

**EXPLORING THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIAN
MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN NORTH-EAST INDIA
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HILL-AREA
TRIBALS OF MANIPUR**

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

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

VUNGLIANKIM VALTE



ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI- 110067
2008

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled, **“Exploring the Historiography of Christian Missionary Education in North-East India with special reference to hill-area tribals of Manipur”** submitted by me is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my original work and it has not been previously submitted in part or full, for award of any other degree of this or any other university.

Vungliankim Valte
Vungliankim Valte



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Exploring the Historiography of Christian Missionary Education in North-East India with Special Reference to Hill-Area Tribals of Manipur" submitted by Miss Vungkiankim Valte is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university, or any other university, and is her own work.

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Geeta Nambissan', written in a cursive style.

Prof. Geeta Nambissan
(Chairperson)

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

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dr. Dhruv Raina', written in a cursive style.

Dr. Dhruv Raina
(Supervisor)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At the outset I would like to make it clear that I chose to write on the 'North-east India' not because I belong to the region but because of my firm belief that more research needs to be done in this field, more books must be written and more exposure of the North-east is necessary to do away with stereotypical images people tend to have about the region. The fact that written material relating to the North-east is hard to find should not be a deterrent to any research student because there remains a lot to be explored and the attitude on our part should be, 'if not now, when?'. During my search for substantial materials- books mainly- what struck me the most was the fact that most authors simply narrate events or tell stories. One hardly comes across writings (particularly in local dialects) of an in-depth, critical, analytical nature. Academically, the tribals of the North-east India still have a long way to go. This is probably because literacy in the region is not more than a century old! The only means of knowledge transmission amongst these people was through oral tradition, passed down from one generation to the next. Simply put, the art of reading and writing are relatively new to them. The oral tradition of knowledge transmission is pre-Christian in origin and content while written literature is the product of Christianity and modern education.¹

This study although being specifically focussed on the hill-area tribals of Manipur, will be incomplete without reference to tribals of the North-east region who share a similar history, origin, cultural practices etc. and are geographically linked to one another. Mention of the cases of Mizoram and Nagaland are inevitable because the coming of Christianity in Manipur was not an isolated event. This work will primarily focus on the relationship of Christianity to the socio- cultural context of this extended geographical region

¹ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity: Hmars of North-East India*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p. 78.

and to the field of 'education' in particular. It is not about 'Church History' or the 'Growth of Missions'. It is the study of the missionaries' endeavours to educate the tribals of North-East India from various perspectives. Moreover, this study does not attempt to focus on any particular tribe but takes into consideration tribes of Manipur as a whole. 'Education' in this context implies not only the process of schooling but the whole paraphernalia that comes along with the whole system of instruction and learning, change and transformation in outlook, attitude, perspective and world view. We cannot ignore its relationship and impact on society, economy and politics as well.

The experiences of mainland India cannot be equated with those of the tribals in North-east India as far as Christian missionary education is concerned. The effects of colonialism were not as pronounced in the North-east nor did there exist religious forms as existent on most of the sub-continent prior to the advent of the Christian missionaries. The most important reason why the impact of missionary education was greater in the hills was because the government gave the Christian missions a virtual monopoly on education there well into the twentieth century.² It would not be wrong to say that Christian missionaries introduced English education amongst the tribals to better facilitate the spread of the Gospel and to enable them to read the Scriptures. One cannot deny the fact that the principal objective of a Christian missionary was to proselytize and to gain converts and 'Education' was an effective tool to that end. More often than not, parallels are often drawn between 'Christian missionaries', 'Education', 'Conversion' and 'Colonialism'. These entities are undoubtedly closely related to one another but it would be wise to be able to differentiate between things 'Christian' and things 'Colonial'. Not in all cases did education lead to conversion.

This study deals with the tribals of Manipur primarily because they have adopted Christianity on a massive scale while those in the valley did not.

² Frederick S. Downs, *History of Christianity in India, volume V part 5: North-East India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, The Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1992, p. 203.

The culture and religion of the hill-area tribals and those of the valley-dwellers differ enormously. In the hills the Christian educational activity was much more extensive and the impact much greater.³ At the time of the arrival of the British in Manipur, the hill-area tribals were given to practises such as head-hunting, the tribes were headed by chieftains and there were no traces of literacy whatsoever. They did not have any contact with the outside world. In this regard, the Manipur valley was quite different, marked by a variegated culture, an established religion (Vaishnavite Hinduism) and administration under a king (a royal family). Manipur (with the exception of the hill-areas), had been Sanskritized or Hinduized along with the rest of the plain areas of Assam in the 1820s. The Treaty of Yandaboo concluded between the English East India Company and the Kingdom of Burma on 24 February 1826 at the end of the first Anglo-Burman War sealed the fate of the North-East region.⁴

British involvement in the North-East India began with the first Indo-Burmese war in 1824. The war broke out due to the instability that existed in the North-East at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The conflict between rival claimants to the Ahom throne, the then dominant power in the region enabled the Burmese to occupy not only Assam but neighbouring Cachar and Manipur as well. The Burmese military rule from 1819 constituted something of a reign of terror. The Rajas of Manipur and Jaintia supported the British forces and with their cooperation, particularly those of Manipur, the Burmese were defeated and forced to leave the region. Thus the whole North-East region although liberated from the Burmese reign of terror, fell into the shrewd hands of the British imperialists.⁵ The defeated Burmese who had recently conquered and ruled over Assam and Manipur, were required to withdraw and British sovereignty was recognized as extending throughout the region. The states of Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland were at that time a part of and administered under

³ Ibid, p. 201-203.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 6-7.

⁵ O. L. Snaitang, *Christianity and Social Change in North-East India: A study of the role of Christianity in social change among the Khasi-Jaintia hill tribes in Meghalaya*, Vendrame Institute, Shillong, 1993, p. 42.

Assam. From 1963 onwards, these provinces attained statehood, one after the other and seceded from Assam.

A brief account of the political situation of Manipur prior to the arrival of the missionaries needs to be given to understand why the missionaries were denied entry into the State until the late nineteenth century. The unsettled political situation in Manipur was the main factor which prevented the missionaries from gaining access to the State. The British attitude towards the kingdom of Manipur was more or less friendly, but this was just a means for the expansion and consolidation of their hold over eastern India and Burma. The Treaty of Yandaboo between Manipur and the British imperialists on 24 February, 1826 clearly indicated that the latter's intention was to use the small hilly kingdom of Manipur as a pawn in the British imperial design towards the annexation of Asian countries. Even though Manipur was liberated from Burma, she gradually became a victim to the onslaught of British imperialism mainly because of mutual distrust and dissensions among the ruling princes of the State.⁶

The friendly relation between the two countries had undergone certain changes after the Burmese War of 1885. The Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891 marked the end of the era of a sovereign and independent Manipur and the beginning of a new one in the history of Manipur, under the sway of British rule. This war also marked the completion of the British conquest of the Indian sub-continent.⁷ As a result, Manipur was reduced from an independent kingdom to assume a status of protectorate under the British Empire. The British, as in other parts of their colonies, took advantage of the inner conflicts and petty fights within the Royal family. They appointed and dethroned kings at will to suit their interests. The experiences of the Meiteis under the British had been unpleasant to say the least. Consequently, they became extremely

⁶ Gangmumei Kamei, "The Anglo-Manipur War and its aftermath" in Lal Dena (ed.) *History of Modern Manipur (1826-1949)*, Orbit Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 48.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 49.

suspicious of any European who set foot into Manipur. As a result, the Christian missionaries could not gain easy access into the State.

The very term 'North-east India' has been an issue of debate in recent times amongst intellectuals. Questions have been posed regarding its relevance and connotation. Here the term is used purely for the sake of convenience and coherence, for a better understanding of the region and has nothing to do with politics whatsoever. The fact that there are numerous small and varied tribes in the region has baffled outsiders and insiders alike. However, the one common trait of the tribes in these areas is their experience of having foreign initiated Christian Missionary education with the coming of Christianity from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Objectives of the study

This study does not attempt to put forward the researcher's own views on the topic, nor does it attempt to pass judgements as to which is the correct rendition of the history of modern education in the North-east. It aims to review the historiography – the various ways the history of Christian missionary education in India and particularly in the hills of North-east India has been written. Here, the main focus will be on the hill-area tribals of Manipur who share a somewhat similar history with the tribals of Mizoram and Nagaland as far as missionary influences are concerned. This study attempts to bring out the different manifestations of the 'civilizing' mission in India broadly, and more specifically in Manipur (and its neighbouring states). It must be noted that the historiography of missionary education in North-east India is an underdeveloped field.

What does the study propose to do?

This research work unlike the existing research on the 'history of education in Manipur', proposes to bring out the various facets and

dimensions on what has been written and what are the emerging trends in this history writing. It does not attempt to merely narrate the events of the arrival of the missionaries on Indian soil and then in North-east India. A lot of research has focussed on the development of education, its impact on the socio-cultural, political and religious lives of the tribals in North-east India and in Manipur specifically. Most scholars who have written on this theme seem to agree at one level- that Christian missionary education did 'civilize' the tribals and it was indeed a 'boon' for them.

This dissertation attempts to explore this issue further. Are there any secular writers who counter this commonly held notion? What are the prominent debates, or discussions on the theme? How was 'modern' education brought about by the missionaries beset with limitations? Have the reactions of the local people changed over time?

Research questions:

- 1) To deconstruct the concept of the 'civilizing' mission and highlight the different manifestations of the civilizing mission in the North-east and Manipur in particular.
- 2) To identify the pioneers of modern education in the area studied and the nature of the response of the people who would be 'civilized'. Who were the local educationalists and what were their contributions to education of their own people?
- 3) Identifying trends in contemporary scholarship. What are the newly emergent historiographical trends in the field? How different are they from the past scholarship?
- 4) To study and analyze how the history of education has been written by
 - a) the missionaries themselves
 - b) educationalists from Manipur

- c) sociologists/ anthropologists
- d) historians
- e) Other Indians.

Methodology

Since this study is historiographical in nature, the works of various historians and scholars who have written on Christianity and Education will be discussed. When it comes to the North-east and Manipur, the writings of local writers in local dialects were also consulted. Theological writings, Church souvenirs, journals and magazines will be good sources to consult. Archival materials including the articles written by the missionaries themselves, and their biographies and autobiographies will be valuable sources too. Interviews with prominent personalities like the Church elders of various communities, heads of some mission schools etc may be conducted to gather information on the people's reaction to the educational works started by the missionaries. Every researcher working on the North-East India faces a problem with collection of source materials written in local dialects. The number of dialects and varieties of languages spoken makes it impossible to consult books of all communities. I do not claim to have done justice to all the tribes of Manipur, especially those whose dialects I am not familiar with. However, I have attempted to mention most of them and documented their experiences as best as I could. I have also consulted some books in local dialects; most of them autobiographies of men who had attended the earliest mission schools and had taken up mission work after the missionaries had left. I have freely translated them and I take full responsibility in case of any misinterpretations.

Till today, as Frederick F. Downs has rightly noted, the traditional mission-oriented perspective i.e. the missionary-centred historiography predominates historiographical writing on the subject. This is so because the sources, on which these studies have been undertaken, are mostly produced by the missionaries themselves. One tremendously valuable source that is fast

disappearing is the oral history that the older Christians can provide for us. The mission-oriented perspective is inadequate to provide a holistic picture of the history of Christian education primarily because when one has found out what the missionaries thought was happening, one has not necessarily found out what was actually happening.⁸ Our interest, therefore, is to explore the various facets to this phenomenon.

⁸ F. S. Downs, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 26.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Historiography of the field of Christian Missionary

Education in India

History, as we know, is a subject which deals with the past. It is, in fact, an unending dialogue between the present and the past. But interestingly, it is not a static, but dynamic subject. Events in history can be interpreted in many ways and it is not always an objective account that emerges in history-writing. It is very misleading to use the term “THE history of...” because there cannot be a single, fixed “THE” history of any event. The same event or incident in history can be written with different perspectives, the Revolt of 1857 serving as a classic example or the debate about the Gupta age being a “Golden Period” in ancient India, for that matter. This is why historiography plays an important role in sifting between perspectives. To study historiography is to study the methodological questions raised by the writing of historical accounts. To put it in simple terms, it is the study of the writing of the history of historical events. Historiography can also refer to a body of historical work. When we study historiography we do not study the events of the past directly, but the different or changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians. This activity consists in giving meaning to the historical facts because the historian without the facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless. Historiography is the written record of what is known of human lives and societies in the past and how historians have attempted to understand them.

The history of traditional forms of education

The history of education in India goes back to ancient times when traditional methods of teaching and learning prevailed. The form of education

and schooling as we know in the present age did not exist then, but throughout history, India has been known as the land of learned sages and was advanced in the fields of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, art and literature, to name a few branches of knowledge. It is important to remember that India had a deeply rooted system of education which sufficiently catered to the needs of the people. Educational development was not uniform throughout India. Different castes, communities and regions had different exposures to education. Both Hindus and Muslims had their own systems of education each deeply rooted, with a great tradition of learning and scholarship behind them.⁹

The Hindu schools of learning in Western India were called “Pathshalas” and “tols” in Bengal. The Muslim schools were mainly the “maktabs” and the “madrassas”. Before the British came to India, emperors, nawabs, zamindars etc patronized learning by granting “inam” land to maktabs, madrassas, tols and pathshalas or maintaining scholars at the court. Each educational system had its own curriculum based on the respective religious tradition and culture where religious instruction along with the secular knowledge was imparted. Teaching was carried out in the classical languages i.e. Sanskrit in the Hindu schools and Persian in the Muslim schools respectively.¹⁰

There was a widespread network of village elementary schools and schools of higher learning, Hindu and Islamic, where there was a great deal of flexibility and teachers developed the curriculum.¹¹ A young man whose family calling was to the religious sciences might go on from the ‘maktab’ to a ‘madrassa’, a more advanced school of Arabic and Islamic learning. More often, a boy would move from place to place, reading various books privately with different teachers. This was a flexible and resilient system, with a long and distinguished tradition that was, however, increasingly threatened in the

⁹ Aparna Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982, p.1

¹⁰ Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A history of education in India during the British period*, Macmillan, Bombay, 1951, pp. 1-3.

¹¹ Aparna Basu, ‘National education in Bengal: 1905- 1912’, in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed), *The Contested Terrain*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1998, p. 54.

nineteenth century by the drying up of private patronage for the maulvis, ustadhs and ustanis who peopled the indigenous system of learning. The spread of English schooling among the elite was one of the reasons for this decline in patronage.¹² In Mughal India Farsi was the court language and was coveted by both Hindu and Muslim elites. It is interesting to note that these distinct institutional forms without any link or relation of any kind between them catered to a distinct class or community. In this respect, the traditional system of education was quite different from the complete and continuous Western system introduced during the colonial period.¹³ The traditional system of learning served the practical needs of daily life. Under the social changes initiated under colonial rule, the traditional schools were abandoned in favour of English education that was a prerequisite for secure government jobs from about the end of the nineteenth century.

