, p. 268.

<sup>39</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, p. 96.

<sup>40</sup>Karen Sema, *Evangelization of education in the Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, 2003. p. 43.



is so much like the way they sing when they work.”<sup>41</sup> Sidney had also tried translating some hymns in Angamis like, “He leadeth me,” “there is a happy land,” “Come to Jesus” and “All hail the power of Jesus name.” Hattie also reported that she use to play the Organ during the Church services.<sup>42</sup> Regarding the introduction of the system of writing, Rev. Perrine reported:

We have laid special stress on writing and the results have been pleasing. We procured some American copybooks with very simple plain letters, which were most helpful.<sup>43</sup>

The evangelization of education policy thus resulted to the need of educating the native Angamis. The first Kohima mission school with appropriate way of modern schooling was thus established in the year 1887 under Rivenburg with elementary ways and styles of teaching and eventually prepared the pupils for entering high schools as emphasis was laid on the three R’s viz. reading, writing and Arithmetic. The school was set up specially to train a few natives who could in turn preach to the whole community. The Kohima Mission School reported on the extensive use of the Angami New Testament that seemed to have been read more than any other book in the school.<sup>44</sup> Rev. J.E Tanquist, who joined the Rivenburgs’ and worked among the Angamis from 1913 to 1947, appeals for higher education centre in Kohima and subsequently it led to the establishment of the Kohima Government High School in 1924.<sup>45</sup> Although, missionaries were trying to translate texts into the vernacular for use in the school, it was a very slow and gradual process due to their unfamiliarity with the Angami tribal dialect. 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 was reported even from the Kohima field when the Rivenburg’s failed to find the equivalent words in the Angami dialect which correspond the words such as crown, angel, *Jihova* and sin.<sup>46</sup> The unavailability of sufficient text in vernacular also continued to persist as a major problem throughout the years of mission work. Rev. George W Supplee lamented over the fact that many of the

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<sup>41</sup>Narola Rivenburg (ed), *The Star of the Naga Hills*, Letters from Hattie to mother and sisters in America from Kohima, p.80.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.101.

<sup>43</sup>Minutes, resolutions and historical reports of the Fifth Triennial Conference, 1899, report from Kohima field, J.E Tanquist, Microfilm reel no. FM-715.

<sup>44</sup>Report from the Angami field, 121<sup>st</sup> Annual report of the ABFMS, 1935, Colorado, June 20-25, p. 81.

<sup>45</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland*, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, Letters from Hattie Rivenburg to mother and sister in America, op.cit, p.80, 117.

mission pupils could not read even in grade A in their own vernacular. He felt that they needed to spend more time in learning their language which was used as the medium of instruction in the school and even beyond the sphere of classroom. Further, he goes on to say:

our supply of textbooks in the vernacular of the schools does not suffice through grade three which means that, our pupils must struggle with text books in English before they are finished with the works in the upper primary classes.<sup>47</sup>

At Impur, under Clark, the Mission School too struggled with the need for vernacular texts. Ethel Masales, a pioneer missionary at Impur mission school reports, “one of the greatest drawbacks of the work here is that most of the works from class IV to VI must be done in English as they understood so little of it. Another great need is more textbooks in the vernacular.”<sup>48</sup> In the 1909 report 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 in 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 appointments in the hill districts.<sup>49</sup> The general report on Public Instruction in Assam of 1908-1909 also indicated the comparatively poor growth of education in the Naga Hills. In the report it stated, “one of the main difficulty 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, 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.”<sup>50</sup> Thus, the scarcity of translated texts in the vernacular proved to be a hindrance in the progress of the mission’s educational works.

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<sup>47</sup>Karen Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, 2003. p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. P.48.

<sup>49</sup>Progress of education in India, 1902-1907, volume 1, H.W Orange, C.I.E, Director General of education in India, Calcutta, Superintendent, Government printing, India, 1909, p. 308.

<sup>50</sup>H.E Stapleton, B.A, BSc, Officiating Director of public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam, General report on Public Instruction in Assam 1908-1909, p.47.

### 3.5 Missionary-Angami relationship

Besides the problem in the scarcity of obtaining the services of efficient teachers and the dearth of vernacular texts, the other hurdle to the mission's educational work seemed to have been the difficulty in convincing the Angami-Nagas of the utilities of the mission's education system. On the one hand, the missionaries viewed the Angamis as the most independent, enterprising and warlike of all the numerous hill tribes of the southern Assam and that winning the confidence of the Angamis would also proved to be an obstacle for the missionaries since the Angamis classed all white faces as the same whether they are British or American Missionaries.<sup>51</sup> Thus, this classing of all white peoples in the same category proved to be a burden for the missionaries because prior to the coming of the mission and even before, the history of the relationship between the Angami-Nagas and British administrators had not been one without conflict and therefore, the Angamis first impression of the white man had undoubtedly been of an unpleasant nature.<sup>52</sup> When the first missionary to the Angami Nagas, Rev. C.D King came to the Hills-Samaguting, it was a time when the Angamis villages and to be precise, the Khonoma villagers were preparing themselves to drive all the White People (Britishers) who had established their headquarter at Kohima. Thus, King was not granted permission to proceed to Kohima because of the tensions at that time in and around Kohima.<sup>53</sup> When the Rivenburgs came to Kohima, they also experienced this particular problem of the Angamis distrust of all white men. Rivenburg also mentioned a case of a certain boy who was found in a 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 dis-owned by his European biological father who was a British official who already seemed to have his family back home. His mother also seemed to have later married one of her own tribesman thus leaving the boy homeless.<sup>54</sup>

The missionaries had also trouble in convincing the parents of the local children of the benefits of sending their children to school since the children were

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<sup>51</sup>Baptist Missionary Magazine, Vol. LIX, May 1879, No.6, p. 144.

<sup>52</sup>Karen Sema, *Evangelization of education in Naga Hills, 1895-1940*, p. 49.

<sup>53</sup>KeviyekielieLinyü, *The Angami church since 1950*, Khedi Printing, 1983, p.40. Also refer KFBC souvenir, *Great is thy faithfulness*, p. 6.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid*, p.111.

helpful mates in performing both domestic and agricultural work.<sup>55</sup> A report on the administration of the Angami Hills in 1883-1884 by Atola Changkiri 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."<sup>56</sup> The mission's education plan thus seemed to have curbed any contributions towards the mission school works in the form of fees and the mission instead seemed to have provided free education along with free meals perhaps in an attempt to increase the attendance for their schools.

Later reports of the ABFMS however suggested that as the school progressed and developed, the attendance increased and the mission seemed to have made it compulsory for all regular as well as stipend pupils to work for their tuitions besides encouraging them to inculcate in them a sense of dignity of labour.<sup>57</sup>

### **3.6 Missionary narratives of "civilizing" the Angami Nagas**

The Christian obligation to serve all men regardless of race, language and colour was the conviction and fresh inheritance in the early days.<sup>58</sup> To the Christians, the non-Christian people have been termed infidels, pagans, heathen, barbarous etc. The Angamis were also viewed and similarly categorised by the Christian missionaries. Norbert Elias, a German sociologist of Jewish descent in his, *The civilizing process: the history of manners and state formation and civilization* writes, "the concept of civilization refers to wide variety of facts: the level of technology, the development of scientific knowledge, religious ideas and customs. This includes the type of food prepared, type of house, the manner in which man and women live together."<sup>59</sup> Here, the term "*civilized*" refers to the social quality of people and the Christian outsiders constructed the Angamis in contradiction with the meaning of civilization. They have exposed the kind of life the Angamis were living when they encountered them in their

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<sup>55</sup>B.B Ghosh, *Nagaland*, Kohima District Gazetteer, 1979, p. 179.

<sup>56</sup>Atola Changkiri, *The Angami-Nagas and the British, 1832-1947*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1999, p.184.

<sup>57</sup>The Kohima Mission Training School by J.E Tanquist, ABFMS records, Microfilm Reel Number FM-715.

<sup>58</sup>A Baptist Monthly magazine, 1911, January, Vol.2, No. 1, American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and American Baptist Publication Society, Boston, p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Norbert Elias, *The civilizing process, The history of manners and state formation and civilization*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, p.3.

accounts. The picture of the Angamis and the whole North-East tribals as portrayed by the Christian missionaries during the early time speaks of a people with all primitivity and who have never shown any deeper appreciation where they were expected to show. The overwhelming portrayal of Angami tribals as a primitive, possibly decadent people clearly overlooked the strength and simplicity of their society. Any positive characterization of the Angami society had no place in the early missionary narratology. Other instances of the impressions the missionaries made upon the tribes is also reflected in their response towards a wall-clock brought by Rivenburg where the clock struck after every hour and this made the natives so curious.<sup>60</sup> The missionaries' accounts of the Angami-Nagas thus construct this side of their experience through the idiom of primitivity and savagery.

It is important to observe why the missionaries accorded so much importance to education, although as was explained by Pudaite, "education was never the chief objective of the missionaries. Education was seen by the missionaries as a means of imparting Christian principles and considered imperatives of their evangelical activities."<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the Christian Mission Schools were aimed primarily at religious instruction or intensification of the propagation of Christian faith. To the missionaries, the religion of the Angamis appeared neither notable nor impressive. In his writings in the census of India of 1891, EA Gait, a former Governor of Assam noted:

There is a vague but very general belief in someone omnipotent being, who is well disposed towards men, and whom therefore, there is no necessity for propitiating. Then comes a number of evil spirits, who are ill-disposed towards human beings and to whose malevolent interference are ascribed all the woes which afflict mankind. To these, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malevolent spirits are sylvan deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks and streams and sometimes also of the tribal ancestors.<sup>62</sup>

Further, Gait remarks that the tribal people who had not adopted one of the historical religions were usually known as animists.<sup>63</sup> His explanation of the type of religion the tribal embrace was considered a religion of low type. It is clear through the writings of James Johnstone, a colonial administrator who had observed that the Angami-Naga

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<sup>60</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, op. cit. p. 50.

<sup>61</sup>Rochunga Pudiate, *The education of the Hmer people*, IBPM, Sielmat, Churachanpur, Manipur, 1963, p. 73.

<sup>62</sup>Richard M Eaton, *Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas, 1876-1971*, Journal of world history, Volume 8, Number 2, 1997, p.5.

<sup>63</sup>Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, p. 501.

religion despite the fact of its continuity was rightly ignorant. Johnstone had argued that the Angamis had no religion and were highly intelligent and capable of receiving civilization except that they lack a religion worthy to be embraced.<sup>64</sup>

Interestingly, he argued:

If they were to want a religion, we might just as well give them our own, and make them in that way a source of strength by thus mutually attaching them to us. Failing which, they might to Hinduism or Islam thereby turning a constant source of trouble and annoyance for the state.<sup>65</sup>

This is to suggest that the Angamis from the very beginning were thought of as appropriate people who could be easily won over.

Richard M Eaton's *Conversion of Christianity among the Nagas* discusses the traditional cosmology which was characterized by the two-tiered scheme consisting, at the upper tier, of a supreme deity who underpinned the universe and who though benevolent, was but vaguely understood and seldom approached because of his remoteness from the everyday concerns of Naga communities. The lower tier of this traditional Naga cosmology consisted of a host of minor spirits who were given greater attentions precisely because of the immediate reality which Nagas experienced and controlled the specific realities of everyday life.<sup>66</sup> Robin Horton, *study of African cosmology* makes a similar point:

The lesser spirits underpin events and processes in the microcosm of the local community and its environment, the Supreme Being underpins events in the macrocosm that is, in the world as a whole. As the microcosm forms part of the macrocosm, so the lesser spirits are thought of either as manifestation of the Supreme Being or as entities ultimately driving their power for him.<sup>67</sup>

In projecting towards a detailed consideration given to Supreme God or spirits before the intervention of Western people, for the Nagas, all have different names given to different spirits. The Angamis call their Supreme Being/ God as *Ukepenuopfü*, *Lijaba* in Ao's and *Alhou* among the Semas. In some cases one group showed more concern

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<sup>64</sup> James, Johnstone, *My three years experience in Manipur and Naga Hills*, London, 1896, re-printed 1971, Delhi, p.43. See also *Great is thy faithfulness*, p.4.

<sup>65</sup> See James Johnstone, *Ibid* p.43.

<sup>66</sup> Richard M Eaton, *Conversion to Christianity among the Nagas*, p. 5.

<sup>67</sup> Cited in Bandanglila, "*The nineteenth century Christian Missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*, An unpublished M Phil thesis, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2005, p. 50.

for the Supreme God than other.<sup>68</sup> The chief reason for the fluidity in the tribal religions is related to the lack of a writing system. An awareness of the variations in religion helps to suggest how Christian conversions under evangelization took place amongst them.

Evangelization and not civilization was the real goal of civilizing the missionaries. The portrayal of Angami society legitimates the need of a rescuer in order that the peoples are saved. The missionaries felt that the measures they considered significant in aiding the natives involved a process of evangelization that would give them a new meaning and outlook of their society. The primary objective of the American missionaries was to spread Christianity among the peoples. They found that without knowledge of the three R's, there would be little or no effect on their mission.<sup>69</sup> The objective of the mission thus reveals the intended agenda of their evangelizing mission. As is found in foreign mission policies, the school was considered a direct and conscious agency for proselytization, introducing to the students the challenge of the Christian gospel.<sup>70</sup>

Missionaries had to have the zeal as well as adventurous spirit in their pioneering days. They were seen as agents that sought to overthrow scientifically the false notions wrought with idolatry, who could help people learn to read, write and enable people to profit through the printing and religious text which is used as a main channel for evangelizing these Hill tribes of Assam. Narrowing through the works of Lanusangla Tzudir on her case study on Ao tribes, she argued that in the eyes of the missionaries, the Ao society was primitive since the art of writing was absent as was the knowledge of Jesus.<sup>71</sup> This is to suggest that Christianity was regarded as the embodiment of civilization during the time. Their intentions are evident in their writings. When the Rivenburg's were entrusted to look over the Kohima Mission Field, he knew that they were to counter with the most resistant Naga tribe. But

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<sup>68</sup>Richard M Eaton, *conversion of Christianity among the Nagas*. p. 6.

<sup>69</sup>Milton S Sangma, *History of American Baptist in North-East India, Vol.II*, p. 2.

<sup>70</sup>American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 276 fifth Avenue, New-York, November 18-December 2, 1925, A report of the special conference of the board of managers and delegates from the ten missions, p. 17.

<sup>71</sup>Lanusangla Tzudir, *From head-Hunting to Christianity. Questions of cultural identity in Ao land*, An unpublished Ph D thesis, Centre for historical studies, JNU, New Delhi, 2003, p.28.

henceforth, he told that “the Angami people shall be my people and my one work is to make my God their God.”<sup>72</sup>

With such conviction, the missionaries resorted in opening schools of some sort, where one can read the scriptures and also teach others to read for others. If there were anything the missionaries desired to introduce to a heathen people, it was to systematically in a stated place, to enrol pupils under the discipline of a school by imparting education. This led to the establishment of schools in line with their ideas. At the conference of the Assam mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Rev. Burdette report, “Schools have always been considered a good means of disseminating knowledge of any kind, and especially for the instillation of new principles-good or bad.”<sup>73</sup> Mechiehol Savi, an Angami Church leader too states that the missionaries established schools wherever they went. According to him, education served as a purpose to break down the barriers of superstition and a means of Christian instruction and access to the Christian scriptures and Christian literature.<sup>74</sup> The methods of the missionaries among the Angamis corresponded to what Paulo Freire referred to as “*the banking concept of education*”. Freire states that the teachers were resourceful and the subject’s to be disciplined in conformity with their principles.<sup>75</sup> The missionaries visualized that Angami society was transformed by the knowledge of Christ and their zeal of propagating the good words. In the eye of the missionaries, the Angami society looked primitive because of certain practices that failed to fit in the western concept of civilization. It could be concluded that the missionaries were the vectors of an ideology and that the question of civilizing the Angamis was a fulfilment of Freire’s agenda. Here, David L. Sills writes:

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<sup>72</sup>Baptist Missionary magazine, Vol. LXVIII, July 1888, No.7, <sup>74</sup>rd Annual report of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS), p. 265-266.

<sup>73</sup>The Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Papers and discussions of the Jubilee Conference, Held at Nowgong, Dec.18-29, 1886, Published by the Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, p. 167.

<sup>74</sup>MechieholSavi, “*The impact of Christianity on the Naga society*,”Jakhama Baptist Church Centennial celebration souvenir, 1905-2005, 2005, p. 30.

<sup>75</sup>Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*, Penguin books, The Chaucer Press, Great Britain, 1972, p. 46.



Ideologies are the creations of charismatic persons who possess powerful, expansive and simplified visions of the world as well as high intellectual and imaginative powers.<sup>76</sup>

Althusser suggests that ideology is the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group.<sup>77</sup> According to his understanding, the Church- an ideological state apparatus would concentrate not just on the religious sphere but also on educational sphere. Contrasting his view with the culture of the Angami-Nagas in complex structure, his understanding seems to be obvious that the missionaries programme in civilizing the Angamis was an ideological one. What seemed to be right in the eye of the missionaries was thus manifested in their strategy of promoting their ideology through the School by education and spreading the Gospel of Christ through the Church. KekhrieYhome and Inotoli Zhimomi too holds that the evangelization process was orthodox to the core and was reflected in the proselytization and transformation of the whole modes of living where this evangelization was marked by the building of a comprehensive school system among the Naga tribes.<sup>78</sup> To be fair, the missionaries played a leading role in introducing a system of modern education among the Angamis and this brought a transformation in their culture that helped them to develop a sense of their social, political and intellectual position vis-à-vis other societies.

### **3.7 Contributions of missionaries in developing local literature**

The American Baptist missionaries have been recognised as the pioneers in trying to master the vernaculars of the region by learning and trying to communicate directly with the peoples. They introduced a western perspective and religion through the translation of the Bible and several other books into the native tongues. The missionaries also established houses of worship, hospitals, schools and reaching out to the poor and socially deprived sections in the hope of improving their condition. Education had been recommended to dispel errors and superstition as it was

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<sup>76</sup> Cited in Bendanglila, "*The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*," Unpublished M. Phil dissertation, ZHCES, JNU, New Delhi, 2005, p.53.

<sup>77</sup> Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological state apparatus*, (Note towards an investigation), Verso, Great Britain, 1984, p. 32.

<sup>78</sup> KekhrieYhome & InotoliZhimomi, *Indigenous education and the formation of Naga identity*, 2004, p. 17.

considered the first requirement for freeing the mind and for preparing the population of the knowledge of Christian truth.<sup>79</sup> One of the key questions that need to be put in the forefront under this domain is what is worth teaching?

Education is designed to spread knowledge as well as to serve a good *praeparatio evangelica*. The new education imparts knowledge but the moral programme was a euphemism for Christian ethics and therefore improvement of conduct was the core agenda.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, in a report for the maintenance of the Christian character of Mission Schools, it clearly indicated that every educational missionary should be evangelistic in spirit and urge the schools to be staffed with Christian teachers and Christian students to ensure a sufficiency Christian atmosphere that extended beyond the homes of students.<sup>81</sup>

By the later part of nineteenth century, Christian missionaries were thus seen as an important part of these educational scenes in Angami society. They have not only shaped the content of school pedagogy but were also running mission schools and most importantly, they had taken a major part in literary and translation works. They also switched over to publication of literature in *Tenyidie*, translation works and publication of religious texts and the Bible along with the opening of dispensaries and hospitals. The American missionaries as the core means under their evangelization strategy adopted these methods. Their agenda of converting the native Angami peoples, whom they portrayed it as savage race was thus evident from the very beginning. Victor Hugo Sword writes that the missionaries did not strive to educate the heathen because their chief purpose was to preach the gospel of life and to make them wise unto salvation by means of teaching. He further states that, “to preach, teach and make disciples was their main purpose.”<sup>82</sup> Here, the missionaries’ intention was to set the Angamis on the path of progress through a diffusion of Christian ideas and western knowledge. They were not only preachers and translators but were also

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<sup>79</sup>Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarian and India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1959, p. 31.

<sup>80</sup>Krishna Kumar, *Political agenda of education: A study of Colonialist and Nationalist ideas*, Sage Publications, 1991, p. 33.

<sup>81</sup>American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, *Foreign Mission Policies*, A report of the special conference of the Board of managers and delegates from the Ten Missions, 276 fifth Avenue, New York, November 18- December 2, 1925, p.18.

<sup>82</sup>Victor Hugo Sword, *Baptist in Assam, a century of missionary service 1836-1936*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1986, p. vii.

publishers and educators and their interest in education and humanitarian works gradually increased.

### **3.8 Agencies offered by Missionary Education**

The basic objective of the missionary movement was first of all, to secure converts through evangelization, education, literacy, medical works- and then mould those converts through training into a team of group who would actually carry out the evangelizing and other related activities at the grassroots. While spreading the new faith among the native Angamis and indoctrinating them with Christian faith, the missionaries also laid the foundation of modern educational system, which opened a new chapter in their history. Though the main objective of the missionaries behind establishing schools in the region was to a prepare fertile ground for the growth of Christianity by producing native preachers, in due course of time, education helped the society to view the world from different angle and enabled them to open dimensions of new avenues in their life and help them to come out of their parochial thinking.

Education was seen as the first step towards freeing the mind and also considered the least obtrusive method of evangelizing as it did not cause any social or political disturbances. The preparation required for receiving Christian knowledge and truth required clearing the mind of errors and superstitions that required education for reasons of prudence.<sup>83</sup> Education must be based upon the word of God was the conviction especially for the missionaries.

Rev. D O Allen, an eminent missionary of the American Board, cited three reasons of the missionaries in establishing schools. One reason was to educate the minds of the people and to help them in understanding and appreciating the fact and evidence, the doctrines of the scriptures. Another was to increase the influence of the missionaries with the people, by communicating some advantage which the people can appreciate by showing how Christianity rests on an intelligent perception of its doctrines, and finally, it was to procure a means to access the people through preaching. He added that school houses became important places for meeting people,

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<sup>83</sup>Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarian and India*. p. 32.

for social intercourse and religious worship and became chapels under the control of the missionaries.<sup>84</sup> Ideally, school education was one means by which this could be achieved. Dr. E.W Clark, who was the first American missionary to the Nagas stated that, The Nagas once civilized and Christianized will make a manly, worthy peoples.<sup>85</sup> Without giving Christian education, Christianity cannot be deeply rooted in the hearts of the peoples.<sup>86</sup>

Following this, the aims of establishing schools were spelt out more clearly and that John Thomas argued, “in every village, there is a school.....The main aim of these schools is the proclamation of the gospel to the people of a village where the teacher is located. The first converts are usually from the men of middle life. Later as the children grow up, we reap from the schools; and as they know how to read the scriptures, we have a better foundation from Church-membership and preachers. A school two hours in the morning during week days does not seriously interfere with the teacher’s work as preacher during the rest of the day. Our reliance from the Christian character is upon the spirit of the word, not upon secular education.”<sup>87</sup> Keeping this aim in mind, mission schools were established. The institutions were supported with teachers trained by missionaries and the missionary himself oversaw the teaching.

There are two main themes that have characterized the debates of the missionaries at the 1886 Assam Mission Conference. One claimed that education alone cannot develop the minds of the natives while others have maintained that education would lead to enlightenment and loss of faith in pagan practices from a different perspective.<sup>88</sup> Ideally, school education was one primary means by which all these could be achieved.

Educational institutions were always the main agencies for effectively transmitting the dominant culture. In the context of Angami Nagas, the American

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<sup>84</sup>Cited in J.P Narullah Naik Syed, *A student history of education in India*, Macmillan, 1974, pp. 38-39.

<sup>85</sup>Mary Mead Clark, *A corner in India*, p. 32.

<sup>86</sup> Abraham Lotha, “*Nagas conversion to Christianity and modernity in colonial India*” cited in *Nagas at work*, NSUD Publication, Delhi, 2010, p.78.

<sup>87</sup>John Thomas, *Missionary, Church and the formation of Naga political identity; 1918-1997*.op. cit. p. 87.

<sup>88</sup>LanuanglaTzudir, p.117.

Baptist missionaries on the request of the Britishers saw that opening of schools among this hill tribe would help the people to appreciate their culture. This of course would require the Angamis to despire, disown and break with their existing socio-cultural values, customs and institutions and then refashion themselves according to the civilizational standard set by the western peoples. Rivenburg reports that, “these savage Angamis, very little do not appreciate the value of school, and hence one difficulty to overcome in making school work a success among them.”<sup>89</sup> The American missionaries thus felt that their works among the Angamis too was part of their manifest destiny to Christianize and thereby civilize the savage race and to draw them out of darkness and barbarism into light and civilization through Christianity alongwith the establishment of Mission Schools. Schools were considered as the best means of passing knowledge and gaining the confidence of the peoples as well as propagating the gospel. Thus, in 1879, Christianization of education was introduced for the time among the Angamis by Rev C.D King. King opened at Samaguting a mission school alongwith *Puniram*, an Assamese convert teacher. They resolve to open a school there however; he had to flee from the place due to the attacks from the Angami militants. In 1880, following the crushing of the rebellion and the establishment of a British headquarter, in Kohima, C.D King went to open a Mission Field at Kohima, started his mission in 1881. In this connection, Narola argues that Mr C.D King was sent to open up works among the Angamis. King made really a promising start by building and establishing a school and Church.<sup>90</sup> Alongwith *Henry Goldsmith*-a native Assamese teacher and *Sarbey*, a Mikir Christian, they introduced the first school for the Angamis in Assamese language.

The missionaries thus saw education as an ideal means to propagate the good news. They were seen carrying the works of evangelism and education side by side which meant education with conversion of native childrens studying in mission school. Mission schools have played an important role in the evangelization of the Angamis and the other surrounding tribes which falls within the domain of Kohima Mission Field (KMF) viz. the Semas, Chakhesangs (Eastern Angamis) and Rengma

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<sup>89</sup>The Baptist Missionary Magazine, Published by the American Baptist Missionary Union. Volume, LXVII, Boston, 1887, p. 266.

<sup>90</sup>Narola Rivenburg, The star of the Naga Hills. p.68.

tribes.<sup>91</sup> Their main aim of setting up mission field and imparting education through schools and humanitarian services among the Angamis had been to change the sphere from savagery to a civilizing nation.

### 3.8.2 Language Study

The study of language has been considered as the most important work for a new missionary. When Rev. C,D King entered the hill of Angamis at Samaguting, he found the they had no history of literacy because they had no script. Apart from the non too-responsive nature from the Angamis, one other great challenge the missionaries met was the tough Angami dialect that King regarded as the toughest to acquire among all the Naga dialects. Bendangyabang, a noted Naga theologian argues that “Rev King finally entered Kohima in February 1881 however; next setback Rev. King faced was the language learning- hardest language is the Angami language.”<sup>92</sup>

When the Rivenburg’s were transferred to Kohima to replace Rev. C.D King in the year 1887, they too faced the same fate. Learning of tribal languages was the key to facilitate communication with the people. For the Angamis, Oral history and oral language was the only source because, there is no written record about their history since alphabet was unknown to them. Rivenburg’s also found out that the Angami language was so difficult to acquire and that in one of his report he writes:

The work to which I have my strength, believing it to be first of all, was the language, it cost me a great mental struggle. There, we must learn a third Indian language, still more guttural than the Ao.<sup>93</sup> The two years I spent in the Ao language will be scarcely any more help in acquiring Angami than the two years I spent in German.<sup>94</sup>

He also stated that there was no book to read and write, so one of his primary aim was to study and learn the language of the native and replace this native dialect into Roman letters as did Mr Clark for the Ao Nagas. F.S Downs gives an insightful statement stating, “in 1889, the missionary reported that he –Rivenburg was experimenting with reducing Angami to written form-using the Roman script.”<sup>95</sup> The early missionary to

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<sup>91</sup>N. Toshi Ao, *Mission to the Nags; A tryst with the Aos*, Sivakasi, Dimapur, Nagaland, 1995, p. 126.