The origins and agenda of colonial education

Deliberations and various policies brought about changes in the educational system of India. Initially, the East India Company did not think it worthwhile to establish schools of learning. However, their opinion changed later with the amendments in the Company's policy. Earlier, the policy of the Company was to encourage and support charity schools run by Christian missionaries. This can be regarded as the beginning of the educational activity of the East India Company. But charity schools were limited in their student enrolment as they catered mostly to the children of the European servants of the Company. The first proper educational institution established by the Company was the Calcutta Madrasa followed soon after by the Benaras

¹² Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars: Women's education and Muslim Social Reform in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 21.

¹³ Poromesh Acharya, 'Indigenous Education and Brahminical Hegemony in Bengal', in Nigel Crook (ed), *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 98.

Sanskrit College. These were established for the cultivation of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit studies.¹⁴

The modern form of education in India was introduced by several European missionary orders in their endeavour to “civilize” and “enlighten” the heathen. Much has been written and debated about the various dimensions and connotations of the “modern” education introduced by the British in India. The matter has been made more complicated due to an additional feature – Christianity. Christian missionaries had arrived in India long before the British colonizers did, but their presence came to be more widely felt with the advent of the British Imperialists. However, it is important to note that British education in India drew on the missionary sources only after the 1830s and not before that. Christian education in India has been an intriguing and perplexing issue of which different accounts have been given by various writers.

When we speak of Christianity in India, we inevitably associate it with colonialism. But distinctions have been made between things Christian and things “colonial”. And when we talk of Christian missionary education, we tend to voice concerns about proselytization and Anglicization. One must remember, however, that such simplistic accounts or interpretations do not provide an adequate picture. Though the missionaries came to India only in the shadow of the colonialists, the missionary endeavour cannot be seen merely as an extension of colonialism.¹⁵ Moreover, in spite of the fact that colonialism and the missionary endeavour have often gone hand in hand, not all attempts to propagate Christianity in the East can be explained away merely as a desire for colonial hegemony.¹⁶

Robert Eric Frykenberg points out in the introductory chapter of his book, *Christians and Missionaries in India : Cross Cultural Communications since 1500 (Studies in the History of Christian Missions)* that the pervasive

¹⁴ Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik, Op. Cit., pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ Brijraj Singh, *The first Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683-1719)*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 150.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 163.

assumption that Christianity in India is nothing more than a Western, European or “Colonial” imposition is open to challenge. Christianity has always been a non-Western religion even though most studies of the Christians in India have been heavily “Eurocentric”. In fact, he says that “Colonialism” is a modern concept which has become common with the historiography of India only during the past forty years or so. Charges have been made that Indians were forced against their “will”, to convert to Christianity only to obtain desperately needed essentials of life or basic education for their children. Such charges have, of course, been refuted by Indian Christians.¹⁷ Frykenberg is of the view that it would be an oversimplification to say Christian missions were “the handmaiden of imperialism.” Recent historiography also suggests that the educational ideals of different Christian orders were different.

There is an interesting account by Brijraj Singh of the first Protestant missionary to India in the late seventeenth century – Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg. Even though he had primarily come to preach Christianity in Tamil Nadu, he did not want the introduction of the Protestant Christian faith to start a cultural upheaval or transform society. Ziegenbalg never wavered in his view that Christianity was superior to Hinduism but he showed no desire to impose a western way of life upon his converts. In the schools that he started, he tried not only to inculcate Christianity but also to strengthen the children’s knowledge of traditional music and the classics in their own language. He wrote the first dictionaries in Tamil, produced the first printing press in India’s south-eastern coast, and opened schools, including what may well have been the first school in India for girls’ education.¹⁸ Whatever his opinion of Hinduism as a religion, he came to develop the highest regard for the Hindus as human beings. He was always in their company engaging them in argument, travelling and eating with them. But the Brahmins were suspicious

¹⁷ Robert Eric Frykenberg (ed), *Christians and missionaries in India: Cross Cultural Communication since 1500 – Studies in the History of Christian Missions*, William B. Eerdsman Publishing Company, 2003.

¹⁸ Brijraj Singh, *The first Protestant Missionary to India – Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683 – 1719)*, OUP, New Delhi, 1999, p.3.

of Ziegenbalg's motives and they saw him as an enemy out to challenge their authority, destroy the foundations of the religious beliefs of the land, and propagate a new religion whose followers often led immoral lives. It was essentially in order to plant the seeds of Christianity among Tamil youth that he opened his first school in 1707, but the schools were open to any Hindu who might come to visit the missionaries for inspection. However, not all children in the school were Christians, nor did all of them convert.¹⁹ One of the remarkable features of Ziegenbalg's mission is how it sought from the outset to ensure that Tamil Protestant Christianity would remain, culturally speaking, indigenous. He tried in his curriculum to integrate Christianity with south Indian cultural values; even the Christian hymns sang by the children in his school were translated in Tamil from German by Ziegenbalg himself.²⁰

The passing of the Charter Act in 1813 was crucial in Indian educational history. This act, renewing the East India Company's Charter for a twenty – year period, produced two major changes in Britain's relationship with her colony: one was the assumption of a new responsibility toward native education, and the other was a relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India.²¹ The 13th resolution of the Act categorically stated that England was obligated to promote the “interests and happiness of the natives and that measures ought to be adopted” as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. This followed intense debates between various parties, more notably between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The Orientalists favoured reviving the traditional literature of the Hindus and Muslims and encouraging its development. The Anglicists were in favour of the adoption of English as the medium of instruction and the inauguration of the western model of schooling.

Though representing a convergence of interests, the two events – British involvement in Indian education and the entry of missionaries – was

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 95.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 96.

²¹ Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquests – literary study and British Rule in India*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, p.23.

far from being complementary or mutually supportive.²² According to Gauri Viswanathan, English studies in India, even when they fostered a liberal and anti-colonial temper in students, was really nothing but a mask that the face of conquest was obliged to wear.²³ The imperial mission of educating and civilizing colonial subjects served to strengthen western cultural hegemony in enormously complex ways. It was ironical that Orientalism which ostensibly aimed to protect the native culture from total oblivion sharpened the lines of stratification.²⁴ However Charles Grant, an avowed Evangelical, had an opposite view-point. According to him, Indian civilization was barbaric because its religion was degrading. He feared that the kind of flirtation with Orientalism encouraged under Warren Hastings might lead to the “Indianization” of British youth.²⁵

One of the most relentless critics of British secular pedagogy was the Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff. Along with other missionaries, Duff was greatly alarmed about the potentially lethal implications of a secular emphasis on Indian education. The British government officially remained committed to a policy of religious neutrality, but indirectly gave tacit encouragement to the missionaries through their own example.²⁶ Duff even attributed the mutiny of 1857 to the secular policies of the government and attacked the Utilitarians for their advocacy of extreme intellectualism and scientific rationalism.²⁷ Duff and most other missionaries were virulent critics of the ‘godless education’ provided in government schools and were fond of pointing to the scandalous and irreligious activities of some of the students of Hindu college as proof of the unhappy effects of a purely secular education.²⁸ However, a point of consolation for missionaries who opposed secular education was their belief

²² Ibid, p.37

²³ Brijraj Singh, op. cit., p.153

²⁴ Gauri Viswanathan, op. cit., p.151

²⁵ David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance (1773 – 1835)*, Calcutta, 1969, p.134

²⁶ Gauri Viswanathan, op. cit., p.78

²⁷ Ibid, p.52

²⁸ Sanjay Seth, ‘Secular Enlightenment and Christian Conversion: Missionaries and education in Colonial India, in Krishna Kumar and Joachim Oesterheld (eds.) *Education and Social Change in South Asia*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2007, p. 35.

that it was at least their ally and would eventually pave the way for Christian education at a later stage. Macaulay and Trevelyan, who had been responsible for the introduction of Western education in India, also believed it would ultimately pave the way for the triumph of Christianity. Macaulay wrote in 1836 that, 'No Hindoo, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his own religion.'²⁹

Unfortunately, as Duff himself was all too aware, it may have been the anticipation of free books rather than the attractions of Christianity that drove poor children to the school. In spite of all their efforts, Christianity to the Hindu remained merely an assemblage of facts to be learned and memorized. The dual tension in the context of Christian instruction did not go unnoticed by colonial subjects. Though educated young Indians have few objections to studying the life of Christ, they were particularly hostile to some of the doctrines of Christianity. Viswanathan also states that English studies from the 1820s to 1850s derived its main rationale from the impulse to Christianize. English education was closely associated with Christian instruction even in institutions receiving government patronage. Western science and English literature would, it was thought, be corrosive of Hinduism and thus would serve to secure not only the hegemony and legitimacy of the colonial power, but also of its religion. She points out that, "ironically for British policy, the more successfully English education turned the Indians against their own religion through the exercise of right reason and judgement, the more insidiously it induced a violent rejection of the promises of all religion".³⁰

Education in the British rulers' system was seen as a ticket to success in life- notably in the acquisition of a government job. This made English education highly sought after by native Indians. Mission schools and colleges provided a means to this education. In 1856, Bryce made the following comment: "The native youths do not come to the schools to obtain religious or Christian instructions, nor is that the object for which their parents send them

²⁹ Ibid, p. 34.

³⁰ Gauri Viswanathan, Op. Cit., p.52

there”. Bryce saw very clearly that they sought education to qualify them for earning future livelihood. He also did not deny the fact that in order to get what they want, i.e. secular education, they would not refuse the instruction which was offered them, or more precisely, which was made an express condition of their receiving.³¹

According to Sanjay Seth, while it is true that the presence of British rule facilitated Christian and missionary activity in a host of ways, it is also true that in its official capacity the British Indian government resolutely refused to champion Christianity. On many occasions, the colonial authorities repeatedly declared their religious neutrality. We cannot, therefore, equate the missionary with the British official. Seth also says that the emphasis on schooling was just another ‘tactic’ of the missionaries to gain converts, apart from translating the Bible and preaching to the ‘heathen’.³² The British Baptist Missionary Society was one of the first missionary bodies active in India. Its chief mission was in Serampur and William Carey was its first and foremost missionary. In 1818, the BMS added to its growing educational infrastructure by establishing a Christian college. While many of the schools established in this period did not survive for long, the idea that ‘education’ might serve to prepare young minds for a conversion, which may happen later, took deep root.

In 1829, Alexander Duff set off for India as the Church of Scotland’s first Indian missionary. Around this time, a demand for English education was developing among metropolitan elites. After 1835, the government decided to patronize English over Oriental education and this resulted in the rapid growth of private schools and colleges, including missionary ones, offering Western education. These institutions were sought out by parents despite rather than because of the religious instruction they provided. Many Churchmen began to promote extensive involvement in education as an essential and even predominant aspect of the mission to win over souls. There was also a notion

³¹ Sanjay Seth, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

³² *Ibid.*, pp 27- 28.

that in India it might be necessary to proceed by stages and that educating the young might prepare the minds of Hindus for later receptiveness to the word of God.³³ Education was, in a phrase often used at the time, a 'praeparatio evangelica'.

Soon, there arose conflict of opinion within the missionary community in both India, and, especially, in Britain where mission societies disapproved of expending too much energy and resources on teaching secular subjects rather than concentrating on the main task assigned to them - preaching the Gospel and winning souls for Christ. Seth concludes that the 'Western education which was thought to be an aid in the dissemination of Christianity came to be widely seen as a source of irreligion and immorality. Western education did not prove to be as potent in spreading Christianity as had been expected, but instead led - or so some believed - to many educated Indians being deprived of the certainties of an old world and its moral code, without any replacements for this being found.

S.C.Ghosh, in his book, "History of Education in Modern India" elaborates on the issues raised by Viswanathan. According to him, the establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta in 1830 by Alexander Duff marked the beginning of a new approach to proselytization through education. Since the emergence of the Utilitarians in the 1820s, the belief was gaining ground that conversion of the Indians to Christianity would be the ultimate result of the spread of Western education among them. Ghosh further elaborates on how the growth of missionary enterprise in education was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that existed between the missionaries and the Company officials, among whom many were Utilitarians with an evangelical outlook. William Carey's Serampore Mission continued to prosper from its association with Fort William College.³⁴ Duff was also a very close associate of Bentinck who encouraged him to establish the General Assembly's institution in Calcutta in 1830.

³³ Ibid., p 30.

³⁴ David Kopf, op.cit., p.78

The missionaries resented the Company schools which did not include the teaching of the Bible and were more popular with the Indians. They were, therefore, clamouring either for the inclusion of the Bible in the Company schools or for direct withdrawal of the Company from education, leaving the field entirely to missionaries. In this regard, Richter even described the quarter century, 1830 – 1857 as “the age of the mission school”.³⁵ In spite of such efforts, there were many prevalent prejudices against Western education even though for some Indians it was an effective agent of modernizing Indian society and a passport to new jobs which at once brought them money, status and power.

The prevalent opinion, however, in most areas was against the new system. Most parents refused to send their children to English schools because they were afraid that English education would Anglicize them and make them lose faith in their religious beliefs and practices of their forefathers.³⁶ They were also afraid of the spread of Western ideas through vernaculars as they thought the new education to be a part of some secret plan to tamper with their age old religion. The missionary schools were able to attract the upper classes who desired to study English for the worldly advantages it brought but such a desire never manifested itself on a large scale among the masses. There were instances where the efforts of the Christian missionaries were greatly appreciated by the masses for their invaluable contributions in the field of education.

The ‘Soltan’, a newspaper in Calcutta reported that, ‘If it had not been for the untiring efforts of the missionaries, the percentage of illiterates would have stood much higher- perhaps at 95.’³⁷ The ‘Bengalee’ also considered that “every lad, whether Hindu, Mussalman or Buddhist, will be a gainer by reading the Bible, and finds that notwithstanding the fact that it is daily taught

³⁵ S.C. Ghosh, *History of Education in Modern India, (1757 – 1898)*, Orient Longman, 1995, p.60

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.62

³⁷ The ‘Soltan’, 30 Dec, 1904(Calcutta), Native Newspaper Reports, vol.no.4 of 1905, p.73, National Archives of India.

in missionary schools, cases of conversion have become extremely rare.³⁸ However, over the last decades of the nineteenth century, the colonial state in India acquired a monopolistic control over the power to decide what was knowledge, what were the key concepts to pass on to future generations, and what could not be any of these things.³⁹ Many Indians started to resent having to learn British history and undertake, in some Christian institutions, compulsory Bible study. They had no choice because, wherever there were large Christian educational institutions, the government was reluctant to open its own. As for the indigenous institutions, a large majority of them found it extremely difficult to receive any aid or financial support from the government. It was believed that English education was an unjustified invasion on their rights and an agent for the conversion of the Indian people to Christianity.

Aparna Basu puts forward the theory that while there were numerous differences between the three groups, viz., the Evangelicals, the Liberals and the Utilitarians; they were all agreed that Indian Society had to be radically transformed. Furthermore, the East India Company's primary educational aim was to turn out clerks who could be employed cheaply while the Free Traders hoped that English-educated Indians would develop a taste for the products of Lancashire.⁴⁰ For the missionaries, the new education was the first step towards the conversion of Indians to Christianity. To the liberals, what was important was the civilizing and humane influence of Western learning. The writings of men like Charles Grant had an undertone suggesting that religious reformation would bring about an economic and political regeneration in India as it had done in the West.