<sup>92</sup>A. Bendangyabang, *history of Christianity in Nagaland.*, p.118.

<sup>93</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, p. 70.

<sup>94</sup>Baptist Missionary Magazine, the 73<sup>rd</sup> annual report, July 1887. See also Bendangyabang, *History of Christianity*, Source material, p.100.

<sup>95</sup>F.S Downs, *The mighty works of God*, Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, 1971, p.140.

the Angamis thus pursued the policy of presenting the gospel in the local languages to relate to the people that they sought to minister. Rev. Burdette in regard to it stated, “it is quite indispensable that the people should hear in their tongue the wonderful news of God and therefore, that portions of the scriptures should be issued in every considerable distinct dialect.”<sup>96</sup>

### 3.8.4 Curriculum

In the context of Curriculum, the missionaries’ perception of Angami Naga society helped shaped the content of school curriculum. The contents of curriculum followed by the early missionaries were composed mainly of translation of Bible and texts which mainly aimed at developing a child’s character along Christian lines and they saw to it that, it is their duty to impart education that would match the aims of Christianity. Narola Rivenburg, daughter of Sidney and Hattie Rivenburg in a letter to her folks in America describes that the mission school at Kohima gives a clear 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 Angami dialect. They also learn to read and write English, which of course opens to them the wealth of all western science and culture.<sup>97</sup>

At the ABFMS 121<sup>st</sup> Annual report, it confirms that with the influence of Bible in the curricula of the mission school, 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 portions of every year.<sup>98</sup> Rev. S.A Perrine, a noted missionary to the Naga Hills also reported:

We do not attempt to give them a common school education nor a theological training. Our work is unique.....is specially adapted to the needs found here so far as we are able to make it. What we want to do is simply prepare the Christians for the performance of the duties that must fall on them. Another thing we desire to impress (a vital principle) both by our educational system and otherwise is, that in the truest sense this is not our work, but their own, and they must do the work not for us, but for the master.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Quoted in LanusanglaTzudir, p.118.

<sup>97</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, p. 114.

<sup>98</sup>American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS), 121<sup>st</sup> Annual report, June 20-25, Colorado, 1935, p.81.

<sup>99</sup>Rev. S.A Perrine, the Baptist Missionary Magazine, Volume, LXXVII, July 1897, No7, p. 321.

Here, Rev. Perrine mentioned that their work is planting of the idea of Christ and helping people to grow a Christian character in their heart. It was also the mission's policy to ensure that 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 school.

The early Missionaries also thought that the Angamis must have trained leaders for the churches who have been trained to think and acquire knowledge of the world and its history and who knows their Bible thoroughly and not men, who can merely read and acquire slight Christian doctrines.<sup>100</sup> This was one of the main reason why early missionary like S.W Rivenburg introduced the subjects that were to be taught to the Angamis and to making the students committed and preparing them even to take up special scriptures course. During the time of Tanquist too, he laid great importance on Evangelism, Leadership training and Church participation apart from Education. Besides these, knitting, prayer meetings, Sunday schools, Sunday worship services falls under missionaries curricular activities.

Missionaries also felt that it was important for the native Angamis be made conscious of their unhygienic and unclean existence and redeem them from it so that they may become clean and healthy Christians. Missionaries during their daily visits to houses and villages constantly impressed upon the Angamis for cultivating hygienic habits that kept their bodies, homes, surroundings, and food clean. Commenting on missionaries interventions, J.P Mills, a Colonial anthropologist said, "Cleanliness is next to godliness and the mission have throughout insisted on the importance of washing."<sup>101</sup> Sidney White Rivenburg, the pioneer missionary to the Angamis, having worked with Ronald Ross was also keen in sanitizing the Angami Villages, draining all the swamps and pools which are breeding grounds for mosquitoes that could cause Malaria.<sup>102</sup> He also translated a school textbook on the rudiments of hygiene and classes on the subjects were included as part of the school curriculum and advised the peoples to always keep with the commodities like quinine

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<sup>100</sup>Report of the Ninth Biennial Conference, held at Guwahati, Assam, January 5-12, 1907, The Assam Mission and the American Missionary Union, p. 29.

<sup>101</sup>J.P Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, London, 1926, p.416.

<sup>102</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, op. cit. p. 91.



and *dober powder*.<sup>103</sup> Some basic lessons in cleanliness, home nursing and child care were taught and Efforts were also made to encourage more ventilation to the peoples for their smoky, dirty and damp houses.<sup>104</sup> For the missionaries, not only was the body an embodiment of dirt and disorder but even the clothing that covered his/her body was far from what the missionary understood to be decent, dignified and even healthful.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, the importance to get the native peoples and especially the converts to wear dress in sufficient quantity to conform to the simplest ideas of decency was also introduced under the public health introduced by the missionaries during the time.

### 3.8.6 Text books

After the missionaries had specified their objectives, their next step was to incorporate these ideas in syllabus and textbooks. Textbook is any material meant for pupils which creates a medium for the process of learning and teaching. Gauri Viswanathan's "*mask of conquest*" argues that literary studies that have played a key role in imparting western values to the natives, constructing European culture as superior and as a measure of human values and thereby in maintaining colonial rule. So, was it with the Christian missionaries, intending to convert the natives to Christianity.<sup>106</sup> Textbooks, print materials and other Christian religious tracts was thus another integral part of the missionaries work.

The missionaries did not neglect the academic subjects in the school curricula like Arithmetic, English, primer and history and even some basic books on elementary science. Following Clark in literature and having arrived at Kohima in 1887, Rivenburg reduced the Angami language into Roman script and translated portions of the scriptures- Matthew, John, Acts and wrote a book of a hundred hymn, an Angami primer and an Arithmetic book which was printed at the cost of the government.<sup>107</sup> These books, translated in Angami local dialect were considered and used by the

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<sup>103</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, p. 97.

<sup>104</sup> John Thomas, *Missionaries, Church and the formation of Naga political identity 1918-1997*, p. 101.

<sup>105</sup> Baptist Missionary Magazine, Volume LXX, No. 1, January 1890, p. 4, CBCNEI, Guwahati.

<sup>106</sup> Cited in Bendanglila, *The nineteenth century christian missionaries and the dynamics of the expansion of modern education in the Naga Hills*. 2005. p.72

<sup>107</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland*, Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, 1976, p. 83.

missionaries in the classroom and even beyond-in open spaces while preaching and touring the villages-evangelizing the peoples. Arithmetic was called as the ABC of Maths and this was unknown to the native Angamis. Textbooks were thus written to involve the pupils in mastering the basic numbers and understanding the number world.<sup>108</sup> With it, standardization of the vernacular language, translation of the Bible and other religious tracts like hymnal translation and school text-books viz. primer, Arithmetic, Algebra, English, and English history were undertaken.<sup>109</sup> The Baptist missionary magazine of 1891 also reported that Rivenburg's contribution in the area of literature included an Angami primer- "Aa-Aa-Da", the Angami alphabets which were used as a text book in the mission school, an Angami-Grammer book and a textbook on "*Way to Health-Umo Kevi Da*," where a brief note on health was inserted in the textbook stating:

A healthy body means a healthy life. A healthy body keeps you fit for your everyday work and also in helping the community. Sickness or illness drains away your strength. It also creates problem for your family and your neighbours. A child who gets sick is a matter of concern to all. It cause worry to the whole family. A mother who is taken ill is worse than a sick child. Good mother with a healthy body works from morning till evening. But when she is sick, she cannot move about and others have to do the work on her behalf.<sup>110</sup>

One of the reason why Rivenburg tried to impart this type of instruction could be because of the prevalent cases of Small Pox, Malaria, Cholera.

In 1923, Rev. Joseph Eric Tanquist published a primer book called, "*A Ba Ki Puo*"<sup>111</sup> in Angami dialect to be used in the Mission School. In the year 1927, he completed the whole portion of New Testament translation with the help of some local peoples and this was also used as a main textbook at the Kohima mission school.

### **3.8.7 Mission and training school**

The frequency with which the subject of education has been brought up already indicates its central importance in the process of acculturation to which Christianity contributed so significantly to the Angamis and by far, one of the most important contributions made by Christian missionaries to the process of acculturation of the

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<sup>108</sup>The Baptist Missionary magazine, October 1891, Vol. LXXI, No. 8.

<sup>109</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*. p. 122.

<sup>110</sup>S.W Rivenburg, "*The way to health*" in *Angami Naga*, "*UMO VIKELIE DA*", American Baptist Missionary Union, 1904, pp. 1-2.

<sup>111</sup>Leno Peseyie Maase, *From Headhunter to soul winner*, p.42.

Angamis is seen in mission and training schools. To be precise, the first four Angami converts were all “*students of King’s Mission school.*”<sup>112</sup> A.T Embree’s explained why mission school was so important to the evangelicals. It states that missionary basic concept was the character of man and not of his physical, but of his moral environment and that salvation could be achieved and the individual could be totally transformed by a direct assault in the mind.<sup>113</sup> Education follows by personal conversion would change the whole nature of society. This understanding of the relationship between education and evangelism is implicit in the explanations that the missionaries themselves gave for their extensive involvement in school works.

Besides, training school was also imparted which consisted of the worker’s class, English training class and teachers normal class. The teachers’ normal class was oriented to producing better teachers trained in school methods and even preaching and translating the Bible from English to local dialect, Tenyidie. The subject on prayer was taught twice a year. The early native converts and educationist later were of great help to the missionaries in carrying out the works of evangelization far wide and beyond. Along the three lines, the missionaries also imparted training class viz; i. In reciting oral stories from the Bible believing that such a course improves the English of students rapidly. ii. The preparation and delivery of sermon and iii. Bible doctrines.<sup>114</sup>

### **3.8.8 Modern health as a means of Reaching out**

Itinerant preaching tours taken out to villages and tribes around was also one of the important practices that missionaries put in place under their evangelizing mission. In the context of the Angamis, Narola states, “it is very important to train the native evangelists under the evangelizing agency who could carry the good news to its own people in their mother tongue.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, she said that the schoolboys at the mission

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<sup>112</sup>F.S Downs, *The mighty works of God.*, p.140.

<sup>113</sup>F.S Downs, *History of Christianity in India*, The Church History association of India, Bangalore, 1992, p. 197.

<sup>114</sup>Minutes, resolutions and historical reports of the Fourth Triennial Conference of Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, held at Sibsagar, Dec, 14-22, 1895, pp. 44-45.

<sup>115</sup>Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*, op. cit. pp.119-120.

school- Kohima run by his father, S.W Rivenburg are representatives of eight different tribes.

It was also common for students to be organized into gospel teams and sent out on itinerant tours. Preaching was one of the most visible and open way in which missionaries and evangelists urged and persuaded the villagers to leave their sinful life and grow into an acceptance of Christ and his saving grace, promising them eternal salvation if they did so. Narola, who was at the Kohima Mission Field from 1908-1910, helping her father in translation and teaching works states, “as soon as school was over, the church sent out and paid the expenses of most of the teachers and some of the boys in the school to preach for several weeks in the villages perched high on the hill-tops. Some of the students are also found going into the village streets, singing and preaching.”<sup>116</sup> Besides these, Medical work was also largely done in the context of itinerant preaching tours like house visits and other evangelistic activities. Rivenburg during his furlough to America (1892-1894) to study Medicine was not only keen on taking up medical works, rather he saw that medical works will be of effective means of evangelization since it provided an opportunity for missionaries to go into the homes of many, share the gospel and put the end to consulting soothsayers and sacrificing demons.<sup>117</sup> Having passed out his medical exams, he came back to Kohima and started preaching and doctoring the natives Angamis and even to the neighbouring tribes. Rivenburg thus exclaimed, “when I go to preach, a scripture portion, hymnbook, pills, quinine, pain killer are my weapons of warfare.”<sup>118</sup> Most often these were however informal dispensaries attached to the home of missionary, possessing some essential medicines.

### **3.9 The impact of Modern Education**

While reflection on the implications of missionary education, one can see the representation that did not readily favour the changes. Many scholars and anthropologists have blamed the missionaries for destroying the Angami culture.

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<sup>116</sup>Narola Rivenburg, op. cit. p. 121.

<sup>117</sup>M.M Clark, *A corner in India*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 68.

<sup>118</sup>Sydney Rivenburg, Kohima Field Report, 1 July 1890, BMM, Volume, LXX, No.11, October 1890, p. 413. CBCNEI, Guwahati.

Before the intervention of missionaries, the Angami society had their own system of traditional learning where cultural, moral, social and political values were shaped, taught and imparted through an institution called *Kichüki*. The impact of Christianity however had reduced the significance of this traditional institution. The American Baptist missionaries were criticized for forbidding Baptist boys from continuing the use of *Kichüki* and *Thehou* on the ground that they were heathen institutions. With the establishment of School, the students who were admitted in the mission schools had to give up folk songs, traditional dances, animal sacrifices and celebrations of various kinds of rituals, their love and attraction towards their own traditions and culture began to decline.<sup>119</sup> *Kichüki* and *Thehou* were replaced with buildings of separate Christian dormitories where songs of praises, prayer meetings and other spiritual values were encouraged. J.H Hutton, who was formerly in the Indian Civil Service, worked among the Angami tribes in a letter to J.P Mills wrote:

all tribes have a most remarkable appreciation of the effective and picturesque in dress, and their use of colour is usually in extraordinarily good taste in which it is displayed.....all this, not to mentioned the art of dancing is being destroyed by their conversion to Christianity.<sup>120</sup>

Both Christianity and Education slowly deprived the Angami Nagas of their numerous traditional practices related to their daily life and living habits.

The gradual and progressive acceptance of Christianity and its mode of life thus caused a shift of cultural loyalty from animism to Christianity and changed the traditional outlook and living culture of the Angamis. The converts were encouraged to dis-continue folk songs, dances, sacrifices and celebration of various kinds of rituals and practices related to cultivation, construction of houses, founding of villages, birth and death ceremonies, marriage systems etc. They were also asked to abandoned drinking, smoking and the old dormitory behaviours of the boys and girls. Thus, a number of traditional practices related to their daily life and living habits were slowly removed with the coming of Christianity.

Drawing upon the works cited above, several scholars also points out that, out of the negative effects of missionaries works drawn upon the Angami society, missionaries also brought a new world view to the Angamis. Education had its impact

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<sup>119</sup>Chandrika Singh, *The Naga Society*, Manas Publications, New-Delhi,2008,. pp. 144-145.

<sup>120</sup>J.P Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, Macmillan and Co, London, 1926, p.421.

on the Angami society in various dimensions with the arrival of Missionaries. The American Baptist Missionaries (ABM) believed that education could illuminate the individual mind, which in turn would arouse conviction in the truth of the gospel. For the missionaries, their primary aim was to evangelize the peoples who are living a life of savagery and they believed that as soon as these peoples would learn to read the Bible, they would be inevitably convinced of the superiority of the Christian religion over their own religion and embrace it.

With the introduction of Modern Education, hygienic conditions and healthcare of the people had also been improved. It appeared that the appearance of health and strength among Christians was no doubt due to spiritual elevation of their minds and their lives. The Christian desired to live better in a better houses and to be cleaner. Their desire to learn and to use what knowledge and powers they have for God's glory increased. Merensky, a missionary pointed out that the influence of Christianity had improved even the physical appearance of those who were converted when ".....young people may often be called handsome."<sup>121</sup> Reports such as these highlight the efficiency of the educational enterprise. Close contact of the Angamis with the American Baptist Mission thus brought about tremendous changes in their social life. Edmund F. Merriam writes that the services provided by the American Baptist missionaries to the Angamis were many. One aspect was the service of the missionaries to linguistic science which has been of great value. They were working among the peoples whose language had never been reduced to writing but through their efforts, their dialects have been reduced to written form.<sup>122</sup>

Another major change brought by the missionaries was the change in the practice in funeral rites. The missionaries had persuaded the peoples from the point of view of hygiene to adopt Christian burial practices. The practice of head-hunting which is considered and marked as a status of men in the society was taken over by modern education with the efforts of missionaries. Missionaries like Rivenburg brought about numerous changes by translating Christian hymns and other literary works into the Angami language. The contribution of music has also been a notable

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<sup>121</sup>The Baptist Missionary Magazine. Volume LXX, March 1890, Vol.3, p. 63.

<sup>122</sup>Edmund F. Merriam, *The history of American Baptist Mission*, revised edition, Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, pp. 215-219.

figure brought by the missionaries where western musical instruments and songs shaped the life of the Angamis to a fore-front level.

The modern educational programme of the missionaries did more than an enlarged cognitive domain or had broadened the mental horizon of the Angamis. Missionaries could implement their ideas and agendas by successfully convincing the Angamis to hold on to their ideas. Schools run by the Christian missionaries have been influential, as they had served their purpose of their objectives in evangelization mission. One can thus conclude that it was the American Baptist Missionaries, who were the main harbinger of the change in belief and ways of life towards the Angamis. The spread of the gospel, the consequent conversion of the Angamis and the establishment of the mission school made a major contribution to the furtherance of the gospel.

A total of six American families and a single unmarried lady served as missionaries among the Angami Nagas from 1879 to 1954 at Kohima. Of all these, the most noteworthy and visible work, who had immensely contributed towards the Angami social, religious, cultural and most important, on educational field is seen under Sidney White Rivenburg. The next chapter is thus an account of his tireless and promising works that he had immensely contributed towards the Angami society from various perspectives.

## CHAPTER IV

### PIONEERING WORKS OF SIDNEY WHITE RIVENBURG ON ANGAMI NAGA SOCIETY

*“Starting from today, Angami peoples shall be my people and my one work shall be to make my God their God”<sup>1</sup>*

\_\_\_\_\_ *Sidney White Rivenburg*

An American Baptist Missionary from late nineteenth century to early twentieth century, Sidney White Rivenburg popularly known as *Chaha Ketsau*<sup>2</sup> by the Angamis was commissioned to this native Naga tribe from 1887 succeeding Rev. C.D King, who left the Mission Field in 1886. He rose to the designation of “the friends of the poor, the star of the Naga Hills”<sup>3</sup> because of his selfless sacrifice. Interestingly, Rivenburg began his outreach ministry from the perspective of clear missiological understanding and that the model of his ministry had been a source of great challenge meant for the Angamis. He changed this oral society to a literate society, head hunting to soul winner, stepped forward in education, religious and community life, produced capable Angami leaders and had improved their life standard. This chapter is thus an account of a very active and dynamic leader and an extremely high calibre American missionary who spent his most energetic life in India and particularly, who served among the Angami Naga tribes for almost 30 years. The chapter deals with his early life, his commission to India particularly in the Angami region and teaching ministry and lifelong devotion at Kohima Mission Field. Alongside, the works of Rev. C.D King, the first American Missionary to the Angami Nagas cannot be ignored as such; his contributions towards Angami society will be figured and discussed too. To be precise, the chapter delves into the education-evangelization of the Angami Nagas in different forms and the various strategies employed by Rivenburg on Angami society.

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<sup>1</sup> 73<sup>rd</sup> annual report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1887, pp. 265-266.

<sup>2</sup> Here, Chaha Ketsau literally means “Old Sahib.” Broadly speaking, the term Chaha was used by all the Tenyimia clans viz, Angami, Rengma, Zeliang, Eastern Angami (Chakhesang) from colonial times.

<sup>3</sup> Narola Rivenburg (ed.), *The star of the Naga Hills: Letters from Rev. Sydney and Hattie Rivenburg, Pioneer missionaries in Assam, 1883-1923*. American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1941.,p.149.



## 4.1 Early life

Sidney White Rivenburg grew up in Clifford, a small town in the United States of America which lies in the hills of the most beautiful section of Susquehanna country, Pennsylvania, on the Roosevelt highway and on the East branch of the Tunkhannock Creek previously known as Clifford corner.<sup>4</sup> He was born on 12<sup>th</sup> October 1857 in a farm house to Mr. Henry Rivenburg and Mrs. Charity who lived northeast from Clifford. No one ever thought that this child would go and serve in the Naga Hills particularly, in the Angami region-be their mentor, instigate educational activities and evangelize and Christianize them. His mother was a spiritual woman who was also known for organizing the Baptist Missionary Society. He was thus raised up from a very good Christian family background. He spent his early childhood days in the town of Clifford, Pennsylvania, America.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding his early education, he did his early schooling from the prominent school of Keystone Academy, Clifford taught under *Dr. John Howard Harnis*<sup>6</sup> who was the founder of Keystone Academy and the president of Bucknell University as well.<sup>7</sup> As a brilliant young lad, he was smart and excelled in his studies except once he failed in Latin. The day when Rivenburg went to Dr. Harris' office- blue, discouraged and feeling that he was a failure, Dr Harris saw the personality, quality and something extraordinary that this little lad-Rivenburg posses and encouraged him to go on with his studies. In one of his letter to his daughter, *Narola Rivenburg*<sup>8</sup> he wrote:

I never failed in examination but once, and for that there was a good reason. But if Dr Harris had not been lenient with me at Christmas time at the end of my first term at Keystone, I would probably have been back on the farm and would have spent my life there. That first few weeks, i could not master Latin, and i made a mess of the examination.<sup>9</sup>

As a result, he did his schooling from Keystone Academy, graduated from Bucknell University and in the year 1880, he completed his Masters from Brown

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<sup>4</sup> [http://www.dsdata.com.au/genealogy/nepa/stocker\\_clifford2.html](http://www.dsdata.com.au/genealogy/nepa/stocker_clifford2.html). As seen on November 2010.

<sup>5</sup> R.S. Lungalang, *Rev. Sydney W. Rivenburg. Baptist Church Khonoma: A centennial souvenir (1897-1997)*.p.11.

<sup>6</sup> *Dr. John Howard Harris, founder and principal of Keystone Academy and for thirty years was also the President of Bucknell University.*

<sup>7</sup> Pheluopfhelie Kesiezie, *S.W Rivenburg: Chaha ketsau dze (1857-1936)*. ACLS Press, Baptist Mission Centre, Kohima, 1998. p.7. See also [http://www.dsdata.com.au/genealogy/nepa/stocker\\_clifford2.html](http://www.dsdata.com.au/genealogy/nepa/stocker_clifford2.html). As seen on March 2011.

<sup>8</sup> *Narola Rivenburg was the only child daughter of Rev. Sydney and Hattie Rivenburg. She is the only unmarried American Missionary lady served in the Naga Hills.*

<sup>9</sup> Pheluopfhelie Kesiezie, *S.W Rivenburg, Chaha ketsau dze (1857-1936)*. p.7.

University and in the year 1882, he graduated from the Rochester Theological Seminary and at the end of his first furlough, he graduated from the Baltimore Medical College.<sup>10</sup> In 1874, while still a student at Keystone Academy, he turned to the Lord and decided to serve him as a missionary in a distant foreign land but he had never divulged this commitment to anyone, not even to his parents till he had completed his Theological studies at Rochester Theological Seminary.<sup>11</sup> Overall, He spent forty years as a missionary in India and at Kohima, spent almost thirty years among the Angamis.

## 4.2 His family

Sidney White Rivenburg was blessed with very devoted and supportive wives. Hattie Tiffany-the first wife of Sydney White Rivenburg was born on May 14 1862 at East Bridgewater, Pennsylvania. <sup>12</sup> She belonged to the church of Willits, California and grew up there. Her father passed away when she was just ten years old and thus was brought up by her mother. One night, during a revival meeting organized by the Clifford Baptist Church, she offered her life to the Lord and felt a sense of sheer joy she had never known and experienced before.

In 1882, twenty years old Hattie Tiffani was an apprentice in dress making and was incharge of Soldier's Orphan School in Hanford, USA run by Mrs. Decker. Hattie was at that time engaged to a young man named George from the farming family.<sup>13</sup> At the time when Hattie worked under Mrs. Decker, she got an invitation from the latter to a special service to ordained Sydney W. Rivenburg in Clifford where Mrs. Decker lived on a farm next to Sydney farm. Hattie had heard much about this young man and was keen to meet him. After the service, they met and later, Sydney subsequently asked her to be his wife and that she readily agreed to it. On 10<sup>th</sup> September 1883, Rivenburg and Hattie married at Hattie's younger sister's residence in the midst of his younger brother Romeyn and Elder Grow- the pastor of his Church.

As a missionary wife, she played a vital role in assisting her husband to carry out his commitment and visions. Much less would a pretty young American lady

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<sup>10</sup> See Ibid. pp.7-8. Also refer in Narola Rivenburg "*The star of the Naga Hills*", p.8.

<sup>11</sup> R.S Lungalang, *Rev Sydney White Rivenburg*, p.11.

<sup>12</sup> Pheluopfhelie Kesiezie, *S.W Rivenburg, Chaha ketsau dze (1857-1936. pp.8-9.*

<sup>13</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness*, Kohima Field Baptist Centenary (KFBC) souvenir (1885-1985).

having a secured job at home ever think of crossing the boisterous and treacherous seas to an unknown land. She would have spent the rest of her life back home instead of saving souls of heathens in a strange land called Naga Hills. She and her husband served as missionaries even among the Aos assisting Clark before they were transferred to Kohima. At Molung, she went alone visiting homes, worked with the women, held prayer meetings, trained the local women to share the gospel, started a night school and visited the needy people in whatever possible way.<sup>14</sup> Hattie was such a devoted and dedicated woman as can be seen in her own words, “God finds a better way for those who are willing to trust him.”<sup>15</sup> From the very beginning, she was found to be submissive, loyal and obedient to her husband which is depicted clearly in a letter to her friend Nettie back home as she was crossing the Atlantic Ocean on her way to Assam with her husband Sidney Rivenburg, she writes:

I had promised to become the wife of Sydney Rivenburg, missionary to India! I told him i have been waiting three years for him.....I was not particularly interested in saving any heathen here (America) or elsewhere; but was rather very much in love with a certain young man. I did not much care what he did or where he went as long as i might go alongwith him. I could have lived with him in America or gone to Timbuktoo-it was all the same to me.<sup>16</sup>

In all, Hattie was such a loyal and submissive wife.

Rivenburg, on the other hand credited his wife that because of Hattie, he was able to complete his medical studies and also complimented that she was very helpful in assisting him in his medical service towards the Angami natives. In a letter to his parents, he writes:

I never could have finished the course if Hattie had not read aloud and drilled me on the material. As it is, she was a very splendid assistant even to her husband.<sup>17</sup>

Overall, she served as a missionary in the Naga Hills for 24 years, spent 21 years with the Angamis-Christianized and educated them. She died on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1908 following an operation from a strangulated Hernia.<sup>18</sup> The very next day, Rivenburg wrote a letter to his daughter Narola who was in America informing about her mother Hattie’s death saying:

Darling daughter, i am very sad and about sick tonight.....to have had such a mother and wife is the choicest blessing a kind heavenly father bestows on any of his

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<sup>14</sup>Narola Rivenburg (ed.), pp.52-55.

<sup>15</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness*, p.12.

<sup>16</sup> Narola Rivenburg (ed.), *The star of the Naga Hills*, p.22.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness*, p.15.

children.....Darling, she was ours, but she was the Lord's first. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.<sup>19</sup>

She was buried in the Government Cemetery, Kohima, Midland but later, her grave was shifted to Kohima Mission Compound- present day the office site of Angami Baptist Church Council (ABCC).

Narola Rivenburg- the only child daughter was born to Sidney White and Mrs. Hattie Rivenburg on 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1887.<sup>20</sup> After the death of her mother, willingly she left all her dear ones and all the comforts of America and came out to assist her father in the remotest place-Kohima. R.S Lungalang in "*Rev. Sidney W. Rivenburg*" states that, "In 1908, Narola came to Kohima to help her father. She wanted to serve the Lord; hence she was given the task of translating the book of Mark from Greek Tenyidie language. After two years of tireless efforts, she returned to America in the year 1910."<sup>21</sup> She excelled in her studies and received the "*Magana cum Laude*" award which offers free studies to students however, she donated it to the Angami Mission Field after which she went to China and served as a missionary. In the book, "*Great is thy Faithfulness*" it gives a clearer and more understanding picture on Narola's promising contribution on Angami society where it states, "arriving at Kohima on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1908, she plunged right into acquiring more knowledge of Angami simultaneously with translation of the gospel Mark into Angami dialect besides giving her full attention to the Sunday school classes and teaching at the Kohima Mission School."<sup>22</sup> During her short stay with the Angamis, she served the Lord Christianizing and evangelizing the Native Angamis through education and sharing the gospel wholeheartedly. She died on 14 October 1942.