For Macaulay, the aim of English education was to form a "class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in

³⁸ The 'Bengalee', 16 April, 1905, Native Newspaper Reports, vol. no.16 of 1905, p.146, National Archives of India.

³⁹ Nita Kumar, "Why does Nationalist Education fail?." in Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (ed), *The Contested Terrain*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, p.93.

⁴⁰ Aparna Basu, *Essays in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi, 1981, p.7

morals and in intellect; a class which would serve as interpreters between the government and the millions whom it governed".⁴¹ Thus, as Basu points out, the decision to introduce English education was the result of a combination of complex economic, administrative, political, religious and moral motives. The pressure for introduction of western learning and Christianity was not confined to groups in England only. In India, missionaries as well as individual officers of the company were working for it. The impulse behind the educational changes did not, therefore, flow from the calculations of British policy-makers alone.

As R. E. Frykenberg has pointed out, the view that Christian missions were "the handmaiden of imperialism" is certainly an oversimplification.⁴² Before 1813, the Company officially prohibited missionary activities in India through its Charter. However, the attitude of the Company towards missionaries was inconsistent and self-contradictory. In Bengal, the Company authorities were generally hostile to the missionaries, while in South India, they welcomed the work of the German missionaries.⁴³ In this study of the State of Travancore, Kawashima points out that the missionaries often praised the enlightened Maharajas, and the state provided a large amount of donations and grants to the missionaries. This was largely because the state compromised with the missionaries for the purpose of modernization. To the state which was trying to transform itself into a "modern state", missionary educational and medical activities were extremely helpful. The Travancore Government started several schools to give English education to its people in the first half of the nineteenth century. But this was conducted under the strong influence of, and with the direct help of, the missionaries.⁴⁴

Kumari Jayawardena also gives an account of Western women who came to India as 'secular missionaries' and took up issues of medical reform,

⁴¹ Ibid, p.7

⁴² Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State, Travancore (1858 – 1936)*, OUP, New Delhi, 1998, p.54

⁴³ Ibid, p.55

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.82

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changes in legislation and the eradication of social evils.⁴⁵ They established women's hospitals and medical education for women in India. A secular girl's school was also started by Annette Ackroyd. But in the 'Age of Empire', Christianity was linked with imperialist conquest and capitalist expansion, and the main current of missionary activity became identified with colonial rule.⁴⁶

As we have seen from the various accounts of different historians, the issue of English and Christian missionary education in India is a complex and diverse one. There are too many dimensions to it because 'Christian missionaries' are also a divided lot and their styles of functioning may vary greatly. As we have already pointed out, some Christians were in India from the 4th Century A.D. long before parts of Europe had been Christianized and only with the advent of European colonial powers, missionaries followed the flag and began the task of proselytization. It should be appreciated that the emergence of Christian institutions in India occurred long before the arrival of Europeans and long before the Raj. Prior to the coming of modern missionaries, both foreign and native, Christians had been in India for a long time. Thereafter, successive waves of distinctly different Christian cultures became established in India. These were increasingly variegated and complex in form and have traditionally been identified as falling into three successive categories: Orthodox (Thomas or Syrian), Roman Catholic and Protestant Evangelical.

The whole issue of Christian missionary education in India became complex and controversial with the coming of British colonial imperialism. Prior to this period, as seen from the example of the missionary Ziegenbalg, there was no attempt to uproot the culture and language, lifestyles and practices of the indigenous people. The curriculum in the schools included the classical texts and arts of the local people. And in the case of Travancore, the missionaries worked in alliance with the local Rajas who wanted to create a

⁴⁵ Kumari Jayawardena, *The White woman's other burden – Western women and South Asia during British Colonial Rule*, Routledge, New York, 1995, p.14

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.25

'modern' state. There was no forcible 'civilizing mission' at work there. However, studies in the history of Christian education became more perplexing with the coming of the British imperialists. Matters became worse between the East India Company and the Indian Government. The situation was chaotic and ambiguous as the issue of cultural hegemony in addition to political and economical hegemony emerged. Thus, the whole controversy could not be explained in simple terms of what exactly happened and whom exactly to blame.

The study of history is, therefore, interesting because it is a study of facts which can have different facets and interpretations. As E.H. Carr has rightly said, not all facts about the past are historical facts, or are treated as such by the historian. The nineteenth century fetishism of facts was completed and justified by a fetishism of documents. The documents were the Ark of the Covenant in the temple of the facts.⁴⁷ But, clearly, no document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought. None of the documents mean anything until the historian has got to work on it and deciphered it. The facts, whether found in documents or not, have still to be processed by the historian before he can make any use of them. Collingwood, in a similar vein emphasizes how history is the history of thought. History, according to him, is the re-enactment in the historian's mind of the thought whose history he is studying. The reconstitution of the past in the historian's mind is dependent on empirical evidence. But it is not in itself an empirical process, and cannot consist in a mere recital of facts.⁴⁸

According to Oakeshott, history is the historian's experience. The facts of history do not come to us 'pure' since they do not and cannot exist in a pure form; they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder. The need for historiography arises as history is a process of selection in terms of historical significance. From the infinite ocean of facts the historian selects those which are significant for his purpose. And from the multiplicity of sequences of

⁴⁷ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?*, Macmillan & co Ltd, London, 1961, p. 10.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 16.

cause and effect he extracts those, and only those which are historically significant.⁴⁹ Thus, any study of history is bound to be biased at some point, whether intentionally or otherwise, depending on which parts of the events the historian chooses to document. Likewise, any researcher of history is not exempted from limitations, because the researcher inevitably leaves his or her mark on the writings and on how he or she analyzes the events based on the data collected.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 99.

Chapter III

The History of the Arrival of Christian Missionaries at the North-East Frontier

Christianity arrived in Manipur after a heavy network of missionary activities had already been established in the far corners of the Assam Province by a number of Mission Societies.⁵⁰ From the beginning of the British rule in Assam, the Home Government favoured missionary activities in the region. The Khasi tribes in Assam had the privilege of being the first to hear the 'Word of God'. In 1812 the Christian message was brought to these people by Krishna Chandra Pal, an Evangelist of William Carey, and this was the first fruit of the British missionary work in India.⁵¹ Apart from the efforts of the missionaries, the Gospel travelled from one tribe to another due to the work of members of other tribes as well. The Assamese were the first evangelists among the Ao and Angami Nagas who in turn preached Christianity to members of neighbouring tribes. Much of this was voluntary, lay evangelism, without mission sponsorship. The Nagas were involved in the early evangelisation of Kukis in Manipur. A Khasi was involved in the founding of the Church in Mizoram and the Mizos in turn initiated evangelistic work of their own beyond their borders, mainly in South Manipur as we shall see later. Thus it is apparent that the various tribes of North-East India are inter-linked by the spread of the Christianity and the resultant missionary education.

The Charter Act of 1813 brought about a huge shift in the attitude of the Home government towards missionary activities in India. This naturally had an impact on Mr. David Scott, the first agent to the Governor-General in

⁵⁰ K.M.Singh, *History of the Christian Missions in Manipur and neighbouring states*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1991, p.53

⁵¹ J. V. Hluna, *Education and Missionaries in Mizoram*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1992, p.38.

the North-East Frontier. He developed a desire to start missionary work among the Garos. He arranged to bring in a number of missionaries to start humanitarian work among the Garos. He feared that the Garos would become Hindoos or half- Hindoos and no permanent good could be done to them without missionary help and if the British failed to intervene in their uncivilised habits. Scott was in favour of evangelization among the hill tribes rather than the natives of the plains. He was of the opinion that most missionaries misdirected their evangelizing efforts to the 'polished' natives instead of the rude tribes. According to him, the desired results would be achieved amongst the hill tribes since they were "still in that state of natural childhood which enables the stranger priest to enact the school master and teach them what he likes."⁵²

Scott established a school at Goalpara with forty Garo boys enrolled and a teacher, Mr. Henley – who was not a clergy-man - was appointed for his knowledge of medical science to impart medical education. However, no Christian mission could be established in the Garo hills during Scott's lifetime. His successor Major Francis Jenkins spared no effort to enable the American Baptist missionaries to reach Sadiya, in the foothills of Assam and Meghalaya, to spread the word of the Gospel in 1836. The Reverend Nathan Brown and his wife and the Reverend C.T Cutter and his wife were the first American Baptist missionaries to enter Assam. After a strenuous journey of 800 miles up the Brahmaputra River, they reached Sadiya on March 23, 1836 and established a school there in June the same year. It should however be pointed out that not much progress was made among the Assamese in the plains and the abandonment of the Assam field was even contemplated. But because of the warm response from Garos and Nagas, the American missionaries eventually focussed their attention more on the hill tribes of Assam.⁵³ The British government turned over the maintenance of the entire educational

⁵² Meena Sharma Barkataki, *British Administration in North-East India(1826-1874):A study of their social policy*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, pp.84-85

⁵³ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity: Hmars of North-East India*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p. 43-44.

system to the Christian missions in the regions under our study viz. Garo hills of Meghalaya, Nagaland, hill areas of Manipur and Mizoram. Thus the coming of Christianity in Manipur was not an isolated event. It is to be seen in the wider perspective of other missionary movements in North- East India.

According to A. Bendangyabang Ao: "Christianity came to India in the first century after Christ, through St. Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus Christ. But for many years the Indian Christians and the missionaries were not aware of evangelizing the North-East India, who were far removed from modern civilization. It was William Carey who sent Krishna Pal to the Khasi people and started the Christianisation of the North-East Indian tribes. Until the arrival of Edward Winter Clark, the missionary-in-charge of the mission and the press at Sibsagar in 1869, no work of a permanent nature began among the Naga hill tribes".⁵⁴ Similarly, the Lushai Hills (the present day Mizoram) became one of the major fields of the Welsh mission soon after the former had come under the sway of British Imperialism in 1891. William Williams, a Welsh missionary who had been working in Khasi Hills was the first missionary, who took up the challenge of proclaiming the message of the Gospel among the Lushais in Aizawl on 20 March, 1891. Unfortunately, Williams died of Typhoid shortly after and his vision remained unfulfilled. Quite unaware of this, two Arthington missionaries, J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge felt drawn to the Lushai hills at about the same time. They were thus, effectively the first missionaries in the Lushai hills soon after the British occupied the area.

According to L. Jeyaseelan, the seed of English education was first sown in Manipur by Capt. Gordon when he organised a primary education centre in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Due to the untimely death of Capt. Gordon, the the work could not continue. In 1872, Major General W.E. Nuthall, the then Political Agent opened a school at Imphal with English language as the medium of instruction. The Government of Bengal donated

⁵⁴ A. Bendangyabang Ao, *Histoy of Christianity in Nagaland: Social Change(1872-1972)*, Shalom Ministry Publications, Bangalore, 2004.

books, maps, and other requirements to the school valued at Rs.40,500. But due to want of local cooperation or encouragement, the school could not function properly. Maharaja Chandra Keerti gave his consent to Sir James Johnstone to establish an English school and allotted him land for the construction of the school building. Thus Sir James Johnstone established an English school in 1885 at Imphal which is now known as Johnstone Higher Secondary School. During 1893-94, two L.P schools, one at Sekmai and another at Mao Thana were opened. In 1895, Tera Keithel L.P School and Pettigrew L.P School were established.⁵⁵

The arrival of missionaries in Manipur occurred as two different movements - the movement in the north-east of Manipur and the south-west of Manipur. It was not an easy task for the missionaries to enter into Manipur due to a series of unfavourable orders issued by the Maharaja of Manipur. The so-called three important departments- the Manipur State Darbar, the Political Agent and the Maharaja - headed the administration set-up. No European could enter the State without obtaining permission of the Darbar through the Political agent. The Maharaja did his utmost to discourage such visitors unless they were friends of the Political Agent. Major General Sir James Johnstone who had been the Political Agent of Manipur for some nine years observed that "all natives of India are suspicious of Europeans, and this remark applies with tenfold force to Manipuris."⁵⁶ The only criterion under which the Raja granted lands to the Christian missionaries to settle in the Manipur State was to facilitate the hill and the valley population of Manipur to gain access to the medical aids they provided.⁵⁷

The Arrival of Missionaries in North-East Manipur

The first missionary to work in Manipur was Mr. William Pettigrew, born on 5 January, 1869 at Edinburgh, Scotland. He was sponsored by the

⁵⁵ Jamini Devi, *Education in Manipur*, Imphal, 1989, pp 30-46.

⁵⁶ K.M. Singh, *op. cit.*, p.2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.7.

Arthington Aborigine Mission Society, named after Robert Arthington, a millionaire from Leeds near London. Of the thirteen odd missionaries whom Arthington commissioned in 1890, William Pettigrew proceeded to Manipur and J.H Lorrain and F.W Savidge to the Lushai Hills in 1894.⁵⁸ Mr. Pettigrew first set foot on Indian soil in January 1891 and after two years' work in Bengal, his attention turned to Manipur and he studied the Manipuri language. The state of Manipur was not open to general missionary work at that time. Although he originally belonged to the Arthington Aborigines Mission Society, he joined the American Baptist Mission as the former was no longer in a position to support his work in the hills. William Pettigrew began his work at Imphal, the capital of Manipur on 6 February 1894. His mission was to preach the Gospel amongst the Hindu Meiteis who lived in the Imphal valley, and constituted a majority of the State's population.⁵⁹ However, his intentions were seen as an attempt to impose upon them the "government's religion" just as it was viewed in mainland India.

Maxwell, the Political Agent expressed his fear that trouble might arise if Pettigrew's activities were not nipped in the bud because the Meiteis held on to the tenets of the Hindu religion almost to the point of fanaticism. The Political Agent simply informed him that he could only assist the missionary in promoting education in the hills and in the improvement of communication between the valley and the hills. Maxwell then suggested that he should instead shift his focus to the hill areas, in the north-east of Manipur viz. Ukhrul, among the Tangkhul Nagas. Pettigrew had begun work in the Capital by opening a school for fifty Manipuri boys on 7 May 1894. On Sunday mornings they prayed and recited the Disciples' prayer and sang hymns.⁶⁰ Great importance was given to attendance of the Sunday school. Since Christian religious teaching was forbidden amongst the Meiteis, Pettigrew had to relinquish his mission within 6 months and shift base to Ukhrul. The School

⁵⁸ Lal Dena, *Christian Missions and Colonialism-A study of missionary movement in North-east India with particular reference to Manipur and Lushai Hills(1894-1947)*, Vendrame Institute, Shillong, 1988, p

⁵⁹ Rev. Jonah M. Solo and Rev. K. Mahangthei, Op. Cit. p. 73.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 3.

was, however, run by the State- minus Christian teaching. Thus the first missionaries in Manipur began work in the hill areas, abandoning the Valley due to stiff opposition from its inhabitants.