After the death of Hattie, his first wife, Sidney Rivenburg married Helen Portzman, a missionary woman at Nowgong on 28 December, 1910. They had three children- Henry, Varina and Sidney Helen. Like Hattie and Narola, she not only cared for the home, but plunged enthusiastically into the mission works and into teachings. With her help, the mission school at Kohima was re-organised into a middle school to correspond with the English-Indian system.<sup>23</sup> Helen, also called as Mama Rivenburg

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<sup>19</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*. p. 112.

<sup>20</sup> Pheluopfhelie Kesiezie, *S.W Rivenburg-Chaha Ketsau Dze(1857-1936)*,p.20. See also R.S Lungalang's "*Rev Sidney W. Rivenburg*." p.12.

<sup>21</sup> See R.S Lungalang, *Ibid* p.13.

<sup>22</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness*. p.29.

<sup>23</sup> Narola Rivenburg(ed.) *The star of the Naga Hills*. p.125.

also organized infant classes for childrens who came in the Sunday school alongwith their parents and that she was noted for her care and love towards childrens of the native Angamis. Besides these, she also gave music lessons to girls, helping them in many other ways to prepare to be suitable wives for Christian boys. Helen Portzman also initiated the Angami Baptist Women Association in the year 1910.<sup>24</sup>

### **4.3 His mission to India and Naga Hills.**

Not long after their wedding- five days after their marriage, 15<sup>th</sup> September 1883, the newly wedded couple-Rev. Sidney White Rivenburg and Hattie Rivenburg enthusiastically prepared themselves to set sail in India as a missionary couple alongwith the Witters. Hattie had just completed 21 years and five months and that many people wondered how her parents allowed her to go to a far-off place at such a young age. One could easily imagine the feelings of those sad parents on the shore of America as they waved till their daughter could be seen no longer as the ship disappeared. In a letter to Hattie, her mother writes,

If you sailed Saturday, as you expected, you must be very far from me when you read this- how far i dare not stop to think. I hope it is for the best. If you are happy, i shall try to be reconciled. It seems to me that i would give all i have in the world to know just where you are and how you feel in mind and body.....you must not expect it all to be sunshine. Be happy in each other and in the work you have chosen.<sup>25</sup>

Into thy hands could have been the only prayer of those grieving but proud parents and relatives.

No land could be far away from America than the rugged and steep hills of Nagas. Since Rev E.W Clark has spent sixteen years in *Assam*<sup>26</sup> without a furlough, the Rivenburgs, who were the first missionary family to join Clarks at Molung, a region of the Ao-Nagas to replace and relieve Clark. It took them months to reach India. In the early part of December 1883, the Rivenburgs alongwith the Witters arrived in Madras and on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1883. They reached Calcutta at a time when their parents and friends back home would be in a festive mood to celebrate Christmas. On reaching

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<sup>24</sup> *Angami Baptist Kehou dze, centenary souvenir (1885-1985)*, private circulation. Published by Angami Baptist Church Council (ABCC). p.16.

<sup>25</sup> Narola Rivenburg(ed.), *The star of the Naga Hill*. p.23.

<sup>26</sup> All the North-Eastern states were under Assam during the colonial period. The state of Nagaland too was called as Naga-Hills district of Assam until 1963.

Calcutta, letters of welcome from the Assam missionaries were awaiting the Rivenburgs.

Their destination when they left Calcutta on Christmas day, 1883 was as far as Sibsagar, Assam where the Witters had been posted (later to Wokha). Before them, Rev. Miles Bronson had already opened a missionary centre at Sibsagar in 1841 with the primary aim to evangelize the native peoples there. The first mission in Assam was established in 1836. Nathan Brown and Oliver Cutter were the first missionaries in the region of Assam. The Rivenburgs had arrived at Sibsagar on *February 12, 1884*<sup>27</sup> and during their short stay at Sibsagar mission field, learned Assamese language enough to be able to communicate with the Assam natives which gave them a great advantage for them to spread the gospel alongwith the aim of educating the Assam native peoples there.

At first, Rivenburg had been denied permission by the British administration to go to Molungkimong and relieve Rev E.W Clark primarily because of an inter-village feud in which the Molung villagers were also involved. They could go there only in the early part of 1885 to spend two eventful years with the Aos. With the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Assam Mission celebrated at Nowgong in December 1886, it was decided that the Rivenburgs should take over Kohima Field where works had come to a halt since Rev. C.D King- the first American Baptist missionary had left in 1886. In the early part of 1887, the Rivenburgs came to Kohima through Anguri and took over the Kohima Mission Field. They served from there for almost thirty years which transformed the life of the Angamis from a primitive state to that of a literate and God fearing people.

#### **4.4 C.D King and the Angami-Naga mission**

Can you cure diseases? Can you tell by looking at a person's hand how long he will live?<sup>28</sup> These were the two important questions a Naga asked Rev. Charles Dewitt King, the first American missionary to the Angamis. As stated earlier, the role and contributions of Rev C.D King towards Angami society cannot be ignored. His arrival and the subsequent establishment of mission works prepared the ground works for the other missionaries who arrived later in the Angami region.

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<sup>27</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness*, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol. LIX, September 1879, No. 9. p.361.

It was through the initiatives of Rev. E.W Clark that mission works among the Angamis was also started. Clark, the pioneering missionary to the Ao Nagas was not only interested in evangelizing this single tribe alone but to all the neighbouring tribes as well. For a long time, the missionaries had been conscious of the strategic importance of the Angamis. Mary Mead Clark states that, “Mr Clark, long anticipating this splendid opening, had importuned the missionary Union to send a man to the Angami Nagas, with Kohima, at an elevation of four thousand five hundred feet, as missionary headquarter.”<sup>29</sup> Clark thus wrote a letter to the American Baptist Mission Board back home, earnestly requesting them to send a missionary to Nagaland. In response to his request, Missionary Union in America sent Rev. C.D King as missionary to work among the Nagas, Assam in 1879. P.T Philip too argued that “at the request of E.W Clark, who was working among the Ao’s, the mission board appointed Rev. C.D King as the missionary to the Angami Nagas.”<sup>30</sup> King choose Kohima as his place of residence and the Angami tribe-the most warlike and powerful of all the Naga tribes, as the people with whom he desired to work. Dr. S.W Rivenburg wrote of this tribe as:

Of all the tribes- and they are almost as numerous as the hills they inhabit- into which the Naga groups is divided, the most people and warlike, as it is also the most enterprising, intelligent and civilized, so to say, is the turbulent Angami.<sup>31</sup>

King than went on to Tura from where he made his first exploratory visit to Angami territory- Samaguting, present Chumukedima, the then headquarter of the British troops on 27 June 1879.<sup>32</sup> Samaguting was the first Angami Village to host King. The establishment of the civil government and the presence of the Britishers at Kohima, the headquarter of the Angami made this part the most favourable one for missionary labour<sup>33</sup>. Accordingly, King wished to proceed to Kohima at once to establish a mission station there but it was during a time when the Angami tribe was at war with the British and the government refused him permission to settle at Kohima. He

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<sup>29</sup> Mary Mead Clark, *A corner in India*, p.117.

<sup>30</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*, Christian Literature Centre, Guwahati, 1976, p.79.

<sup>31</sup> S.W Rivenburg in *The Assam mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, held in Nowgong, December 18-29, 1886*, Published by the Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union., p.84.

<sup>32</sup> Baptist Missionary magazine, Volume LIX, October 1879 III, No. 10., p.361. See also A. Bendangyabang Ao, *History of Christianity in Nagaland*, Shalom ministry publications, Bangalore, 2004, p.117.

<sup>33</sup> Dr. Piketo Sema, *British policy and administration in Nagaland, 1881-1947*, Scholars Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992., p.72.

established himself at Samaguting because the peoples at Samaguting were seen as the “only Angamis who were than quite peaceful, friendly and accessible.”<sup>34</sup> Here, Anna M Sweet, wife of Rev. C.D King alongwith Puniram, an Assamese convert teacher from Nowgong School joined Rev C.D King and commenced school works at Samaguting.

It was in October 1879 that the Angami Nagas roused to massacre all Europeans. They suspected that the American Missionaries were spies of the British and thus strongly opposed them. On account of Naga attacks on the Britishers, the Kings after many vicissitudes, not able to enter the Kohima mission field were compelled to leave their station-Samaguting and flee to Sibsagar until the situation improved. Keviyiekielie Linyü argued that, “when war broke out between the British and the Angami Nagas, the Kings fled to Sibsagar. It was only after the Angamis accepted the British rule over them that Rev. C.D King and his wife returned to the Angami Nagas.”<sup>35</sup> During these four crucial month spent at Samaguting, Mr King commented that the Angamis had started coming to him for medicines and he also expressed his unfulfilled desire on evangelization and education by sharing the gospel to them.<sup>36</sup>

#### **4.6 Mission School at Kohima**

One cannot doubt that Rev C.D King was a zealous American Missionary and that Clark used to call him *good brother King*. On the restoration of peace and the permission received to enter the hills of Angami again, Mr and Mrs Charles Dewitt alongwith Puniram proceeded directly to *Kohima on 25 February 1881*.<sup>37</sup> With the approval received from the government, he constructed a bungalow, a school house and some buildings with great difficulty. Hardly had he done the preliminary works and care of the school, when he was ordered to vacate the location by the government.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, he pulled down the buildings and moved to another site a half mile away where he erected new ones. The first sight of years the Kings spent in Kohima were

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<sup>34</sup> 92<sup>nd</sup> Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union 1906-1908, p.144. Also refer, P.T Philip “The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland”, p.80.

<sup>35</sup> Rev. Keviyiekielie Linyü, *Christian movements in Nagaland*, p.68.

<sup>36</sup> Sanyü Iralu, “C.D King-The first missionary to the Angamis”, p.4.

<sup>37</sup> *Baptist Missionary Magazine.*, vol.LXI, June, 1881, No.6., p.152.

<sup>38</sup> *Papers and discussions of the Jubilee conference, The Assam mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, held in Nowgong, December 18-29, 1886.*, p.86.



thus full of obstacles. The amount of labour required can only be appreciated when one takes into account the primitive conditions under which he had to work. In the words of Mr Tanquist:

It took no small amount of pluck and bravery to press on with the government advance in those days of turbulence in the Angami tribe, when government officers had been treacherously killed.....King made considerable headway with the language and published something by way of a beginning. No trace of it can be found, however. On the whole, that initial missionary effort, though in some way unknown to us, it may have served as a foundation for the work that followed – seems to have left no permanent impression in the consciousness or memory of the people<sup>39</sup>

Education was one of the main channels of conversion during the early period of Christianity brought by the missionaries in the Naga hills. Since the Kings came to Kohima, they wanted to open a school for Angami boys for which he says in his report, “.....had been planning, pondering, advising, corresponding, hoping, praying.”<sup>40</sup> In this connection, Joseph Puthenpurakal gave a clear-cut insight that the government offered King every possible help to start a school at Kohima and that the report stated:

It begins to seem as though the oft-repeated cry ‘no money for schools’ is to have no place here. The chief commissioner of Assam has written to Kohima, urging that steps be taken to establish schools for the Nagas. And he suggest that a ‘good aided, mission school’ at Kohima may well be the first step.<sup>41</sup>

At Kohima, King met with great challenge of tackling the non too responsive Angamis on the one hand and with the tough Angami dialect which King regarded as the toughest to acquire among all the Naga dialects on the other. In this regard, Bendangyabang, a noted Naga academician argued that “Rev King finally entered Kohima in February 1881, however, next setback Rev. King faced was the language learning- hardest language is the Angami language”<sup>42</sup>

Rev. C.D King was not particularly adapt at languages and he seemed to have struggled a lot in this area so much so that Clark was led to request the American Home Committee to sent out another man to master the language. However, it was without doubt that King understood the importance for the Nagas, which he believed could in turn, enhanced his preaching to the natives. It was with this mind set that King endeavoured to do his best to begin school work among the Angamis. Later, the teaching force was augmented with the coming of Henry Goldsmith-a well known

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<sup>39</sup> V.K Nuh, *Naga Baptist Churches, Council of Naga Baptist Churches (CNBC)*., p.71.

<sup>40</sup> *Great is thy faithfulness.*, p.7.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph, Puthenpurakal, *Baptist mission in Nagaland.*, p.97.

<sup>42</sup> A. Bendangyabang, *history of Christianity in Nagaland.*, p.118.

gifted preacher from Assam and Sarbey-a Mikir Christian- both Assamese from Nowgong joined the Kings at Kohima to teach in the school and help in the mission works. With it, the First formal American Mission School among the Angamis was started with eleven Naga boys.<sup>43</sup> At the Jubilee conference held at Nowgong, Rivenburg reports that, “Henry and Sarbey, two members of the Nowgong church, accompanied King to Kohima and were engaged in school teachers. The school grew steadily. It was commenced with eleven Naga lads in a little thatched hut attached to the temporary house built by C.D King and it grew to thirty after few months.”<sup>44</sup> This work was carried with much success till 1886, when the numbers gradually felt away. There were no books in the Angami Naga tongue so; the school works was all done in Assamese. Later, an Assamese preacher, Robi also joined them in the mission school.<sup>45</sup> Under the curricular activities, the school boys also attended the Sunday services and prayer meetings conducted by Henry Goldsmith in Assamese.<sup>46</sup> However, the mission school floundered when the Kings left the mission field and Henry Goldsmith, the teacher incharge left Kohima until it was re-organised by S.W Rivenburg in 1887. In spite of the handicap of having to use Assamese language and a school runn by the English intellectuals in the region, the mission school under Rev. C.D King grew and the station school in Angami area and nearby mission centres became a great evangelizing agency.

The response of the Angamis towards Christianity and education was not like that of the Ao’s or any other Naga tribes in Naga Hills during the time, it was slow. In this regard Rev J.E Tanquist argues that, “the dominating and likable Angamis has been slow to respond to the gospel message.”<sup>47</sup> They were slow to accept the gospel because they still thought that their old animistic religion was right. The Angamis seemed to be more resistant to change, whether political, social or religious. Samaguting was the first to host the Kings and the last to receive Christ. P.T Philip argued that their more independent and individualistic character might have been one of the main reason for their lack of response to Christianity.<sup>48</sup> The missionaries’ translation strategy also seemed to have retarded the assimilation of Christian terminology and hence Christian

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<sup>43</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland.*, p.80.

<sup>44</sup> *Papers and discussions of the Jubilee conference, The Assam mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, held in Nowgong, December 18-29, 1886.* p.86.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p.80.

<sup>46</sup> S.W Rivenburg, *Historical sketch of the Angami Nagas Mission, Jubilee reports, Nowgong, December 14-23, 1886.*, p.86.

<sup>47</sup> F.S Downs, *The mighty works of God*, 1971, p. 143.

<sup>48</sup> P.T Philip, *The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland.*, p.81.

ideas among the Angamis just as it hastened such assimilation among Aos and Semas. Also, the non-Christian Angamis looked down upon the Christians who were nicknamed “*Yehova /Jihova*.”<sup>49</sup> On the whole, all these may be accounted as factors that led to the slow response of the Angami peoples towards Christianity and education.

Charles Dewitt King was recognised for braving every obstacle to convey the gospel message by educating the native Angamis in every possible way. Besides preaching and teaching in the school, Bible tracts in Assamese were also distributed. It was with this mind-set that King endeavoured his best and thus laid the foundation of school and modern educational works among the Angamis.

#### **4.7 The church and converts**

The efforts of Rev C.D King soon brought forth fruits in the form of converts at the Kohima Mission Field. In 1883, King had organised few Christians into the first Baptist Church with six persons as the founding members however, without a single Angami as member.<sup>50</sup> At Kohima, he gave the first baptism to Sara, wife of Robi, the native evangelist. It was only after four years of his hard labour that he had native converts in 1885. *Lhousietsü* was the first native convert. Later, he became a *Dobashi* and served as a government employee however, he used whatever spare time he could get in evangelizing the peoples by sharing the gospel. *Lhusietsü* was followed by *Lhouselie*.<sup>51</sup> It is said that his knowledge of both Assamese and Bengali dialect was of much help to C.D King in translation works. Another Angami native convert was *Sieliezhü* from Kohima village. He was converted while studying at the mission school and was baptised on 30<sup>th</sup> August 1885.<sup>52</sup> The fourth convert was *Zierietsu* but much was not known about him. To be more precise, the first four Angami converts were all “*students of King’s school*”<sup>53</sup> This was a prognosis of the fact that education was the main channel of conversion during the early period of Christianity.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.81.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> Rүүлhusono Mor, *The contributions of Rivenburg and its implications to Angami Baptist Churches*, p. 54.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p.55.

<sup>53</sup> F.S Downs, *The mighty works of God.*, p.140.

However, the work at Kohima Mission Field came to a temporary halt as the Kings were compelled to leave the Kohima Mission Field in 1886 due to ill-health in the family until Dr. and Mrs Rivenburg were designated to Kohima.

#### **4.8 Contributions of S.W Rivenburg to Angami Naga society**

##### **4.8.1 Concept of mission**

The narratives of the American Baptist missionaries are autobiographical and records of their work in the mission fields of Assam and North-East India. But apart from being theological tracts there are other interesting aspects that make the genre worthy of study. There was a trend in which missionary strategy of evangelism included organizing of churches, translating Bibles and producing literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the Edinburg Mission Conference. In the mid-twentieth century, there was development of health services but even from the very early date, the missionaries in the villages began health services to the people. Many American missionaries had laboured long and contributed in the areas of education, medical and evangelistic works in the Kohima Mission field. One notable figure was S.W Rivenburg. Other than Sydney White Rivenburg, there were six American Missionary couples who sacrificially worked in the Kohima Mission field. However, here the attempt is centred on the contributions of Sydney White Rivenburg towards the Angami Naga society. Apart from spiritual needs, human beings have so many social, economic and cultural needs and Rivenburg was found to be centering on all these needs. He carried out education, medical missions, did evangelistic works and transformed the Angamis to a civilized society. The missionaries in India were recognized for their sacrificial works as “Christian missionaries have worked amongst the tribal and at great sacrifice have spread education and greatly helped in effecting improvement in their living conditions.”<sup>54</sup> No doubt, Rivenburg was one among them.

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<sup>54</sup> Hamlet Barch, “Tribal awakening” in *The confusion called conversion*, edited by Ebe Sunder Raj, Bharat Jyothi, Chennai, 1998, p.109.

#### 4.8.2 Period of Explorations:

The period during which Clark took up missionary task was significant because the year 1838-1914 were a period termed by Stephen Neill as "*Heyday of Colonialism*."<sup>55</sup> This period was marked by new, great happenings in the world on various fields of human activities. When the Clarks returned from home-America, it was decided to sent Mr and Mrs Rivenburg from Molung to Kohima in the early part of 1887-the following year after the Kings left for America. Mrs. Clark in regard to this states that, "in view of the early departure of the Kings for America, it was decided that the Rivenburgs should succeed them at Kohima."<sup>56</sup> Rivenburg's stay in Kohima covered a period of almost thirty years. The Rivenburg's knew that they were going to face a hard time as they were going to work with the most resistant Naga tribe. They found that the Angami peoples were primitive, uncivilized and did not have a written language.<sup>57</sup> This must have caused him mental anguish to start all over again for he wrote:

To start all over again with the Angami language, after spending two years in studying the Ao language. But henceforth, the Angami people shall be my people and my one work is to make my God their God.<sup>58</sup>

When the Rivenburgs arrived at Kohima, they were received only by two Christian boys of about eighteen years. These two boys were believed to be Sieliezhü and Nisier and that he wrote in one of his report, "Two earnest Christian boys about eighteen years of age welcome out coming."<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, in a more précised manner, R.S Lungalang also states that when the Rivenburgs arrived at Kohima, there were only two church members left although C.D King had baptised four.

In 1888, a Mission School was again attempted at Kohima under Rivenburg and got three boys about 12 years old to come for six hours daily for schooling- Three hours in the morning, they studied and three hours in the afternoon, they worked in the compound. They were with the Rivenburg's and learned to read, write and add subtraction and multiplication table.<sup>60</sup> During his first five years stay at Kohima with the Angamis, there was no conversion though regular preaching was done at Kohima

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<sup>55</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the nineteenth century*, p. 237.

<sup>56</sup> Mary Mead Clark, pp, 118-119.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p.162.

<sup>58</sup> 73<sup>rd</sup> Annual Report of The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1887, pp.265-266.

<sup>59</sup> 73<sup>rd</sup> Annual Report of The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1887., p.260.

<sup>60</sup> E.W Clark, *Report from Kohima, 3<sup>rd</sup> Triennial Conference, Tura, January 14-22, 1893*,

and neighbouring villages. The Rivenburgs seemed to have discouraged by the irresponsiveness of the Angamis and that he wrote

For the most part of our works has been only a duplicate of the five previous years.<sup>61</sup>

He further goes on to say that, "Preparation, no harvest, no earring, no flower, not even germinating so far as i can see."<sup>62</sup> As such, the Board back home called them. The Rivenburgs thus returned to America on the first furlough (1892-1894). Since there was no missionary in Kohima between 1892-1894, it was reported that there were no school in Angami area. During these two years, Nichir (Nisier) and Salichu (Sieliezhü), the two Angami local evangelists have been at work and the baptism must be wholly credited to them.<sup>63</sup>

#### **4.9 Evangelistic works**

Having settled with his family at the Kohima Mission field in the early part of 1887, Dr, S.W Rivenburg directed his evangelization campaign towards the following heads

##### **4.9.1 School as the primary agent of Evangelization**

Christian missionaries regarded education as one of the main instrument of conversion. As the missionaries thought that proselytization could be effective through the spread of the gospel, education of the natives became a priority in their scheme of evangelization. The chief institution through which both education and Christian conversion were effected was the school. Indeed without this mechanism, the rapid education and conversion of many thousand of Nagas, if left solely to a handful of missionaries, would have been unthinkable. Missionaries understood education as a major means of impact upon the native peoples of Angamis like the other Naga tribes whom they thought were savages, primitive, backward, head-hunters naked, barbaric and so on and that they propagated the gospel through evangelization. Some of the discussions on education at the jubilee conference held in Nowgong in 1886 show that while the missionaries felt the need to enable the Angamis and the Nagas in general to read Bible

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<sup>61</sup> *The Baptist missionary magazine, published by the American Baptist Missionary Union, Vol. LXXX, Boston, 1900, p. 337. Also refer Narola Rivenburg, "The star of the Naga Hills", p. 89.*

<sup>62</sup> Leno Peseyie, *From Head hunter to soul winner*, p. 36.

<sup>63</sup> *Minutes on the seventh session of the Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, held in Guwahati, Assam, December 27, 1902- January 4, 1903. p.20.*

and other Christian literature, they were apprehensive about giving too much attention and importance to modern education. Many of them especially some of the earlier missionaries like E.W Clark and S.W Rivenburg were of the opinion that since the primary objective of the missionary is to evangelize, in other words, preach the gospel, it would be too demanding on their time and energy to give much attention to school education, which by itself would be unable to inculcate 'piety' in the hearts of the peoples.<sup>64</sup>

Under the domains of education, Janice M. Smith defined that, "School's aim is to develop a person's abilities and talents. They teach many important skills. School also provide knowledge that helps to make students useful, reproductive members of society. They help the children and young peoples to become good students, to learn their obligations as citizens and to understand and interpret national and international events. They also aimed at teaching the need for respecting the right of others and living co-operatively with them in the community. In addition, school teach the importance of personal and community life."<sup>65</sup> Renthly Keitzer, a Naga theological scholar in his article, "*The need for introduction of Christian Education and institutions in Nagaland*" in a more precise manner acclaimed the works of American Missionaries, giving them the credit for making the Nagas modern. Keitzer stated:

It was because of this- Christian education that the whole Naga tribals have come so far from their ancient ways of life to modern society and Christian education has made the greatest contribution to us in transforming their savage life to newness of life in Jesus Christ. In little over 100 years, we have skipped through several centuries of development to find ourselves in the midst of [the] modern technological age. This has been so to a large extent because of what the American Baptist Missionaries had given us through Christian education.<sup>66</sup>

All the missionaries who worked in the Kohima Field were aware and used school as one of their primary means in evangelizing the native Angamis. They believed that the gospel could be more effectively spread through a good school. Regarding school works in relation to evangelization, George W. Supplee states that:

I am not putting this school work in forefront, in point of importance, preach the gospel' is the first requirement of our commission and in this, the government cannot be an ally. But whoever controls the educational works will have it in his power greatly to help or hinder all direct evangelical works.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> John Thomas, *Missionaries, Colonialism and the writings of history among the Nagas*, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Janice M. Smith, "*School*" in *the world book of encyclopedia*, vol.17, Chicago, 1967, p. 152.

<sup>66</sup> Renthly Keitzer, *The need for introduction of Christian Education and institutions in Nagaland*.

<sup>67</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist mission in Nagaland*, pp.97-98.

The Christian Missionaries also understood the importance of school works for the Angamis in relation to preaching. C.D King, the first missionary to the Angamis had written:

Something must be done for the Angami Nagas and i suspect it will cost money and that educational works will constitute an important branch of the work of the missionary who tries to save soul among them.<sup>68</sup>

Milton Sangma too states that, “it would had been different in early years when the Angamis expected not only to have their boys exempt from tuition but actually to receive pay for the valuable time they are spending in school. Now they had begun to realise that the mission school was the best place for their children even if the children had to be subjected to some amount of work everyday as tuitions.”<sup>69</sup> When the Kings left Kohima in 1886, Rivenburg with definite aims restored the mission school of Kohima in 1887. He also found the Angami Language to be the toughest and that the language is very difficult since there was no book. In spite of the toughness in acquiring the language, he translated scriptures into Angami dialect and soon established a school in Angami Vernacular and taught Bible passages in Angami translated books.

With the establishment of mission school at Kohima, he tried to influence the native Angami behaviour, skills, attitudes, values and beliefs. Encouraged by Rivenburg’s attempt to publish some basic school text-books and the interest he showed towards Angami education, the chief commissioner of Assam-Fuller came forward in 1903 with a scheme of education and promised Rivenburg on all possible help.<sup>70</sup> Fuller further said and wished that his men too be coached to teach in the village school runned by Rivenburg. This was the first time a government official had been willing for the vernacular to be taught in the school. Likewise, in the following years, Rivenburg made a new beginning in his own mud-walled home in Kohima with an enrolment of some 20 boys and staffs composed of himself, his wife and a non-Angami Christian.<sup>71</sup> From that point on, the government aid and Rivenburg efforts went hand in hand and in the middle of 1913, the Kohima village Lower Primary School which had existed there

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p.96.

<sup>69</sup> Milton S. Sangma, *A history of American Baptist in North-East India (Volume-Two)*, p.208.

<sup>70</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist mission in Nagaland*. p. 121.