On his arrival to Manipur, Pettigrew gathered evidence that William Carey and his associates at Serampore had come in contact with some Manipuris, as a copy of the New Testament translated into their language was discovered. It was printed in Devnagri script by the press at Serampore in 1824. However, as stated earlier Christianity failed to make an impact among the Manipuris. The Tangkhuls, Pettigrew observed, like some of the Nagas in Assam proper, were head-hunters and were an aboriginal tribe. Rows of human skulls were hung up in the chief's house as a display of their bravery and most warriors wore necklets made of human hair. As seen by Pettigrew, they were a very unreliable, superstitious group of tribals who practised demon or evil spirit worship and were addicted to drinking 'zu' (alcohol). Every illness or failure of crops was attributed to some demon's influence. Unlike the Manipuris, the Tangkhul Nagas had no written language, not even the rudiments of an alphabet.⁶¹ Any form of formal education was thus a far cry for these primitive tribes. Pettigrew then took up the arduous task of reducing their language to writing. Having done that, he opened a school for boys. Pettigrew's first task was to keep their suspicions at bay and to convince them that he was not the paid agent of the Government, planning to entice their young men to the outside world. So, it was without a desire on the part of the people to receive him or without a wish of the Manipur State for his services in its territory that Pettigrew sought to begin his work, simply as a volunteer with a good cause.

When the Pettigrews came back to Ukhrul just after their marriage in latter 1896, they were greeted with hostility by a group of Tangkhul Nagas up in arms against the spread of Christianity. They refused to send their children to school anymore for fear of their conversion. The Chiefs and elders of their

⁶¹ Rev. Jonah M. Solo & Rev. K. Mahangthei, *Forty years mission in Manipur: Mission reports of Rev. William Pettigrew*, Christian Literature Centre, Imphal, 2006, p.39.

villages discouraged as much as possible any attempt to break away from their customs and as it is, customs die hard amongst any people. A belief had spread amongst them that God had once imparted wisdom amongst them; and their original script which was supposed to have been written on animal hides had been taken away by a dog which in consequence resulted in mass illiteracy.⁶² However, with determination on the part of the missionary couple, the people's objections were successfully overcome. Pettigrew had also been appointed the Honorary Inspector of Schools throughout the Manipur State on July 14, 1896 by the Political Agent, Maxwell.

The first school in Ukhrul was opened on February 19, 1897 with twenty local boys in attendance. The school was practically a State school, the expenses were met entirely by the State. With the help and encouragement of the British officials village schools were opened on a three year basis in about a dozen villages inhabited by Tangkhul tribes. Unlike amongst the Meiteis, no objections were raised about the Christian truth being imparted and that the books studied aimed to inculcate Christian truth. A day at the school always opened with singing and prayer.⁶³ And for Pettigrew, a day's work consisted of four to five hours teaching, study of the languages viz. Manipuri and Tangkhul, translation work and the dispensation of medicine.

The task of educating the tribal boys was not an easy one as Pettigrew was to discover. The boys were far from disciplined, quarrelling and wrestling amongst themselves, exhibiting all sorts of wild behaviour, as is natural among a bunch of untutored boys. At other times the villagers surrounded his bungalow to show their resentment towards the strict discipline he imposed on his students. Meanwhile, Pettigrew began to feel a pressing need for more missionaries in Manipur to provide him assistance. Up to 1899 there was no other missionary family in Manipur, and Pettigrew with his wife were the only people who had already spent six years engaged in educational work without preaching. In 1911, a missionary couple, Mr and Mrs. U.M. Fox arrived in

⁶² F. S. Downs, *History of Christianity*, Op. Cit. p. 193.

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 12-16

Manipur, under the condition that they would not venture into the plains and confine themselves to the hill areas only.⁶⁴

Fox provided immense relief to Pettigrew by looking after the mission work in Manipur during his occasional absence. By 1913, missionary activity extended to other tribes like the Zeliangrong Nagas, Anals and Koms through the students who were converted during their studies at the Ukhrul School.⁶⁵ During this time, the educational work of the whole Manipur State, including Government schools, was conducted under the supervision of the missionaries in Ukhrul. The Pettigrews also extended their work to the Kukis in the western hills. Mrs. Pettigrew devoted a great deal of her time to the new girls' school opened in 1915 that was attended by thirteen girls from the Tangkhul and Kuki tribes. Gradually, people in the hills learned the value of education. The Mission received requests to establish schools from both Kukis and Tangkhul Nagas. The villages built their own school houses and houses for the teachers and the Mission provided teachers for the schools.

The Mission headquarters was transferred from Ukhrul to Kangpokpi (which was strategically located on the Imphal- Dimapur road) in 1919 and this facilitated the spread of the mission not only among the Tangkhuls and Kukis, but also among the Zeliangrongs in the West. Owing to the unfavourable political situation the missionaries could not remain in Manipur in 1917. Pettigrew supervised the Manipur work from Kohima. The Mission progressed in the hands of the native Christians. Responsibility for the educational work was transferred to the headmaster of the school in Ukhrul, Porom Singh, who is recorded as the first Meitei convert to Christianity. He was educated in Ukhrul and Jorhat. Apart from being the headmaster, he was the pastor of the Churches at Ukhrul and Imphal. The Kangpokpi Station was opened in 1920 under Dr. & Mrs. Crozier who were sent to assist the Pettigrews. While the Pettigrews laid the foundation for literacy and

⁶⁴ Th. Lamboi Vaiphei, *Advent of Christian Mission and its impact on the hill-tribes in Manipur*, Published by the author for Frontier Mission Society, Churachandpur, 1997, pp.58-60.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.61

education, the Croziers launched a medical mission with native assistants and two Garo compounders. They opened a leper asylum and a dispensary at Kangpokpi headquarters. The President of the Darbar and the Maharaja of Manipur had granted the site at Kangpokpi largely in the hope of securing a medical missionary for the hill tribes.⁶⁶

The Arrival of the Missionaries in South- West Manipur

Christian missionaries first entered South-West Manipur from the Lushai Hills (present day Mizoram). Watkin R. Roberts was one of the many who were greatly influenced by a huge revival that swept over Wales, England. This revival renewed the missionary movement and fostered Christian unity which inspired many young men and women to 'go out into the world and preach the Gospel'.⁶⁷ Roberts made a decision to proclaim the Gospel amongst the tribesmen in North-East India. On October 14, 1908, W. Roberts set sail for India along with Dr and Mrs. Peter Fraser, who were sent by the Welsh Missionary Society to the British outpost at Aizawl in the Lushai hills.⁶⁸ Dr. Fraser opened a medical clinic and Roberts worked as his assistant. One day, some men who could not speak Lushai properly came to the clinic. They were from the Hmar tribe of Senvon village in South Manipur. Roberts thus came to know of the existence of some tribes in Manipur and he developed a desire to work amongst them. Rev. F. W. Savidge and J.H. Lorrain, who had earlier reached Aizawl in 1884, after four years of work had translated parts of the Bible- the Gospel of St. John and the 'Acts of the Apostles' in Lushai. One copy of these books reached the Chief of Senvon, Kamkholun, who was curious to know what the book was all about.⁶⁹

Roberts prepared to visit Senvon at the request of the Chief Kamkholun. Senvon was the biggest Hmar village in Manipur, which during

⁶⁶ Elungkiebe Zeliang. Op. cit, pp. 52-63.

⁶⁷ Th. Lamboi Vaiphei, Op Cit, pp. 15-17.

⁶⁸ Dr. Fraser is still remembered with gratitude by the Mizos due to his tireless efforts and eventual success to abolish the 'bawi' (slave) system during his ministry in the Lushai hills.

⁶⁹ D. Khaizalian, "*Tangthupha tun ma leh tun nung thu*", New Lamka, 1986, pp. 70-71

those days was regarded as the most fearful habitation of head-hunters. Rev. W. Roberts, accompanied by two students from Manipur, Lungpau and Thangkai of the Vaiphei tribe started for Manipur from Aizawl on January 31, 1910 and reached Senvon on February 5, 1910. Roberts began to preach the Gospel in Senvon and the surrounding villages. The Chief of Senvon requested him to establish a school in his village. Roberts arranged for some volunteers from Aizawl to work as Evangelist teachers at Senvon. Savawma, Vanzika and Thangchhingpuia responded to the call and they arrived at Senvon on May 7, 1910.⁷⁰ They opened a mission school at Senvon Hmunte in 1911 and commenced their evangelising work side by side with their teaching ministry. The first converts to their ministry were Thangngur, Thangneirum and Kaithang. Churches soon sprang up in Senvon and the nearby villages as well.⁷¹ Robert's strategy was to provide the new Christians primary education and then train them to preach the Gospel. He felt that the most effective way to evangelize these tribal people was to train the locals to reach their own people as it was impossible to learn all the languages of the many small tribes.⁷² The medium of instruction was mostly in Lushai which was more or less comprehensible to the tribes in South-west Manipur as well.

The mission under Rev. Roberts came to be known as the Thadou-Kuki Pioneer Mission, later christened the North-East India General Mission in 1924. The Rostads had arrived in Lakhipur, a place situated near the Barak River, in 1928. The Mission in Manipur did not have a Middle school, so pupils like H. Nengzachin from the Paite tribe in Churachandpur had to attend the one at Lakhipur under the Mission's sponsorship. Nengzachin recalls that Paul Rostad opened a Bible school on his arrival in Lakhipur and Ella Rostad taught them English Grammar at their home.⁷³ On 18 May, 1930, the year

⁷⁰ May 7 is observed as 'Missionary day' by most Christian Denominations in South Manipur.

⁷¹ L. Jeyaseelan, *Impact of the missionary movement in Manipur*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 82-85.

⁷² Kh. Khaizakham, 'A study of the cultures of the tribal peoples of Manipur as Bridges for the spread of the Gospel', Paper presented to the faculty of E. S. Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1988, p.10.

⁷³ Rev. H. Nengzachin, *A Honpi (He Leadeth Me): an autographed anecdote*, Published by T. Gwite, Imphal, 2003, p. 5.

when the North East India General Mission was shifted from Lakhipur to Churachandpur with the permission of the Maharaja of Manipur, the mission opened the Dinwiddie Memorial Bible School at Old Churachandpur, the present Mission Compound. It started functioning very smoothly under the Principal Paul Rostad and his wife Ella Rostad, the Field Treasurer in-charge, who had shifted from Lakhipur. They not only trained students and teachers, but also admitted neighbouring students who greatly benefited from the school. A kindergarten school and a dispensary were also opened at the Mission Headquarter at Old Churachandpur. Ella Rostad contributed tremendously to girls' education- she spent her own money to teach the girls. She taught them from the Bible and sang hymns with them. The girls she taught, in turn, taught their friends at the Sunday Schools and thus, gradually women too came to be educated. Mrs. Rostad was also the field treasurer of the Mission in Churachandpur.⁷⁴

It maybe recalled that Rev. William Pettigrew had earlier come to an agreement with the Manipur Maharajah that in the State of Manipur no other Mission except the American Baptist Mission would be granted the permission to preach the Christian faith. This naturally led to problems between the two Christian Missions. Moreover, the expansion of the Church in South Manipur was comparatively much faster than in Ukhrul under Pettigrew. A showdown was imminent.⁷⁵ Later, there arose major disputes within the North-East India General Mission as well, regarding some financial irregularities. The Mission workers had not been receiving their emoluments for quite some time although the funds had been sent from the Mission abroad.⁷⁶ This led to the disintegration of the body and resulted in the formation of many small Churches under different denominations. However, we shall not discuss these issues in further detail in this study.

⁷⁴ H. L. Sela, *Manipura Mission le Kohran Chanchin (The History of the Missions and Church in Manipur)*, Published by Khawtinkhuma, Churachandpur, 1984, p. 49.

⁷⁵ L. Jeyaseelan, Op. Cit. pp. 88-89

⁷⁶ Rev. H. Nengzachin, Op. Cit. p. 9-10.

One noticeable difference between the missions under Pettigrew and Roberts was the fact that Pettigrew began his evangelising mission in a more subtle way, focussing more on building schools and providing medical facilities while Roberts immediately began with preaching the Gospel, gaining converts and establishing Churches. It may, therefore, be inferred that Pettigrew deserves a lot more credit as far as 'education' is concerned. It is apparent that the credit for introduction of 'education' amongst the tribals of Manipur goes to these missionaries. However, as evident from various observations, they did little to consolidate a proper system of education that would enable these tribes to be at par with their counterparts in the valley or in other parts of the country. The schools they opened disintegrated with their departure, fading into oblivion. Down the years, mission schools began to fare poorly with the emergence of secular schools established by private individuals, which do not include religious teachings in their curriculum.

According to Lal Dena's findings from his prolonged research on missionaries in south-west Manipur, the manner of working of some of them were questionable in some cases. He comments, "While one cannot doubt Watkin Roberts' evangelical zeal, his *modus operandi* and the manner in which his non-denominational mission was established and extended was a clear breach of the rules of Protestant foreign missions in Assam and Bengal. Other missionaries were interviewed and given intensive orientation and training before they ventured out for missionary work. Watkin Roberts had no such background nor was he an ordained minister when he came to North-East India."⁷⁷ The missionaries who came after him were more actively involved in education than him. The life of Watkin Roberts clearly indicates that not all the missionaries were holy, helpless, pious, altruistic men, but sometimes men with flawed personalities and over-zealous propagators of the Christian faith.

⁷⁷ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity: Hmars of North-East India*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p. 57.

Chapter IV

History and Historiography of Missionary Education in Manipur

The Tribes of Manipur

The term 'tribe' is used in South Asia, especially in India, as a broader rubric applied by the State to classify people into groups. The term 'tribal' when referring to the hill societies in South Asia, is used as a classification based on linguistic and cultural criteria developed during the colonial period, and which is still in use today. The idea of a tribe as it is understood in north-eastern India today is a complex one, and needs to be considered with some care. For many Westerners, the word 'tribe' suggests backwardness, but north-eastern hill people who use the term show little concern for any danger that it might evoke connotations of backwardness.⁷⁸ For the North-easterners, whatever is spoken by a 'tribe' is likely to be called a 'language', and whatever is spoken by a sub-tribe is a 'dialect'. For example, there are more than a dozen Kuki 'tribes' most of them living in or near the Western and Southern parts of Manipur. Since these Kukis have resisted being grouped together as a single 'tribe', each Kuki group goes by its own tribal name: Paite, Hmar, Gangte, Vaiphei, Simte, Zou, Thadou and so on.

On the other hand, the members of the Tangkhul 'tribe', a large ethnic group of North-Eastern Manipur along the Myanmar border, are all said to speak a language, which is 'Tangkhul'. According to definitions of linguists, the many Kuki forms of speech are 'dialects' as they can easily understand one another, and the different varieties of Tangkhul are 'languages' because they are mutually unintelligible. The Mizos and the Chins who live over the border in Myanmar have 'dialects' or closely-related 'languages' with the

⁷⁸ Robbins Burling, '*Language, Ethnicity and Migration in North-Eastern India*', South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol .XXX, No.3, Dec 2007, p.394.

Kuki groups.⁷⁹ The above description seeks to clarify the point that the hill-tribes of Manipur in our study include the two main tribal groups- Tangkhul Nagas and Kukis and their various sub-tribes, including Mizos and Chins from neighbouring areas. These tribes often gesture towards differences between their languages, dialects or styles when they wish to assert their differences and at other times point to commonalities in their languages and dialects if what they wish to assert is their unity, depending on the kind of relationship they share at a particular point of time. At present, of course, the common bond among all these tribes is the religion they have adopted - Christianity.

Rev. Khup Za Go, a theologian and historian of Christianity suggests the use of the term 'clan' to denote these various 'ethnic' groups for whom clan identity has come to supercede the tribal identity. In lieu of the tribal names colonial anthropology has attempted to impose on them, they have preferred to use their clan names, thus contributing to a loss of a sense of tribal identity. Nevertheless, efforts continue to be made to reassert and reorganise the tribal identity with the purpose of unification.⁸⁰ However, such issues are beyond the scope of this present study.

The Introduction of Modern Education amongst the Tribes

As Pettigrew had also observed when he arrived in Manipur, "The one great difficulty is the variety of dialects spoken by a single tribe. It is impossible to reach all except through some second language such as Manipuri, the only dialect in print"⁸¹ Literature thus came to occupy an important place in the process of Evangelisation. According to Frederick S. Downs, a historian of Christianity who has done extensive research on the North-East India, the most important contribution made by Christianity to the process of acculturation in the North-East was in the closely related fields of

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.398

⁸⁰ Rev. Khup Za Go, *A Critical Historical study of Bible translations among the Zo people in North-East India*, Chin Baptist Literature Board, Churachandpur, Manipur, 1996, p.16.

⁸¹ Elungkiebe Zeliang, *Op cit*, p.35.

'literature' and 'education'. The Christian contribution to the development of written literature had been great in the plains but it was even greater among the hill-tribes because it was a matter of creating a written language and literature where none had existed before⁸². The Protestant missions placed great emphasis upon creating a written language. This was always the first task undertaken by a missionary moving into a new linguistic area. This was because 'education' was central to their evangelistic method-and they were committed to education in the mother-tongue.

It was necessary to make people literate so that they could read the Bible. Explaining the purpose of the literary and closely related educational work among the Maras in the Lushai hills, J.H. Lorrain's comment is representative of the motives behind missionary education: "Not a single Lakher tribesman should be refused the opportunity of learning to read and write in order that he might be able to read the Word of God". The emphasis on this need was so strong that a large portion of the missionaries' time was allocated for the purpose. The literature produced by the missions became the basis of all subsequent literary development in the hill-areas.⁸³ The pioneer missionaries in the hill regions were firm believers in the use of the mother tongue for education, for worship and for literature. They invented a script for the language and then produced the first written materials: grammars, spelling books, primers and the Christian scriptures.

It is evident that, in the view of the nineteenth century missionaries, education served two basic functions: The first was to break down the barriers of so-called 'superstition' and the second was to provide a means of Christian instruction and access to the Christian Scriptures and other forms of Christian literature. As W. F. Dowd, an American Baptist wrote in his educational report to the missionary conference of 1907: "For the conversion and training of the individual we need Christian education; but Christian education is absolutely

⁸² Frederick S. Downs, *History of Christianity in India (Volume V part 5): North-East India in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, The Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1992, pp. 187-189.

⁸³ *Ibid*, pp.191-192.

indispensable if we are to have an intelligent, independent and growing Christian community".⁸⁴ He explicitly clarified the motive for educational work of the missionaries was the creation of a Christian community as a result of conversion.

With the realisation of the need to educate came the establishment of schools. When Alexander Lish, the first missionary to serve in the North-East region came to Cherrapunji, he immediately opened a school. The first missionary project in the Assam plains had to do with the establishment of a school started by the Serampore Mission at Guwahati. Within a few months of their arrival at Sadiya, the pioneer American Baptist missionaries had a network of schools functioning in and near the centre. The Welsh missionaries similarly became involved in school work in Cherrapunji and neighbouring villages as soon as they could. William Pettigrew, it must be remembered, was the pioneer of modern education of sorts in Manipur. He was made Inspector of Schools in all of Manipur. A direct relationship between schools and conversion inspired the earliest missionaries to commit themselves to education since it was an important step towards evangelisation. Back in America however, the policies of the missionaries were criticized by prominent members who questioned the legitimacy of educational work as a missionary enterprise. The critiques of missionary education felt that only itinerant preaching (bazaar preaching) was acceptable and any other work constituted a diversion from the main responsibilities of missionaries.⁸⁵

F.S. Downs highlights the need to distinguish between the impact of Christian educational work in the plains and hill-areas. His observation is that, "While the American Baptists in the Brahmaputra valley and the Welsh Presbyterians to a limited extent in Cachar established a number of schools during the nineteenth century, they were by no means the only ones in the field. They certainly did not control the entire educational system in these areas. However, they did control the educational system precisely in those hill

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.200.

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. 196-198.

areas where the main concentrations of Christians are now to be found; the Khasi-Jaintia hills, the Garo hills, Nagaland, Mizoram and the hill areas of Manipur.”⁸⁶ In the hills Christian educational activity was much more extensive and the impact much greater. This was because the impact of modern education was likely to be greater among a people with a relatively unsophisticated background and with no literary tradition. The most important reason was, however, the fact that the government gave the Christian missions a virtual monopoly on education these regions. Though the missions would have run schools without government support, the grants-in-aid made it possible for them to operate many more than they otherwise could have with the limited resources at their disposal.

One important point to be highlighted here is that although in our previous discussion we have seen how the tribals did not have a literary tradition, they, however, had a rich oral tradition. Literary work worth the name came to be produced only from the beginning of the twentieth century. Before they had the knowledge of reading and writing, the traditional method of learning and transmission of knowledge from generation to generation was through poetry, folk-songs and verses. Poetry was the foundation of tribal oral tradition. Any important happening, epoch-making events, natural calamities like famine and war in their life were recorded with beautiful and meaningful verses which are easy to remember and easily passed down orally from generation to generation.⁸⁷ Among some tribes like the Mizos there existed what was called ‘*zawlbuk*’, a common dormitory for all the young unmarried men of the village. It was an indigenous institution which functioned like a modern-day boarding school. Even though the ‘*zawlbuk*’ had no formal arrangement for the education of its inmates, the activities the boys performed gave them the required knowledge and training to play an effective role in society. It was training ground for the youth for all forms of social service.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 201.

⁸⁷ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity: Hmars of North-East India*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2008, p. 79.

⁸⁸ J. V. Hluna, Op. Cit. pp.11-12.

In Mizoram too very little actual mission funding went into education. The government assigned responsibility for educational work in Mizoram to the Welsh Presbyterians in the north and the British Baptists in the south. The government grants were complemented to a large extent by the contributions of the villagers themselves. After India achieved independence from colonial rule, the situation changed as the government now assumed responsibility for education. There was a demand from the tribal elite (almost all Christians) for high quality education in the English-medium. The Roman Catholic missions had a somewhat different approach, confining themselves solely to 'education' minus the preaching. Increasingly, the main Christian educational work was undertaken by the Roman Catholics. Their high quality educational institutions were welcomed both by Christians and non-Christians alike. This was probably because the evangelistic and 'preparatio' aspects were not emphasised to the same extent as earlier Christian missionaries, who were mostly Protestants. Although they uphold Christian teachings, they strongly refute any charges of attempts to convert their pupils. In Manipur they established their first school, Don Bosco at Imphal in 1956 and later in the hill areas as well. The Roman Catholics arrived after all other foreign missionaries left the State by November 1954. Here we have two important points to note: the Roman Catholic missions in India had no links with the British colonial or imperial governments and by the 1950s these missions began to redefine themselves primarily as teaching and not converting orders.

The Historiography of the Mission-Oriented Perspectives

The historiography of Christian missionary education was dominated by the mission-oriented perspective for a considerable period of time. This was obviously the case as the local population had not yet learnt to read or write, or think along modern lines when the missionaries first arrived. The missionary histories were written from the missionaries' perspectives for the supporters of missionary work in the Euro-American world, just as the British administrative histories in the nineteenth century were written to be read by

officers of the government and by the British public. In their eagerness to emphasize on the positive 'impacts' of their missions, some of these missionary writers tend to obscure the perspective of the recipients - how the tribal audience received and appropriated the education introduced by the missionaries. The intention of the missionaries was to demonstrate how great the need for missionary work was in India by exaggerating the alleged depravity and superstition promoted by the traditional religions. Various denominational missions also attempted to outdo each other (especially Protestants pitted against Roman Catholics) and gain support from home by presenting a positive picture that conditions were not so bad that they could not be changed by sending more missionaries and more funds to support their work. More often than not, accounts written by the missionaries never had indigenous people as central subjects; it is about the missionaries themselves.⁸⁹

One reason why the mission-centred historiography, although not entirely reliable, still prevails today is due to the fact that they are abundantly available for reference in the forms of field reports, institutional reports, extensive correspondence between the missionaries and the home boards etc. But the truth is, when you have found out what the missionaries thought was happening, you have not necessarily found out what was actually happening.⁹⁰ Much of what was recorded as 'persecution' in missionary narratives was in fact a response, not to Christianity per se, but to the gradual erosion of traditional cultural practices and customs that accompanied missionary work. The missionaries considered themselves to be on 'sacred missions' to enlighten the 'heathen' in India who led no less than barbaric lives.

The missionaries were clear about their objectives and made no bones about the fact that the education of the tribals was to prepare the way for an intelligent grasp of the 'truth'. W. R. Werelius, a medical missionary to

⁸⁹ Frederick S. Downs, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, Indus publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 14-16.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.26.

Manipur, in his field report for 1937 stated that: "The schools in Manipur State are the best evangelistic agency we have. We teach the pupils how to read and write, what it means to be a Christian and how to live the Christian life. We do not believe in schools only for the sake of education nor do the people."⁹¹ Rev (Dr.) E. W. Clark, the first missionary to the Ao Naga hill tribes stated: "Without giving a Christian education to the Nagas, Christianity cannot be deeply rooted in the hearts of the people."⁹²

The missionaries suffered from what can be termed as a 'superiority complex', which was evident in their treatment and perception of the tribals. Influenced by enlightened status which was a product of their superior learning obtained in the West on the political ascent, most missionaries and British officials believed that western civilization was far superior and they labelled the tribals as 'heathen', 'savage' and 'uncivilized'.⁹³ They labelled the tribal customs as pagan and sinful. The same accusation was heaped upon dances, songs, folklores and various customary practices. Critics of Christian missionaries commented that this was part of a deliberate attempt to westernise, de-tribalize or Sanskritize the tribal people and effectively destroy the existing tribal culture.⁹⁴ Wherever they commenced work, the missionaries faced stiff opposition, great suspicion and hostile reception from the natives. The first task before them was to win the confidence of the people. They were never immediately successful in preaching the Gospel. This very failure in their primary objective of 'evangelization' forced the missionaries to revise the mode of their work. They tried to figure in the British imperial policy as an educational agency, with an indirect humanitarian spirit. The first expression of the design of educating the people with an implicit agenda of conversion surfaced with the establishment of an orphan asylum in Nowgong by Miles

⁹¹ Elungkiebe Zeliang, Op. cit, pp.138-139.

⁹² A. Bendangyabang Ao, Op. cit, p.102.

⁹³ Ibid, p.267.

⁹⁴ L. Jeyaseelan, 'Impact of Christianity on the Tribal Society of Manipur', in *Change and Continuity in the Tribal Society of Manipur*, Manipur University Tribal Students Union Publication, Imphal, 1999, pp. 88-89.

Bronson in 1844. This was considered to be the 'surest and safest way to win Assam'.⁹⁵

Pettigrew, in his reports and writings to the Home board always presented an excessively optimistic view of the mission's work in Manipur. Although it took him almost twenty years to really consolidate his position and a lot of the so-called 'converts' went back to their old ways and beliefs after they left school, he never sent reports of disappointment, but always ended on a positive and hopeful note. When he arrived in Manipur, the Manipuris had not yet forgotten the events of 1891, and preferred to remain as far away from the 'sahib lok' as possible. He never lost sight of his larger aim to preach the Gospel amongst the Meiteis in the valley, and always penned favourable accounts of how slowly but surely he was nearing the achievement of that goal.

Pettigrew remarked, "When the time comes, and it will soon, for Manipur proper to be opened to the Gospel, I will be prepared, and will already have placed the Government under great obligation to me and the Mission". Unfortunately for Pettigrew, that was not to happen. Pettigrew wrote about how nothing of any importance in the field of education had been attempted and no text-books in the Manipuri language had been prepared when he first came to Manipur. The few boys who were studying at the only school in the State were being taught languages foreign to them such as Bengali and English. Hence, he said, they were very backward.⁹⁶

Pettigrew was clear about the purpose of education provided to the Manipuris: that was to make the community an intelligent one and 'preparing the way for an intelligent grasp of the Truth (the Gospel). His effort was to enable them to read so that they would have an opportunity to read the Gospels that were being distributed amongst them. To the many hill tribes of Manipur, he observed, the idea of a disinterested individual coming amongst

⁹⁵ Meena Sharma Barkataki, *Op. cit.*, p.99.

⁹⁶ Elungkiebe Zeliang, *Op. Cit.*, p.36.

them was totally hard to grasp. His activities were viewed with suspicion and it was not until 1898 that the fact of his settling amongst them for their 'good' was understood. Here, one must note that the idea of the missionary's coming for the good of the people was his own and did not necessarily reflect the native people's opinion. In one of his reports Pettigrew clearly stated, "These people do not have any outside stimulus to understand the benefit of even an elementary education. And if three years' agreement, which they prefer to anything indefinite, is sufficient to teach them to read and write in their own dialect, and to know how to read the Gospels, religious and moral books they are taught, it is also a satisfactory arrangement from the point of view of the missionary."⁹⁷ Justifying the emphasis of the Christian missions only on elementary education, Pettigrew argued that "the rigid clan divisions of the people, their great ignorance coupled with gross superstition, and their fatalistic beliefs in their animistic worship; the environment and geographical isolation of the whole area, valley included, from the world outside, decided us on a policy of an elementary education"⁹⁸

Similarly, an educationist, J. V. Hluna, in his study of Mizoram stresses on how education became the handmaid of religion. The primary objective of the missionaries was to convert the people into Christianity. Side by side, they felt it was also necessary to provide the new converts with intelligent leadership which demanded Christian education under the auspices of the missionaries. From their experience, the missionaries learnt that mere religious preaching would not bear much fruit nor could it take a deep root in the mind of the native tribals. Unless they had education, these ignorant and primitive people would not understand or appreciate the facts, evidence and doctrines of the scriptures. To the missionaries, the real purpose of educational missionary work was not merely to educate, nor merely to remove obstacles and break down barriers, but to win people to Christ. Education had always been an integral part of the missionary movement although they never lost

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 61.