<sup>71</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist Mission in Nagaland*, p.122.



since 1906 under the complete control of the government was combined with the mission school and placed under the supervision of the missionaries.<sup>72</sup>

Education was seen as the central figure of Rivenburg mission. The early Angami converts like Sielizhü, Nisier, Khuneizhü were all from the mission school. In 1905, the first convert from Zotsoma (Jotsoma) village was converted while studying at Kohima Mission School.<sup>73</sup> Regarding the curricular activities in the school, Narola Rivenburg wrote, “we opened the school every morning with prayer, a Naga hymn and a verse of scripture.”<sup>74</sup> She also wrote that, “in our school, the boys learn simply arithmetic, hygiene, the catechism and to read those scriptures that are printed in the Angami dialect.”<sup>75</sup> The school also used the translated scriptures as text-books. At Kohima mission school, the Angamis also learn to read and write English, which of course, opens to them the wealth of all our western science and culture. The missionary motive was to impart Christian faith to the students and that Narola describing the school activities:

In the school are instructed those who become Christ disciples, and for whom the gospel becomes indeed the word of God to be shared with those who know not. Through these splendid, earnest young people, the one missionary may multiply his own talents a hundred fold, and the harvest is even now ready.<sup>76</sup>

In the later years of the mission school at Kohima headed by Rivenburg, Milton S. Sangma stated that apart from the Angamis, there were also pupils from the Sema, Eastern Angami (Chakhesangs), Kezania, Kacha Nagas and Kukis, each tribe speaking an entirely different language.<sup>77</sup>

The work of Hattie-wife of Sidney White Rivenburg and Narola too cannot be neglected. In the case of Hattie Rivenburg, she played a pivotal role in assisting her husband like visiting homes, working with the women, holding prayer meetings and training the local women to share the gospel. In a letter to her near ones back home, Hattie writes:

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid,p.122.

<sup>73</sup> Leno Peseyie, *Dahou kemetei puo*, p.45.

<sup>74</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills*. p.97.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid,p. 114.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid,p. 115.

<sup>77</sup> Milton S. Sangma, *History of American Baptist Mission in North-East India (Vol.2)*, p.208. Also refer Narola Rivenburg, *the star of the Naga Hills*, p. 119.

I have started a night school for six boys who want to read and write.”<sup>78</sup>

Besides these, she also went on to say that:

I am teaching a class of boys in the Sunday school, in English, some of them only come for the practice in English, but some are thinking seriously<sup>79</sup>

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As for Narola, the Rivenburgs were joined by their daughter in 1908 who served in the Kohima mission field for two years. Narola came to Kohima to help her father after the death of her mother, Hattie. Though her stay in the Kohima mission field was short, her contributions made an ample difference in the life of the native Angamis. At Kohima, she assisted her father in the mission school by taking classes, Sunday school services and spent all spare time evangelizing the native Angamis using all possible means.

From all these, it becomes ample clear that as far as missionaries were concerned, school education primarily was a means through which missionaries evangelization efforts, in other words, their project of Christianization and civilizing the Angamis would progress.

#### 4.9.2 Literary works

The American missionaries never lost sight of the importance of translation and literary works because these were considered *sine-qua-non* for the spread of the knowledge of Christianity and the foundation of the future prosperity of church in any country.<sup>80</sup> Language is the primary means of communication and no pioneering missionary could carry on his work for very long unless he/she was able to communicate in the language of the people. to whom he was sent. Mary Mead Clark wrote, “to bring the gospel to these savage hill tribes, a good knowledge of their language, habits and character is absolutely essential for gaining their confidence and winning souls”<sup>81</sup>

Richard M Eaton laments that one area of cultural change was in language. Eager to get vernacular translations of the New Testament into circulation as quickly as

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p. 103.

<sup>80</sup> Lal Dena, *Christian Mission and colonialism; A study of missionary movement in North-East India with special reference to Manipur and Lushai Hills, 1894-1947*, Vendrame Institute, Shillong, 1988, p. 107.

<sup>81</sup> Mary Mead Clark, *A corner in India*, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 68.

possible, the mission at Impur and Kohima rendered the various Naga languages to written form and built up a body of vernacular literatures which represented the first literature, these peoples had ever possessed. The works of the first American Baptist Missionary couples, Rev. Mr and Mrs Bronson with the Namsang Naga tribe is notable. In 1840, Mrs. Brown wrote a *first reader* in the Konyak Naga language- the first book ever written in any Naga language and Bronson also translated the “*History of creation*” and “*The flood.*”<sup>82</sup> A beginning was also made on the gospel book of St. Matthew. Attempts were also made on Naga terms and phrases through the Assamese languages. Bronson also started writing a Noga (Naga) vocabulary and catechism for the native Namsang villagers.

Under the Impur mission field, Clark and his wife were the pioneers of Ao literature. The first work in Ao was a hymnal compiled by Godhula, the Assamese local teacher in 1879. Milton Sangma narrates that by 1885, Clark had mastered the Ao language and had written them and compiled a dictionary, primer, catechism, life of Joseph, a hymn book and Matthew and John were carried to the press.<sup>83</sup> Another primer by Mrs Clark appeared in 1891. The Ao grammar and the first reader by Mrs Clark were printed in 1893. It was reported in 1910 that Dr Clark continued his works with the Ao dictionary. By 1911, the following books had been printed- the gospel of Matthew, Mark, John, Acts, I Corinthians, life of Joseph, An Ao-English dictionary, Hymns, chants, some portion of psalm and Lord’s prayer, magnificat, beatitudes and so on. The following books by Mrs Clark had also been published- Ao Naga grammar with illustrative phrases and vocabulary, English-Ao vocabulary, primer I and II, Simple arithmetic and second arithmetic and folklore.<sup>84</sup> These works greatly simplified the complicated linguistic landscape of the Naga Hills.<sup>85</sup> This was because literacy became the key to education, which in turn became the key to social mobility.

In the case of Kohima mission field, Rivenburg was the father of Angami literature.<sup>86</sup> He went through the experience of taking the pain to acquire the knowledge of the language of the Angamis, learned their culture, beliefs and ways of people.

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<sup>82</sup> See Ibid, p. 54.

<sup>83</sup> S.A.Perrine, *Reports from the Ao Naga field, 4<sup>th</sup> triennial conference*, Sibsagar, December, 14-22, 1895., p.186.

<sup>84</sup> Milton S. Sangma, *History of American Baptist Mission in North-East India (Vol.2)*, p.202.

<sup>85</sup> Richard M Eaton, *Conversion of Christianity among the Nagas, 1876-1971.*, p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> M. Alemchiba, *A brief historical account of Nagaland*, p. 160.

Rivenburg followed the example of the pioneer missionary-E.W Clark in the Ao area in adopting the English alphabets in writing the Angami language.<sup>87</sup> In 1893, at the conference of the Assam Missionaries of the American Baptist Missionaries Union held at Tura, the missionaries decided that the adoption of the Roman alphabet was best for hill tribes who had no written language.<sup>88</sup> As for Rivenburg, he too faced the problem in studying the language of the Angamis, assumed to be the toughest language of the Nagas, learnt the Angami language in spite of the complacency. In the 1890 report, it is said that he had translated 12 hymns and the gospel of Matthew and John and also have received from the press-an Angami Primer, this being the first book ever printed in the local language. Besides, he had also translated four chapters in the Acts book of the Bible and worked on arithmetic for beginners.<sup>89</sup> He further states that, “a primer and the gospel of Matthew have been gotten through the press; also John, to the 13<sup>th</sup> chapter. These are the first books in Angamis. I have gotten arithmetic for beginners ready for the press.”<sup>90</sup>

Besides these, he did not neglect the academic subjects in the school curriculum like simple arithmetic, English primer, history and even some basic about elementary science. Arithmetic, which is called the ABC of Maths- addition, subtraction, multiplication and division which are the best of maths to humankind, was unknown to the Angamis until Rivenburg wrote Arithmetic of fifty five pages and got it out printed in 1892 at Calcutta.<sup>91</sup> Between 1890-1893, he published an Angami grammar book, Angami primer, Angami speller and by 1905, English-Angami phrases and way to health (Umo Kevi da) were written.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> M. Alemchiba. Ibid, p. 156.

<sup>88</sup> C.Wulu Walling. Comp., *All is Light! All is Light! Source material on history of Christianity*, Impur: Literature Department, Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang, 2001, p. 54.

<sup>89</sup> A. Bendangyabang Ao, *History of Christianity in Nagaland; a source material*, Shalom Ministry, Mokokchung, 1998, p.122.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p.124.

<sup>91</sup> Milto S Sangma, *History of American Baptist mission in North-East India*, p.216.

<sup>92</sup> M. Alemchiba, *A brief historical account of Nagaland*, p.160.

## 4.10 Translation works

### 4.10.1 Bible Translation

Sidney White Rivenburg took the pioneering task of even translating the Bible and Hymnals to Angami dialect. F.S Downs put forward that Rivenburg reduced the Angami language to the Roman script and translated portions of the scripture- Matthew, John, Acts and wrote a hymn book of 100 hymns when he was on furlough from 1892-1894.<sup>93</sup> In 1890, Rivenburg translated the Lord's Prayer and some portion of the Bible in New Testament. In one of Hattie's letter, it reads:

Sidney is translating the Lord's prayer into Angami. Chanting should be popular with these people, for it is so much like the way they sing when they work.<sup>94</sup>

In 1901, Acts of the Apostle was translated and later was reprinted in 1904 and in 1905, the "the gospel of Matthew" came into fore-front. In 1910, he revised the gospel of Mark, the manuscript translated by his daughter Narola and by 1911, he translated the gospel book of Luke. Milton Sangma further stated that in the year 1911, the following books by S.W Rivenburg had been published- The gospel of Matthew, John and Acts. It was reported that in the year 1915, the gospel book of Luke had been printed and the letters of the first and second Corinthians were made ready for print as private material.<sup>95</sup>

### 4.10.2 Hymnal Translation

Traditionally, most of the Naga tribes inner most feelings and sentiments were communicated through the medium of folk songs. This is very much prevalent even among the tribe of Angamis. In the case of the Angamis, there were songs for mourning, song sung while herding and leading cattle's to pasture land, romantic songs sung especially by the peer groups during the whole cultivation seasons, cultural occasions and festivals or around the bon-fire which the Angamis called it- Thehou or Thehouba.<sup>96</sup> Thus, songs marked all their ways of life.

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<sup>93</sup> F.S Downs, *The mighty works of God*, p. 82. Also refer P.T Philip's, *The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland*, p.83.

<sup>94</sup> See Narola Rivenburg, *the star of the Naga Hills*, p. 84.

<sup>95</sup> Milton S Sangma, p.216. Also refer Narola Rivenburg's, *The star of the Naga Hills*, p 84.

<sup>96</sup> Khonoma: *Legendary Naga village nature's Utopia, Nagaland*: Khonoma tourism Development Board, 2005, p.30.

When Rivenburg was on his first furlough to America from 1892-1894, it reported that he had translated twelve hymns into Angami dialect. Since the facility of printing press in the North-East areas was not prevalent during the time, all the paper works were done in Calcutta. In the year 1890, Rivenburg translated some hymns in Angamis and compiled them into Angami Hymn book of which it comprises 100 hymns.<sup>97</sup> The name of the hymn book is called as, “*Tenyimia Tsali Kemesa*” (Hymns in Angami Nagas). The hymn books proceed with “*chant the Lord’s prayer*”. In the Hymn songs, he used *lhova* instead of *Jihova*. One of his hymns follows like this:

Teigei kelhou puo baya (There is a life in Heaven).

Süu kekhriethomia la (That is for those whom God loves most).

Kepeleko sünu voya (The believers go there)

Jisu kitsa, Jisu kitsa	(Jesus side, Jesus side)
Jisu kitsa vorcie	(Come towards Jesus side)
Tsie no Jisu kitsa	(Now come towards Jesus)
Jisu kitsa vorcie	(Come towards Jesus)
Puo dieyie, puo dieyie	(His message, his message)
Puo dieyie zecie	(obey his message)
Tsie no puo dieyie	(now obey his message)
Puo dieyie zecie. <sup>98</sup>	(obey his message)

#### 4.11 Medical works

Another important area in which S.W Rivenburg contributed to the process of adjustment to social change is in the field of medical care. Mary Mead Clark in “*A corner of India*” postulates that some knowledge of medicine is also of great advantage; it is an open door into many homes and puts an end to consulting soothsayers and sacrificing to demons.”<sup>99</sup> In a letter to John N. Murdock, an idea on Rivenburg’s work is revealed where it stated that, it has been his daily practice to go into the Naga village

<sup>97</sup>Rüülhusono Mor, *The contributions of Rivenburg and its implications to Angami Baptist Churches*, p.70.

<sup>98</sup> Beilieü Shüya, *Tenyimia diemvü dze*, Kohima Ura Academy Publications, 1999,p.24.

<sup>99</sup> Mary Mead Clark, *A corner in India*, p. 68.

and give out medicine to the sick and preach the gospel to whomsoever would listen.<sup>100</sup>

Regarding about medical works, in 1890, Hattie wrote:

we wish we had a more accurate knowledge of medicine.....the native here are afraid to go to the government hospital and yet they trust us. I know we could do so much more effective works as missionaries if we could go among them (Angamis) as Jesus did to heal their disease.<sup>101</sup>

During the first part of their evangelization mission, not a single Angami was converted even after completing their five years stay at Kohima Mission Field, the Rivenburgs thus returned to America on furlough. Narola Rivenburg in this connection writes, “Broken in health and utterly discouraged, the Rivenburgs returned to America, where Mr. Rivenburg studied medicine, graduating from the Baltimore medical College in 1894 and passing his Pennsylvania State Board examination in the summer of that same year.”<sup>102</sup> P.T. Philip’s “*The growth of Baptist churches in Nagaland*” in a similar tone too states that while on furlough, Rivenburg took a course in medicine at Baltimore medical college under John Hopkins University in 1894. He was thus enabled to return to India, a fully qualified physician.

Rivenburg resumed his mission by going around the Angami villages preaching and doctoring. In the year 1908, Kohima was witnessed and hit by Small-pox. Missionary like Rivenburg travelled around Kohima and neighbouring villages, vaccinating considerable sections of the villagers against small pox and Malaria, which were considered as dreaded diseases during the time. Thus, it is seen that in each village that an itinerant missionary pitched his tent, it was also common for the sick to be brought for medical treatment. On one such occasion, William Pettigrew is said to have treated over one hundred patients.<sup>103</sup> Each mission stations had also set up its own dispensary with the missionaries providing some basic health care. The medical treatment created the people more confidence to receive the gospel and they showed their eagerness to learn more and even began to attend Sunday service in a more responsive manner. He thus reported that the works of the past year may be summed up in two words viz., preaching and practising. Regarding his medical mission, Rivenburg wrote:

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<sup>100</sup> Joseph Puthenpurakal, *Baptist mission in Nagaland.*, p.118.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p.186. Also refer P.T Philip’s “*The growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland*”., p. 82.