⁹⁸ Lal Dena (ed.), *History of Modern Manipur (1826-1949)*, Orbit Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 114.

sight of their main objective.⁹⁹ Hluna, however, adds that 'Christianity and education went hand in hand and is responsible for the upliftment of the Mizo society. It led to the end of many useless and superstitious beliefs and practices like animism, head-hunting and chieftainship.'¹⁰⁰

However, J. V. Hluna continues, "the education introduced by the missionaries in the hills had its limitations. The school teachers were selected with regard to their standing in the Mizo church and based on their theological background. The tribal students thus remained basically under the tutelage of theological teachers till the middle standard level of schooling. As a result the Mizo and other tribal pupils attending these schools generally did not have a solid grasp of subjects like mathematics and science, which are the hallmarks of modern education."¹⁰¹

A related historiographic concern addresses the relationship between the motives of missionary education and British colonial policy. In this context, the noted historian, Lal Dena, in his study of the Manipur and Lushai hills (the present Mizoram) asserts that the involvement of missionaries in educational programmes was to be viewed as supplementary to the primary task of communicating the 'spiritual' message to the people. As for the relationship between the missionaries and the colonial officials, although the latter did not advocate mission work, and missionaries entered at their own risk, they understood that education imparted by the missionaries was effective not only in 'civilizing' the natives, but also in making them peaceful and loyal subjects. It made the process of administration a lot easier for the colonial officials. Lal Dena suggests that the missionaries were useful 'tools' of the colonial administrators as western education provided by the former tended to make colonial occupation appear as beneficial in the eyes of the subject people. Thus, while the officials looked at the introduction of Christian

⁹⁹ J. V. Hluna, *Education and missionaries in Mizoram*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 1992, pp. 49-50.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 223.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 224.

education as a legitimizing process of colonial rule, the missionaries used it as a vehicle for communicating the Christian message to the subject people.¹⁰²

As argued by other scholars before him, Lal Dena adds that the mission's stress on education was limited to the elementary level only as they saw little need for education beyond the primary level. Pettigrew himself was convinced that, "it is not necessary for such people as we have to deal with, to have anything higher than a middle English school grade. The great majority will, for many years to come, be content with an education that will enable them to read and write in their own vernacular".¹⁰³ Pettigrew could not be more wrong in his judgement, because the tribals were not content with so little for too long. Soon they wanted more than just rudimentary education to move with the changing times and the lifestyle they had been exposed to by the Christian missionaries.

Christian missionaries are still seen by many scholars, especially critics of foreign rule, as actual 'agents' of imperialism. As government officials began to feel more and more insecure because of the gradual emergence of national consciousness among the subject people, they made frantic efforts to enter into closer relationship with the missionaries. This was because they found in no other agency a more helpful partner than in Christian missionaries.¹⁰⁴ The conversion of outcaste and tribal peoples to Christianity is often cited as evidence of the success of the missionaries' nefarious designs. Conversely, the many tribal groups who enthusiastically embraced Christianity have been considered dupes of the western imperialists and accused of being separatists. Such views are held by nationalist historians who are vehement critics of the traditional mission-oriented perspective.

The picture of missionary education becomes more and more nuanced and proceeds beyond the missionary oriented perspective in that scholars

¹⁰² Lal Dena, *Christian missions and Colonialism*, Op Cit, pp. 90-91.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰⁴ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity*, Op Cit. p. 66.

begin to identify the different stages in missionary education and the different roles missionary education begins to play in the transformation of tribal life in the hills of the North-east. Rochunga Pudaite's work on the 'Impact of British Education' among the Hmar tribes of Manipur has the following views to share: Once the Hmar country was brought under the British rule and friendly relations were established, the British colonial officers felt little further responsibility to the tribes. Maintenance of law and order was the chief function of colonial rule. There was no attempt to start schools or improve the conditions of the people. The British agent tried only to keep the country under firm political control to suppress all possible uprisings, and to receive annual taxes from the inhabitants. Modern education among the Hmar people commenced in 1910 when the missionary Watkin Roberts of Wales sent a copy of the Gospel according to St. John to the tribal Chief Kamkholun of Senvon. The Chief Kamkholun was deeply impressed by the story of the book. He invited the missionary, who was then in India, to visit his village. The chief requested Roberts to start a missionary work by opening a school in his village.¹⁰⁵

Roberts responded to the request of the chief and asked him to build a school and appointed Thangngura, a native of Parbung, to become the first teacher of Senvon village school. Thus a school supported partly by the village people and partly by Roberts was opened without any formal preparation or plan. Since the Hmar language was not reduced to writing, the Lushai language was used with Lushai textbooks from Aizawl. The Christian message and school were something new in their approach and appeal. They brought positive changes and progress among the Hmar people. This newness began to attract the attention of the one-time head-hunters. Along with the increase of the Christian population was the increase in the number of schools. Four more schools were opened in 1911, and by 1920 there were over 30 schools with an average total attendance of one thousand pupils... With the increase in schools educational administration became more complex. In 1913 the newly

¹⁰⁵ Rochunga Pudaite, *The Education of the Hmar people*, Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission, Sielmat, 1963, p.67.

organised Mission Society appointed R. Dala the first Field Superintendent with headquarters at Senvon. When this society gained converts in any village, a school teacher was sent to start educational work.

When formal education was introduced among the Hmar people in 1910, education was aimed strictly at religious instruction. The people were taught the three R's in preparation for Bible reading and understanding of writing and simple arithmetic for their daily religious exercises. With the increase of the size of the Christian population the original objectives were found insufficient.¹⁰⁶ Education became almost synonymous with speaking English. Most of the children went to school in order that they may find employment in a city or village to enable them to make a living without performing manual labour. The subjects taught in school and the activities conducted both inside and outside the classroom were quite irrelevant to the child's background or environment. This is generally true of education that follows the English system in India. Children learn and read stories like Little Red Ridinghood, and they are transported from the real to the unreal, and from things that matter to things that are unimportant. The child is expected only to rote memorize the facts and to be able to reproduce them at the time of examination. The lack of a clear and precise definition of education and its aims is the product both of the imported British system and the lack of research on the subject by Indian (tribal) educators.¹⁰⁷

L. Jeyaseelan a writer who specialises in Catholic education in Manipur is of the opinion that all credit should go to the Christian missionaries because when they arrived in Manipur the Government policy was such that it discouraged either widespread or higher education amongst the natives. The British colonialists did not want the educated elite to emerge from amongst the hill people who might question Government policies. Thus, during the initial period of British consolidation, Christian missionary education mainly aimed at producing preachers. Their educational work almost invariably limited to

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp.68-74.

the setting up of middle-standard schools. Yet it was primarily because of the efforts of the Christian missionaries that the people of the hill areas acquired access to the benefits of modern education, however limited these might have been.¹⁰⁸

Jeyaseelan also gives credit to the missionaries for their contribution towards literature amongst tribals in Manipur, especially in Churachandpur District. Over the years, apart from publishing religious literature, the missionaries spared no efforts in the promotion of other secular materials. Numerous books have been written by the educated tribal populace, original works, translations, text books for schools, theses on the tribal culture and society; all have contributed to the growth of literature in many of the languages spoken in Manipur.¹⁰⁹ It is a great tribute to the dedication and zeal of the Christian missionaries that the literacy among many of the tribes is much higher than the average in the rest of the country. Jeyaseelan also conducted in-depth interviews with the local tribal population to gain knowledge of their views and perspectives which differed widely.

Politicians and journalists have also produced histories of education. The two discussed below amplify on the mission oriented perspective. T. Gougin, a journalist and an ex- MP, in his work, 'History of Zomi' heaps lavish praise on both the missionaries and the British government due to their efforts in the hill areas of Manipur. In his opinion, the occupation of the land of the Zomis by the British marked the presence of a power hitherto unknown, unforeseen and unimagined.¹¹⁰ The British officials aimed at securing peace and maintaining law and order while the missionaries aimed at converting the Zomis from their animistic beliefs to Christianity. The impact of British rule over the Zomis, according to him may be summed up as follows: 'The British government had brought them light in place of darkness, peace from chaos and

¹⁰⁸ L. Jeyaseelan, *Impact of the Missionary movement in Manipur*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, pp.169-170.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.173.

¹¹⁰ 'Zomi' is a common nomenclature for a collection of various non- Naga tribes including Paite, Vaiphei, Zou, Simte and Chin (those including inhabitants of Chin Hills in present day Myanmar) being the main tribes.

money from destitution.¹¹¹ He feels the tribes owe a great deal to the pioneer missionaries who first arrived in the 'jungles' of the Zomis. The missionaries not only helped spread education but also provided medical aid through dispensaries. The spirit of those missionaries who overcame formidable obstacles is indeed admirable. The selfless Christian missionaries made possible the 'enlightenment' of the crude tribes by exposing them to various fields of education and learning.¹¹² Of course, such a view that it was indeed a 'civilising mission' is too simplistic and short-sighted to be generally acceptable by most scholars.

Gulab Khan Gori also has a somewhat similar view to share. He attributes the 'modernisation' of the tribal people of Manipur to the untiring efforts of the Christian missionaries. They had unlocked and opened up the closed doors of these primitive people in the light of 'modern education'. Consequently, there are now many scientists, professors of art, literature, history, sociology, commerce and economics, among the tribal Christian communities in Manipur. Two of the Chief Ministers of Manipur have been tribal Christians.¹¹³

According to Tualchin Neihzial, one of the oldest writers amongst the Paite tribe, Christianity radically changed the way of life of the tribals, in a positive way. The mission schools contributed immensely to the revival and rejuvenation of the whole tribes and their land. Although the government too set up a few schools in the hills, they were too far and few in between that only a fraction of the population could benefit from them.¹¹⁴ K. P. Guite, a prominent educationist shares a similar view. He feels that the development of the hill tribes would have taken a much longer period had it not been for the advent of Christianity. Due to the 'enlightenment' as a result of Christian

¹¹¹ T. Gougin, *History of Zomi*, Published by the author, Churachandpur, 1984, p. 162.

¹¹² Ibid. pp. 163-164.

¹¹³ Gulab Khan Gori, *Changing phase of Tribal area of Manipur*, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1984, p. 114.

¹¹⁴ Tualchin Neihzial, *Mangkang gamkeekte nuai a Zoumite (The Zomis under the British Imperialists)*, Published by the author, Lamka, Manipur, p. 66.

education, the tribals have seen virtual transformations in their traditions, culture, economy, social life, religion and especially in education.¹¹⁵

T. Luikham opines that the advent of Christianity and its accompanying feature i.e. Education marked the beginning of a new life in the hills of Manipur. His observation is that “it has brought civilisation to the tribes who in the past, were constantly engaged in petty feuds between villages and between clans. The term ‘savage’ is not totally inappropriate to use to describe the state of our forefathers- naked, with limited knowledge and embroiled in fights which resulted in insecurity of life and property. We are indeed privileged to have graduated from that state to the present ‘civilized’ state. The dark phase is gone as we are now.in contact with the outside world.”¹¹⁶

The impact on the lives of women in these hill areas has been portrayed in a positive light by Lal Dena. He documents that, “With the coming of Christianity followed by modern education, the position of women underwent tremendous changes. Initially parents refused to send their daughters to school on the pretext that there would be no one to perform the chores at home. Men in the tribal society generally held the same view that girls were destined to do the household work and not to venture out to schools. They held the notion that girls did not have the aptitude and there was no point in educating them. Despite this initial opposition, girls went to school and learned the three R’s including child care, home nursing, cooking, knitting, sanitation etc. from the wives of the missionaries who took charge of the education of the girls. As a result, there was a great difference in the outlook and appearance of educated women and those of the uneducated ones. Soon, the men also began to prefer educated wives and the whole status of women became more respectable.”¹¹⁷ The value system also underwent sweeping

¹¹⁵ K. P. Guite, *Development of Education in the Hill-areas of Manipur*, Ph D. Thesis, Manipur University, 1992.

¹¹⁶ L. Jeyaseelan, Op. Cit. p. 122.

¹¹⁷ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity*, Op Cit. p. 38.

changes. Traditional value systems were slowly replaced by modern and western value systems. When political consciousness dawned upon the people from the 1940s onwards, women were no longer confined to the four walls of the house.

The Historiography of the Impact on Tribal Culture:

Scholars like F. S. Downs refute the charges regarding Christian education being viewed as an 'agent of change'. He blames the British Government as the primary agent of change, while Christianity played an acculturative role, i.e. it helped the people adjust to the new order rather than being primarily responsible for creating it.¹¹⁸ Education, according to him, enabled the tribes to adjust to the new situation that had been forced upon them with the arrival of the British colonialists earlier. Through education and literature Christianity provided the people with the skills necessary to function self-reliantly within the new order. This, of course does not suggest that the missions and the colonisers worked in tandem. It was a matter of a suitable 'coincidence' that the arrival of the missionaries followed the coming of the colonial masters. This made it possible for a process of acculturation to commence, rather than view the change as a process of detribalisation.

F. S. Downs further puts forward his observation as to how the schools, particularly the central station schools, where the members of different villages and tribes studied together made an important contribution to the development of the new tribal polity and identity. In view of this, it is not possible to overestimate the importance of the creation of literacy in reinforcing the cultural identity of the people.¹¹⁹

Further, L. Chinzakham Ngaihte regrets that the absence of morality amongst the educated youth of the tribal society foreshadows a dim future.

¹¹⁸ Frederick S. Downs, Op Cit. p.187.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p.191-195.

According to Ngaihte, documents testify the conspicuous presence of high morality among our forefathers in spite of their uncivilised way of life. They did not attend schools, colleges or universities, but as such they maintained a high standard of morality. Excessive emulation of the western way of life by the tribal youth- without dignity of labour, seriousness and morality is nothing but heading towards a façade of hollow future. He does not put the blame on Christian education per se, but regrets the way it has been incorporated into the lives of the tribals who have embraced Christianity but do not seem to care for a true Christian life.¹²⁰

According to Salam Irene, a historian of education, it is an undeniable fact that the tribals in Manipur who have been converted to Christianity have a better grasp and understanding of the English language and Western culture, and so fare better in school and college or competitive examinations, largely by virtue of the fact that they have greater fluency in the English language than the Meiteis.¹²¹ S. K. Barpujari adds, “If the missionaries had not come to the rescue of the British administration by taking over the charge of the education of the tribes, the progress of education which was slow in the hills would have been slower still. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Christianity and education developed in the hills of the North-East like twin sisters”.¹²² Horam also endorses the above view-point and says that it was truly the Christian missions who introduced the tribals to a more ‘modern’ way of life. But, he continues, the missionaries were responsible for both the good and bad effects of modern civilisation on the tribal way of life. It is common knowledge that neither the Manipur Maharajas nor the Chieftains who had practised a system of governance of the hill tribes could effect the changes that have occurred within a span of a century as the missionaries have done. He also adds that if the tribals have reached a semblance of

¹²⁰ L. Chinzakham Ngaihte, ‘Is our Future hopeful?’ in Young Paite Association Annual Magazine, Churachandpur, 1982, vol. 2, p.26.

¹²¹ Salam Irene, *Catholic Education in Manipur*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, 1989, p.118.

¹²² S.K Barpujari, ‘Educational development in the hills of North-East India: A general background’, in *Social and economic profile of North-East India*, Dutta Ray(Ed), New Delhi, 1978, p. 284.

development, a sizeable portion of credit should go to the untiring efforts of the western, native and Indian missionaries.¹²³

O. L. Snaitang, in his in-depth study of Christianity and social change in North-East India comes up with some interesting observations on various aspects of Christianity, education, literature and the impact of these on tribal culture. One of his significant findings is that 'although introduced by foreign missionaries, the evangelisation of the tribes was largely the work of indigenous Christian converts, mostly school teachers and evangelists.'¹²⁴ According to him, the principal agent of change in the tribal culture was British administration and not Christianity or missionary education. Christianity did not completely displace the traditional culture. Instead, a new community emerged that was a synthesis of the old and the new which nevertheless maintained a distinctive tribal identity. Christian education brought the tribes together and provided them with the necessary intellectual tools to cope with the newly emerging order under colonial rule. Christian education primed them to be more receptive to changes and more open to move with the times.¹²⁵

Snaitang continues, "According to tradition, the loss of written scripts had resulted in the development of dialect groups which could not communicate with each other and hence had adversely affected tribal unity. It was, in effect, a kind of detribalizing process. The missionaries introduced a written language for their own purposes but one of the social effects was the provision of a linguistic base for a restored tribal unity. Mission schools played a huge role in fostering this feeling of unity. This, in turn, helped them to retain a distinctive identity in the face of the changes brought about by the imposition of British administration."¹²⁶ While they viewed the schools as part of their evangelistic strategy, one of the unintended consequences of the

¹²³ L. Jeyaseelan, *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹²⁴ O. L. Snaitang, *Op Cit.* p. 141.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-146.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 150.

missionary system was to help the tribal people cope with the new situation in which they found themselves under British domination and also to provide an instrument to promote tribal solidarity.¹²⁷ Moreover, he continues, education was viewed by the missionaries as a means to develop an indigenous leadership for the present and future churches. The instruction in the mission schools was aimed to realise that objective. But because it was the only education available to these tribes, the Christian schools also provided the kind of new leadership that was required in the administrative and political sphere in the context of radical social change.¹²⁸

A number of theologians and historians have noted the positive impact of missionary education on Manipuri society. The position differs from the classical missionary perspective in that it sees missionary education as playing a role in drawing these tribes to a wider fellowship of human beings. While this idea itself might have different roots, rhetorically it differs from the classical Christian missionary discourse of the nineteenth century. Thus Lamboi Vaiphei, a historian of Christianity writes that when Pettigrew arrived in Manipur, the condition of the hill tribes was pitiable. The Hindu Rajah of Manipur ruled over these savages and used them as 'burden bearers' and 'earth workers'. While the government paid no heed to them, the Christian mission took itself to the task of imparting education to the people who lived in gross ignorance. Thanks to them, many are now well-placed in life, some in secular government services and some full-time missionaries and Christian workers. According to Vaiphei, more than any other element, be it the British administration or political factors, Christianity and education played a more effective role in transforming the tribal society of Manipur. It brought them into the mainstream of life in the State and in the country as well.¹²⁹

S. Prim Vaiphei, a theologian, sees a link between Christian education and the emergence of a political consciousness among the Vaiphei and other

¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 148.

¹²⁸ Ibid. pp. 151- 154.

¹²⁹ Th. Lamboi Vaiphei, *Advent of Christian mission and its impact on the hill-tribes in Manipur*, Published by the author for Frontier Mission Society, Imphal, 1997, pp. 172-177.

tribes in Manipur. When these tribals became educated, they developed a political consciousness which led to great emphasis on their separate tribal identities. In one way, receiving the 'light of education' resulted in disunity within the Chin- Kuki- Mizo tribes.¹³⁰ Just like 'caste' was an issue in Hindu majority States, 'clan' emerged as a divisive factor in the tribal politics of Manipur, which is an undesirable element.¹³¹ There are also allegations of links between Christianity and insurgency or underground movements. The tribal Christian educated leaders have been accused of banking on their separate religious beliefs (Christianity) to launch separatist movements.

Speaking on behalf of all Nagas in the North-East, Leno Terhuja, an Angami Naga herself and the first woman graduate of the United Theological College in Bangalore said, "Christianity and education have ushered the Nagas into a wider fellowship with Indian and other fellow human-beings. We were brought into contact with the outside world by Christianity. Soon after a Christian community was formed, we used to send delegates to attend the Church conferences outside. Today, Nagas study in theological schools and colleges in other far away places as well. Christianity is not an isolating factor, as is sometimes charged".¹³² One of Pettigrew's former students, who later became a high official in the British Army, has this to say about the missionary: "The progress of the Tangkhuls is very much due to the painstaking work of Rev. William Pettigrew, who was the backbone of the Churches and schools in the Manipur hills. More than anyone else at the risk of his own life, he has lifted the Tangkhul from rude half-clad savages to the present state. The Tangkhul Christians' indebtedness to him cannot be expressed in words."¹³³

¹³⁰ Prim Suantak Vaiphei, *Church Growth among the hill tribes in Manipur*, Imphal. 1968, p. 90.

¹³¹ Gangmumei Kamei, *On history and historiography of Manipur*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006, p. 154.

¹³² F. S. Downs, *Op Cit*, p.196.

¹³³ Elungkiebe Zeliang, *Op cit.*, P. 99.

Historiography of the Critique of Missionary Education

The main criticism levelled against the missionaries and the education they provided in North-East India was that it was very basic in nature and heavily centred on theology (Biblical studies). They felt that the tribals did not require more than the primary level of schooling, so the standard of education was limited. This could not enable the students to have a solid foundation in mathematics and the sciences which are required in modern education. The average tribal students were well-schooled in literary and verbal articulation and moral discipline, but they had a weak base in the natural sciences and abstract philosophy which were the hallmarks of a modern outlook. This can largely be attributed to the kind of training, teaching methods and curriculum prepared by the mission educators. For instance, when Pettigrew first came to Manipur, he began by opening schools in the Imphal valley where Christian teaching was strictly prohibited. So the emphasis had to be on secular education in the valley while it was mainly religious, theological and moral education among the hill-tribes who embraced Christianity. This naturally led to a neglect of secular education because the main objective of 'evangelization' was being realized in the tribal areas and the missionaries would not jeopardize the golden opportunity before them. This could explain why tribals in Manipur lag behind in the fields of mathematics, science and technology as compared to their counterparts in the valley even now.

Lal Dena argues that the tribals of the hill areas of Manipur have been victims of 'marginalization' throughout history initially due to the isolationist and 'divide and rule' policy of the British imperial rulers and later due to their adoption of Christianity, the religion of the foreigners and due to the impact of Missionary education and 'enlightenment'.¹³⁴ He further elaborates his stand-point: "When conversion of only a minority section of a conquered people was encouraged, it inevitably acted as an instrument of segregation of the minorities from the majority. In one sense, Christianity had

¹³⁴ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity*, Op cit. p. 157.

broadened the outlook of the tribals, but in the context of Manipur, it was made to create a sort of barrier, which prevented smooth cultural interaction between the tribal people and those in the valley.”¹³⁵ It widened the already existing distance between the two groups of people. Apart from the gap created due to difference in religion, the educated tribals became all the more aware of their unfavourable condition vis-à-vis the plain dwellers, through the ages.

K. M. Singh critiques the agenda and motives of Pettigrew himself and states that his main object was to create a very good impression on the state authorities through education of the young children in the capital. Singh opines that education in Manipur was not the sole concern of Pettigrew since this qualification was required only to pave a way to conversions through western atmosphere. Pettigrew was aware of the fact that the tribes would not easily accept a foreign religion without obtaining a good knowledge of western education.¹³⁶ He adds further that one of the main reasons why Pettigrew felt very keen on education of the tribals was with regard to his new position towards all the schools in the valley. He wanted to procure a written order from the political agent to his appointment to the post of the Honorary Inspector of Schools so that there might not be any misunderstanding in the future.¹³⁷

Caroline Ngailiankim, an educationist, in her study of the impact of modern education on tribal society in Manipur maintains that the tribals had their own traditional methods of learning, which can be labelled informal education. She believes it would be inappropriate to think that before the Western missionaries and colonial officials arrived, the tribes of Manipur were so barbaric that they had no system of learning at all. As High-Landers everywhere else, the tribals of Manipur were fierce and fearless when provoked unjustly but were generally peaceful and peace-loving in nature.

¹³⁵ Ibid. pp. 164-165.

¹³⁶ K. M. Singh, Op. Cit, pp. 70-71

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 74.

Their main occupations in the past comprised jhuming or shifting-cultivation, fishing, hunting etc. and as such, they lived in small groups, isolated and far off from one another. As no human society exists and grows without education of some kind, the tribals too had their own traditional way of education even before the art of reading and writing was known.¹³⁸ She continues to argue that each and every individual acquires some sort of education, even if he has never spent a day in school, because all his acquired characteristics are the product of experiences and activities which are educational in nature. Their education thus includes all influences and activities in life by active participation. Therefore, it would be naïve to believe that there were no educational activities in the tribal society of Manipur prior to the establishment of missionary schools in the tribal areas.

For a considerable length of time, the tribal people of Manipur remained unaffected by the progress of the so-called modernization brought about by foreigners. It is true that the art of reading and writing, which is generally termed as 'education' was introduced in the tribal areas by the western missionaries. The pioneering effort to develop the tribals of Manipur did actually commence with the introduction of education and health services as part of their evangelizing process. However, given the nature of the region, the paucity of good communication, and the commitment to traditional beliefs and rituals etc., the spread of Western education and the onset of the processes of modernisation were not as rapid as desired. It took many decades to achieve even 1% literacy among the tribal population.¹³⁹

Lal Dena presents another interesting account of the emergence of an 'elite' class in the tribal society of Manipur as a result of missionary education. According to him, "modern education provided social mobility and soon, the new educated elite groups had emerged. What was important was the change in their mental outlook. They began to look upon Europeans as role-

¹³⁸ Dr. Caroline Ngailiankim, 'The spread of modern education and its impact on the tribal society in Manipur', in *Change and Continuity in the tribal society of Manipur*, Published by Manipur University Tribal Students Union, Imphal, 1999, pp.63-64.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p.65.

models and tended to become pro-western in taste and attitude. They also began to regard themselves as belonging to a comparatively different category in society and assumed new leadership- political and religious.¹⁴⁰ In this way, the emergence of the new educated elite groups who fashioned themselves on the lines of the foreign educationists disturbed the structure of the traditional social organisation and also affected the economic interests of the traditional elites (the chiefs). In fact, there arose a conflict between the two groups: the traditional elites upholding the existing institutions and practices, and the modern elites who began to question the rights and privileges of the traditional elites. The latter demanded democratisation of traditional political institutions which meant the abolition of many of the rights and privileges of the traditional elites.¹⁴¹ It becomes apparent that the Christian missionaries left a lasting impression within the tribal system, in this context, by disturbing the structure and functioning of the society and its local administration.

Clearly then, we begin to see that the focus on the history of education begins to produce a historiographic perspective that appears as a critique of missionary education. Furthermore, related to this framework, as we shall see below emerge horizons of critique that take into consideration the social response of the recipients of modern or missionary education. Obviously, missionary education did not drastically transform the whole tribal society overnight. It was only from around 1920 that the missionaries actually gained formal acceptance from the tribes. Whatever they achieved prior to that period was effectively ineffective as drop out rates in the elementary schools was high. In fact, as far as the education of girls was concerned, the strong stand of tribal elders that girls were much too helpful in the household to waste time in schools remained an obstacle for a very long time. This indicates how little importance was accorded to education provided by the missionaries at the time - only the lazy boys who wanted to avoid working in the fields went to school. However, the introduction of education into these societies was a big step towards a change in their centuries-long social structure. The confusion and

¹⁴⁰ Lal Dena, *History of Modern Manipur*, Op Cit. p. 116.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 117.

resistance produced as a result of their habituated social behaviour posed barriers to the acceptance of a framework of a new routinized life.¹⁴²

Apart from the difficulty of adjusting to a new way of life brought about by the missionaries, another huge issue faced by the tribes was with regard to their culture. According to A. Bendangyabang Ao, the general notion among the Nagas was to blame the Christian missionaries for the distortion of traditional Naga society and culture. Within seventy-five years of Christian mission work among the Aos and other Nagas, changes were indeed visible. However, in the same areas there were problems of assimilation. It is interesting to note that in the minds of the educated Nagas, advancement was understood in terms of 'westernization'.¹⁴³ Education and modernisation were equated with blindly aping and adopting western practices, a way of life that eroded their culture and customs. Furthermore, every change had both positive and negative aspects. In the case of the Nagas, the positive seems to have outweighed the negative because Christian education enabled them to make their own decisions over the subsequent decades. This assessment arises from a political conception of the role of education in the democratisation of society. Lal Dena also endorses this point and says, "The emergence of a political leadership apart from Church leadership is due to the colonial experience and the education provided by the Christian missions, coupled with the forces working within the premises of traditional tribal society."¹⁴⁴

Henia Ashikho emphasises on the weakness and frivolity of the Christian missionaries regarding the quality of education provided to the tribes: "The hill tribes received only half an education in the subsidised mission schools, which were almost entirely of middle school standard. It was apparent that the schools were aimed primarily at religious instruction and intensification of the propagation of Christian teachings. The people were administered basic education in order to prepare them to read the Bible and for

¹⁴² Meena Sharma Barkataki, *Op. cit.*, p.123.

¹⁴³ A. Bendangyabang Ao, *Op. cit.*, p.174.

¹⁴⁴ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity*, *Op Cit*, p. 76.

their daily religious exercises. The primary objective of the mission was to mould good preachers.”¹⁴⁵ Ashikho further argues that all the educational activities of the Christian missionaries in Manipur were conducted within the framework of the colonial structure. He maintains that the missionaries forged close links with the British government because whatever was done was to suit the convenience of the imperial power. The missionaries on their part were concerned with education only so far as it subserves their chief purpose of evangelization. The essential requirement in the mission schools was the creation of a Christian atmosphere in its institutes.¹⁴⁶ Pettigrew, although claiming no allegiance to the British government, actively cooperated in raising the Labour Corps for France during the First World War. This, according to him, is clear evidence of the dual role of the missionaries in the entire ‘Divide and Rule’ policy of the British imperialists.¹⁴⁷ Another failing of the education undertaken by the missionaries as put forward by Lal Dena is that the outlook, vision and thinking of the tribals tend to be saturated with Christian beliefs and philosophy. Religion came to pervade their whole way of life and the Church became extremely influential. Therefore, he suggests, a clear distinction between literary pursuit and Christian faith needs to be made.¹⁴⁸

A few staunch and extreme groups of critics have recently come up with theories and examples of how the education provided by Christian missionaries has led the tribals of the North-East astray and sowed the seeds of rebellion in their hearts. They make links between Christianity and terrorism or insurgent movements in the region and attribute this phenomenon to the influence of Christian education. It is true that Christian missionaries have brought education and civic amenities into this region. However, as in many parts of the world, Christianity has wiped out a whole way of life, erasing centuries of tradition, customs and wisdom. It has caused people to hold their

¹⁴⁵ Henia Ashikho, “*Growth and Development of Education in Manipur (1890-1947)*”, M Phil Dissertation, ZHCES, JNU, New Delhi, 1981, p. 118.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 119.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 159.