<sup>102</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills.*, p. 89.

<sup>103</sup> William Pettigrew, *Itinerating in the Tangkhul Naga country, Assam, India*, p. 44.

I have been giving out medicines and this has offered many opportunities for introducing the great healer. In dispensing medicines, I have been singularly successful; certainly not from personal knowledge but by his guidance.<sup>104</sup>

Under the medical mission, Rivenburg not only visited the Angamis but also nearby neighbouring tribal villages healing the sick peoples. In one of his reports, he mentioned:

we heard that Nakama (Zeliang tribe) of whom eighteen were our Christians. I rode to Merhema (Merema), four miles from here. They have 110 houses of which, forty four were wiped out by the “flu”. From here i went on to Mao and was piloted around by one of my schoolboys. I ran out of medicine although i tried to stretch it as far as i could.<sup>105</sup>

In a more enticing tone, a letter of Hattie to her daughter states:

Dr Ruther and your father went to the village to vaccinate ninety six people one day and one hundred and fifty another.<sup>106</sup>

Rivenburg further mentioned:

I have not kept account of medical and surgical cases, but it would reach into thousands. The largest number of any one day that i know was fifty two. I have been signally blessed in trying to heal the bodies of these savage peoples.”<sup>107</sup>

The evangelization work of Rivenburg medical mission thus made a remarkable changes in the attitude of the Angami peoples with great significance.

Indeed God’s purpose for the Angamis was fulfilled through the life and works of the Sidney White Rivenburg. After his faithful service among the Angamis Naga tribe, he returned to America in the year 1923. During his stay with the Angamis, he succeeded in establishing a Christian community, produced Literature, maintained and brought the mission school of Kohima to a forefront level.<sup>108</sup> Keviyekielie, a noted Angami theologian and church leader in one of his writing states that, the works of Rivenburg was summarized by Neisier, one of the earliest Angami convert where it stated, “we have started briefly the work of C.D King. Rivenburg also started his works by starting a school, a Sunday school, reducing the Angami language into written form by using the Roman script, organizing a church and also doing some medical works. He runs the school in Angami. His early converts were also from the school. Among the

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>105</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills.*, p.134.

<sup>106</sup> Rūūlhusono Mor, *The contributions of Rivenburg and its implications to Angami Baptist Churches*, p.72.

<sup>107</sup> A. Bendangyabang Ao, *History of Christianity in Nagaland; a source material*, p. 125.

<sup>108</sup> *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol.LXV, no. 7, July 1887. Also refer V. K Nuh, *Naga Baptist Churches*, p.72.



Angamis, there has never been any mass conversion. The individualism and the strong democracy among the Angamis are two reasons for this. But there is also a historical influence, which in turn is a result of Baptist faith. When the first four Angamis were baptised on different days, it was .....in order to emphasized as much as possible the necessity of personal and independent action in the service of Christ. ”<sup>109</sup> Romeyn H. Rivenburg<sup>110</sup> while admitting the contribution made by S.W Rivenburg states, “Sidney White Rivenburg planted an acorn in the Kohima field in the Naga Hills of Assam, India, which took a long time in sprouting but has become a mighty oak”<sup>111</sup> In the year 1923, he was awarded the Viceroy silver medal *Kaisar-i-Hind*<sup>112</sup> because of his commendable service rendered to the peoples of Angamis and Nagas in general. Rev (Dr) Sidney White Rivenburg, the beloved “*Chaha Ketsau*” of the Angamis died on March 1936.

Needless to say, Sidney White Rivenburg is considered as the father of the Angami Nagas and that Neisier in one of his letter of May 25, 1936 referred to Rivenburg as:

*“Rev, S. Rivenburg,  
The friend of the poor,  
The Star of the Naga- Hills.”*<sup>113</sup>

The Kohima acorn planted by Sidney White Rivenburg and wife Hattie in faith and hopes and longing, thus has indeed grown to be a mighty oak of blessing to the tribe of Angamis and Nagas as well.

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<sup>109</sup> Keviyekielie Linyü, *The Angami Church since 1950*, p. 46.

<sup>110</sup> Romeyn H. Rivenburg is the younger brother of Sidney White Rivenburg.

<sup>111</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills.*, p.9.

<sup>112</sup> Kaisar-i-Hind is a medal of honour given to civilians by the British ruler in recognition of a person services rendered to the peoples of India.

<sup>113</sup> Narola Rivenburg, *The star of the Naga Hills* p. 149.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **CONCLUSION**

The American Baptist Missionaries played a significant role in the expansion of modern education and brought about far reaching changes and consequences towards the Angami Naga society. It is also a common knowledge that education was an effective tool utilized by the Christian missionaries towards the achievement of their larger goal of “proselytization.” It is seen that modern educational system instituted in the region was a crucial element in the process of evangelization and the creation of new culture. The advent of Christianity consequently influenced their culture as new elements and ideas associated with Christianity got incorporated into their society. With the arrival of Christian missionaries, Angami culture began to dis-integrate when the former set-up modern schools and therefore, one is led to understand that the primary purpose was imparting an ideology that would flow in the society for which, education was structured to achieve their goal of winning converts.

Before the advent of Christianity, the Angamis had their own system of imparting education in a traditional way through the institution called Kichüki/Thehou where the life of the young boys and girls were shaped with moral code and values of the society. These were the schools where the students were taught with practical methods- learning by doing and by imitation. Closer investigation on the Angami traditional institution however reveals an abundance of embedded clusters of knowledge, which is still in existence but has deeply buried. Drawing on a wide range of interpretations, which includes both Western and Locals, it reveals that the American Baptist Missionaries were responsible for the dis-integration of traditional culture and values attached to Kichüki (Morung). This is not merely a nostalgic expression but an inference of a more insightful study. The American missionaries did not approved of this traditional institutional practice and therefore, the gradual destruction of this institution-Kichüki/Thehou was a prelude to the missionary activities in the Angami region.

The relationship between the Colonial administrators and the Christian missionaries in the Angami area remains unclear, although, many have emphasized about their mutual co-operation. The missionaries had only one motive that is, to

Christianize the peoples whereas, the colonial administrators had not only one, but several. They keep modifying their policies every now and then. The missionaries felt that colonial administrators had failed in their basic obligation of providing primary education for all its subjects and therefore they considered it to be their humanitarian duty as well as legitimate mission policy to promote education as part of their evangelical works amongst the Angami whom they portrayed as barbaric, naked, uncivilized and so on. The Colonial administrator efforts in promoting education in the region prior to the coming of the mission had been temporary and unsuccessful; it 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 Angami Nagas. The relation between the two still needs a further detailed investigation.

The establishment of mission schools designed to civilize the Angamis hid the real motives that were possibly evangelical. This led to the loosening of Kichüki, the traditional Angami Institution and the missionaries project was constructed as an assault on Angami traditional religious and cultural practices. A careful examination in regard to the degradation of the Angami traditional institutions of learning as compared with pre-colonial times would help to unravel the dynamics of the grafting of a totally new world view order on an older one.

Missionaries were also found substituting the traditional institutions, practices, dietary habits, medicines etc. with new modern practices. This displaced the practices and learning of the traditional institutions, tribal crafts, songs and indigenous medicines. Their strategy of replacing these sort of traditional practices with new ones was synchronized with their modern educational programmes, aims and objectives.

The contact between the missionaries and the Angamis was seen as a form of cultural encounter. The Christian missionaries, during the initial years were persuasively communicating with the Angamis. However, in the later years of their countership, missionaries initiated a board programme to improve the Angami natives through various evangelization processes. The main strategy instilled in the minds of the missionaries was preaching through the school curriculum; the later had incorporated all that was needed to convince the Angamis. The converts were later guided by a set of rules framed by the missionaries. As John Mbiti, a modern African theologian puts it, “missionary culture told the Africans in effect that unless you are circumcised, you cannot inherit the kingdom of God.....unless they become culturally

westernised and Lutheranized, Americanised, Presbyterianised and methodised, Africans cannot inherit one centimetre of Christian faith.”<sup>1</sup> Although the situation was not the same as in the case of the Angamis, there seems to be resemblance in different ways. The converted Angamis departed from the norms of their reference groups and the social organizations with which they had been identified especially through the social gathering at Kichūki and Thehou. These converts were overtaken in the cross fire of this clash. With the education received from the mission schools and the eventual mass conversion of the tribe to Christianity, the gap widened. Here, one should ponder on the question of whether the Angamis embraced Christianity believing that they would gain personal salvation or whether they accepted Christianity only to raise their quality of living?

Besides the difficulties usually associated with missionary works, the missionaries at Kohima also faced the peculiar challenge of Angami dialect and the absence of script. This made it more difficult for the missionaries to cater their Christian principles and ideas in the Bible to be accessed and understood by the Angamis. To help the Angamis know the word of God, the missionaries had to teach them first to read and write. Thus, began the mission involvement in literacy contribution. Much of the missionaries' time was spent in trying to introduce the Roman script to replace the tribal dialects and the translation of the Bible. For the initiation of mission works, the spread of literacy became more and more pertinent and as work progressed, the need for establish a comprehensive educational system became imperative; thus followed the system of evangelical education for the Angamis which eventually resulted in manifold consequences for their life, culture, religion and society.

Among the many American missionaries served at Kohima, the contribution of Sidney White Rivenburg is seen to be the most prevalent and that one cannot neglect it. His missiological emphasis on the ministry and the demonstration on social, religious and cultural concern towards the Angamis brought about a far-reaching impact on Angami society. Under his evangelization mission, he changed the society from a life of savagery to a civilized society, oral to literate society, head hunters to soul winner. Rivenburg's contribution towards the development of

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<sup>1</sup> John Mbeti's, "*African indigenous culture in relation to evangelism and church development.*" in *The Gospel of the frontier people.* Edited by, R.P Beaver, Pasadena, William Carey Library, 1972, p. 82.

Literature has also been a noteworthy, yet one is also compelled to ask if the process of translation caused a loss of the originality to a certain extent.

The role of American Baptist Missionaries remained a highly debated issue even today. To some, they credited the American missionaries that Christianity alongwith education brought modern way of life. Whereas, to some they criticized the missionary works. The main reason behind it can be traced under their culture. With the coming of missionaries, the culture of the Angamis degraded to a lot great extent and the nature of Angami society too has lost its flavour as compared with earlier times, that is, before the intervention of American missionaries. Mission schools and modern ways of life had also replaced the traditional customs and practices of the Angamis.

Many observers among the anthropologists and sociologists feels that the missionaries zeal to promote evangelical education and conversion policy totally proved tobe unsympathetic and inconsiderate towards the cause of preservation of culture as noted earlier. Anthropologist Christopher Von Furer Haimendorf, Verrier Elwin, J.H Hutton, have criticized the missionaries for being responsible for the abandonment of loose of elements of Angami culture ranging from folksongs, weaving, dances, ornaments, weapons etc. that went into the making of their own way of life. Elwin accused missionaries for 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.

On the other side of the fence, Visier Sanyü, a prominent Angami scholar expresses and represents the general sentiments towards Christianity among the Angami society. Viewing at it he says, "Christianity was the 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 peoples to reason and overcome traditional prejudices."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Angamis or so to say the Nagas in general opinion in recent times was characterized by ambivalence towards the impact of Christian Missionary intervention. Captain Butler, during his tours to the tribes and

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<sup>2</sup> Visier Sanyü, A history of Nagas and Nagaland, p. 117.

after a close investigation had predicted that there is no hope for the Angamis becoming civilized and desiring a free intercourse with strangers even within the next century.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to Butler's dismal prognosis, the coming of American missionaries with their evangelization mission greatly accelerated changes in their 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.

Christianity and education had therefore motivated the Angamis to develop a consciousness of an identity. The study of the American Baptist Missionaries and their contributions towards modern education to the Angami Nagas argue that the expansion of education was premised on a cultural migration from one to another form of life, touching all spheres of Angami social, cultural, religious and even political giving way to new social structure that further enhanced modern lifestyle of the Angamis. From this study it may safely be concluded that it is no longer acceptable to portray the Christian missionaries as selfless, dis-integrated men who came to civilize the Angami Naga tribes, who were living a life of savagery during the time. The attempt and focus should also be on objectivity and critical analysis in newer and more innovative ways.

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<sup>3</sup> John Butler, *Dairy of two tours in the unadministered areas east of the Naga Hills*, p. 154.

## GLOSSARY

- Ahoms : A group of Shan tribe belonging to the great Thia family who once conquered and ruled Assam and is in Assam today.
- Dobashi : The village interpreters used by the British officials as mediator and translators.
- Gaonbura : Literally means village elders. It is derived from two Hindi words viz. Gaon, village and Bura, Old or Elder. Gaonbura is a respected title who involve in village administration.
- Kenyü : Taboo.
- Kichüki : Morung or Bachelor's Dormitory.
- Mhoshuo : A spirit of Competitiveness to be a part with others and succeed which in many cases if not always is resulted from a sense of shame, respect and courtierness.
- Ukepenuopfü : Angami usage of English Jihova. A translation of Hebrew, "YHWH" or "YAWEH." Ukepenuopfü is a translation of the English Lord or God.
- Pfütsanuo : Sub-clan. Literally, it means childrens of one grand father.
- Pfütsana : Ancestral religion that can also be called as Animism.
- Penna : Genna. A day where fieldwork is prohibited for religious purpose. It is a Taboo (Kenyü) to do fieldworks for fear of bringing curse (Rüse) on oneself or to the family.
- Thinuo : Clan. Usually, villages are divided into different clans depending upon the size of the village.
- Thehou : An open community hall found in Angami villages. Thehou is a place where Angami young boys develop the art and skills of learning new things especially from the elder male folks.
- Rüü Kichüki : Females' dormitory among the Angamis.
- Thekrahe : Young people of the same age group coming together and having songs festival during Sekrenyi/Phousanyi is termed as Thekrahe.
- Sekrenyi/Phousanyi : Among the different Angami festivals celebrated in the year, Sekrenyi is the biggest festival. This festival marked the purification for the life of the male members.
- Zu : Rice Beer made of sticky rice

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