¹⁴⁸ Lal Dena, *In Search of Identity*, Op. cit, p. 86.

own religion in contempt and look westwards to an alien culture. It has disrupted society by pitting the Christian converts against mainstream 'Hindu' India. This creation of a class-conflict has insulated the tribals from Indian society and made them a tool in the hands of Christian missionaries. Missionaries in India have often been a divisive force, which used the tribals for advocating a breaking up of the country.¹⁴⁹ Such extreme allegation maybe somewhat far-fetched but it is true that the tribals and valley-dwellers have alienated themselves from each other on the pretext of differences in religion, cultural practices and beliefs apart from geographical factors. However, it would be inappropriate to accuse the missionaries of having intentions to sow the seeds of enmity between the hill and valley inhabitants. This is especially untrue in the case of Manipur because when the first missionary, Pettigrew came to the State, his intention was to work among the Hindu Meiteis in the valley. It was a matter of chance that he eventually had to shift base to the hills. His main goal was proselytization and spreading the Gospel through education; in the end, it hardly mattered whether his goal materialized in the hills or in the valley.

¹⁴⁹ "Christian Conversions and Terrorism in North-East India", *Akhil Bharatiya Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram*, 50 Golden Years, A Shree multimedia Vision Ltd. Presentation, March 10, 2006, Online [Web] URL [http:// www. Shabarikumbh. Org](http://www.Shabarikumbh.Org).

Chapter V

Conclusion

It is common knowledge that 'Education' was an effective tool utilized by Christian missionaries towards the achievement of their larger goal of 'proselytization'. Christian missionary education had a tremendous effect all over India, more so amongst the tribals since they were more 'malleable' than those belonging to settled or sedentary populations. The experiences of the tribals in North-East India are quite different from those of mainland India. For instance, Travancore had a strong indigenous educational system by the 1860s while the tribals of North-East India had no such system to talk of. Education and schooling only began when the missionaries arrived. So there was no displacement or abandonment of an established form of learning. Clearly, it was not a case of a new system replacing the old. This is probably why the critique of Christian missionary education is not so well developed.

The situation would have been altogether different had it not been for the dual existence of an "imposed foreign rule" and 'Christian missionaries', who are more often than not, seen as agents of the imperialists, be it the British in India or Germans in African countries like Namibia. This naturally lead the natives of settled sedentary, stratified societies to the conclusion that education that comes along with the missionaries was clearly a tool to subjugate them, to colonize them and to subsequently impose their religion on them. Conversion is resisted everywhere, especially where there already exists an established religion. And the whole issue of conversion becomes more complicated where colonialism is involved.

Clayton G. Mackenzie believes that missionaries formed an 'uneasy' alliance with the colonial government mainly for the funds provided by the latter and had nothing to do with similar ideologies shared between the two. He adds, "In spite of vehement criticism, in many instances missionary education acted as the direct precursor to and model for secular modes of

school education, establishing itself as a powerful and informing influence in post-colonial educational milieu.”¹⁵⁰ No statement can be truer than that, because it is a fact not even the fiercest critics can deny. Having said that, another important point to be highlighted is that it would be wrong to characterise missionary education initiatives as simply social endeavours enacted by holy, helpless and altruist men and women. There was a cutting edge to the missionary educator, an unapologetic and unambiguous bottom line- and it was the conversion to Christianity of the native non-believer.

One must also take into account the fact that unlike in the more ‘developed’ parts of India, the tribals of the North-East did not have the option or the ability to segregate ‘Christianity’ and ‘Christian education’. To them, it was a combination that worked together perfectly. They now had a proper, established religion and the education they received was endorsed by their religion. In mainland India, however, the education provided by the missionaries was taken advantage of, minus the conversion. Even where there was compulsory Bible study, cases of conversion were very rare. In very simple terms, it becomes almost impossible for the tribals of the North-East to be overly critical of the education provided by the missionaries who literally rescued them from their ‘head-hunting’ era to the present state within a span of less than a century. That is not to say that from the very initial stage, the missionaries easily took them in their sway. The tribals in fact gave them a hard time; some even lost their lives while some were threatened with death.

With the story of the expansion of Christianity being taken over by secular historians, as we have already seen, different kinds of questions are now being asked, especially with regard to the ‘civilizing mission’. The intervention of the missionaries in the day-to-day life of the natives and their disregard and insensitivity towards tribal culture and customs was greatly resented by the tribal natives. Attending mission schools came to be equated

¹⁵⁰ Clayton G. Mackenzie, ‘Demythologising the Missionaries: a reassessment of the functions and relationships of Christian missionary education under colonialism’, *Comparative Education*, Volume 29, No.1, 1993, p.47.

with being on the road towards 'civilization' which mostly meant 'westernization'. The missionaries saw no contradiction between spreading the Gospel and 'civilizing' or 'disciplining' the 'savage' hill tribes into the ways of the White men. However, one important reason why these tribes feel indebted towards the Christian missionaries and their endeavours to educate them is that it has enabled them to move with the times and fit into the new and changing social order.

The mission and Church controlled educational system in the tribal areas of the present Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram spread knowledge of the standard language, thus making meaningful communication possible among the various dialect groups in the respective States. Also, in the case of Manipur the tribes cannot but be grateful to the missionaries because the British government was least interested in their education nor was the Durbar. Due to the remote location and difficulty in access, education was a far cry for these hilly areas neglected since time immemorial. Even if the Durbar had tried to educate them it would have made no sense, taking into account the huge dissimilarity in their languages, culture and practices. Manipuri or Meitei Lon which is spoken by the people in the plains is not taken kindly by the tribals. In such a situation, the missionaries sensed the intensity of the problem and reduced the tribal dialects to writing in the Roman script, translated portions of the Bible into their dialects, compiled dictionaries and grammar as well, in the native dialects. In this sense, the Christian literature contributed to the development of tribal identity.

Amidst the various criticisms levelled against the motives and actions of Pettigrew regarding religion, the valley people of Manipur still remember him as a great 'educationist' and his contribution to the field of education cannot be overestimated. As far as the quality of education was concerned, one must also remember that it is unreasonable to expect the missions to place emphasis on higher education before a solid foundation was laid at the lower

levels (primary and middle school levels).¹⁵¹ To the tribals, the combination of education and proselytization brought about a sense of common identity, unity and tribal solidarity in the face of a more dominant, culturally different Sanskritized population in the valleys.

In Chapter I we have introduced the theme and the background of our study, and why this study has been undertaken to give a wider view of the variations in the study of the history of Christian education in North-East India and focussing in greater detail on the experiences of the hill tribes in Manipur. As we have seen from our discussions, any study of the North-East is complicated by the fact that though a relatively small region it has a cultural and linguistic plurality which mirrors that of the entire region. The limitation and ambiguousness of the very term 'North-East' is still an issue of debate, but here in this thesis, the hill areas of the North-East that have been taken into consideration are those of the Khasi-Jaintia hills in Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram and hill-areas of Manipur, on which the main focus is given. A brief account of the political situation in North-East India and Manipur before the advent of the missionaries has also been given. Political instability and internal strife eventually worked against them and the British occupied the region in no time. From the Burmese reign of terror to the equally destructive yet subtler reign of the imperial British power, the situation continually remained chaotic in the region. From the unpleasant experience of foreign conquest, the people of Manipur came to be highly suspicious of any white man entering the State.

Chapter II is a review of the historiography of the field of Christian Missionary education in mainland India. We saw how the Charter Act of 1813 relaxed the restriction on the entry of missionaries into India and how it signalled the end of the 'non-interference' policy of the colonialists in the internal affairs, culture, tradition and religion of the colony. Although the missionaries and the colonial government did not share a common agenda and as seen in our review, the two entities cannot be equated, the missionaries

¹⁵¹ O. L. Snaitang, *Op Cit.* p. 155.

were funded by the government and provided protection against any untoward incident. However, some scholars have established the theory that Christianity arrived in India as early as the second century A. D, when one of Jesus' twelve disciples, Thomas came to South India as a missionary. Moreover, accounts of missionaries like Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, a German missionary who came to preach the Gospel in Tamil Nadu in the beginning of the eighteenth century clearly indicate that missionary activities had already taken place before the consolidation of British rule in India. So, it would not be appropriate to draw parallels between Colonialism and the missionary endeavour in India. In this chapter we had established that such simplistic accounts are not adequate to provide us the full picture in the history of Christian missionary education.

Opinion was sharply divided among the Europeans (British, mostly) deputed in India and those back home in Europe. The notion that the adoption of Christianity and introduction of western education amongst the Indians would better facilitate the smooth running of the British government was prevalent among many of them. The secular education provided to Indians by missionaries was severely criticised by members of the home boards as it was seen as a waste of opportunity for the more important task of evangelization. Even among the British officials, there was a variety of differing view points regarding the curriculum in schools. Within the Indian society, a demand for Western education rose because it guaranteed government jobs. However, a similar process of separating the wheat from chaff was visible in their pursuit of English education. The Indians took advantage of the Christian missionary education without actually being influenced by the Christian teachings. Instances of conversion were extremely rare although parts of the Bible and Christian teachings were incorporated into the syllabus in most of the schools.

In the third chapter, 'The history of the arrival of Christian missionaries at the North-East Frontier', we have traced how the Gospel entered and spread throughout the North-East Frontier. The pioneer mission to the region was the Serampore mission in Bengal whose most prominent

missionary was William Carey. Apart from the Serampore Mission, the various mission societies that established their centres in the North-East were the American Baptist Missionary Union, the British Baptist Mission Society, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Mission, the Arthington Aborigines Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission at a later stage. We have also seen how these missions could not make much of a head-way in the plains due to their strict adherence to Hinduism. We also dwelt in brief on how the inhabitants of the hill areas and the plains differ enormously in cultural practices, standard of living and religion. The most effective means of proselytization was considered to be 'education' and the missionaries set up schools wherever they preached the Gospel.

In Manipur, the entry of Christian missionaries was vehemently opposed by the King and the Durbar. William Pettigrew was the first missionary to Manipur; we have given a somewhat detailed account of him and his work in this chapter because his contribution to education in Manipur has been tremendous. There were two missionary movements in Manipur, one in the North-East of Manipur at Ukhrul, a hill area mostly inhabited by the Tangkhul tribes and the other in South-West of Manipur, a hill area mainly inhabited by the Kukis and its sub-tribes. Pettigrew was the pioneer missionary to the former and Watkin Roberts to the latter hill area. The missionaries made no bones about the fact that their priority was the conversion of the local population and the school and the education imparted there was an effective tool towards the achievement of that goal.

In Chapter IV an attempt had been made for the in-depth study of historiography of missionary education in Manipur. A brief description of the various tribes of Manipur showed that they inhabited the hill areas of the State and were more or less cut off from the outside world. They maintained very less interaction with those in the valley and their standard of living was pitiable. These tribes were mostly animists, nature worshippers, superstitious and believers in sacrifices. Their administration was under a village chief

though no traces of social hierarchy seemed to have existed. Once again, we saw how the diversity in dialects and languages amongst these tribes makes it impossible to study all of them at a time. However, there are many commonalities in their cultural practices, traditions as well as in dialects and they all belong to the Mongoloid stock. Legend has it that these tribes had migrated from somewhere in China, though it is not known exactly from which part of China.

We have broadly categorised the historiography into three parts for better clarity and coherence. The mission-oriented perspective highlights how the missionaries themselves and their supporters have documented the history of Christian education in Manipur. As in other parts of India and all over the world, the missionaries never wavered from their view that their endeavour was to enlighten and civilize the 'barbaric', 'savage', 'heathen' unbelievers. Pettigrew himself had come to Manipur to preach the Gospel and proselytize the Meiteis, the inhabitants of the valley in Manipur. He learned the Manipuri language (Meitei lon) while waiting in Bengal to proceed to Manipur at any opportune moment. It was a matter of chance that he eventually had to shift focus towards the hills of Ukhrul when any form of Christian teaching was prohibited in the valley.

It was not until the 1920s that any form of education and schooling worth the name could be undertaken in Ukhrul. The tribes were not receptive to the missionary and were extremely hostile to him initially. But Pettigrew always gave positive and optimistic reports back to the home board in America on the progress of the school and growing number of pupils even when the drop-out rate was as high as the number of new entries. Some elderly members of various tribes of Manipur have given favourable accounts of the missionaries and put them on a pedestal for having showed them the modern way of life through Christian education. They all praise for the great sacrifices these missionaries have made to venture into such dangerous terrain as the hill areas of Manipur.

However, we have also seen accounts of younger writers who have emphasised on how the missionaries created havoc in the tribal culture and society. The new culture that emerged out of the missionary influence was a composite 'tribal- meets- western' culture. Though these tribals are of Mongoloid stock, they began to adopt the ways of the White man, his mannerisms, style of dressing and taste. The tribals began to see 'modernisation' in terms of 'westernisation'. They began to consider their own cultural practices redundant and anti-Christian. Some of them equated civilization with westernization. Many scholars have laid emphasis on the impact of Christian education on tribal culture: some positively and some negatively. Younger scholars like Caroline Ngailiankim have tried to establish that the tribal society was not devoid of any forms of education-their education came from practical training and real life experiences. A few others have suggested that the tribal culture was not barbaric and uncivilized as the white men would have us believe. The tribals maintained high standards of morality and dignity before the European missionaries came to their land, ostensibly to civilize them through the Gospel and an education heavily based on Christianity.

Another way some scholars have studied the impact of Christian education on the tribal culture is its positive role in fostering feelings of solidarity as a result of better interaction and communication between the various tribes. F. S. Downs has established how the mission schools spread knowledge of the standard language which enabled meaningful communication among the various dialectic groups. We have also seen various perspectives on how Christian missionaries inculcated the ability of self-support, self-government and a democratic way of life in the tribals. The viewpoints of critics of Christian missionary education have also been dealt with. These scholars have reiterated the point that 'education' was merely a tool towards evangelization of the innocent tribals. In fact, they have even suggested that this education was imposed on the tribes, in collaboration with

the colonial officers who saw in the missionaries a desirable ally. The colonial officials regarded the education of these rude tribes essential to transform them into obedient, easy-to-manage subjects to facilitate smooth and better administration. The more vehement critics have tried to establish that Christian education resulted in hill-valley animosity. With the education received from the mission schools and the eventual mass conversion of these tribals to Christianity, the gap widened. Another issue on missionary education was the quality and curriculum in the schools. The syllabus was Bible-centric and the level of teaching was only till the primary and at the most, middle standard level. However, from this study it may safely be concluded that it is no longer acceptable to portray the Christian missionaries as selfless, disinterested men who came to 'civilize' the 'savage' tribals. It is also unwise to over-simplify the relationship between the missionaries and the colonialists by saying they collaborated with each other to consolidate British rule in the region. The attempt and focus should be on objectivity and critical analysis in newer and more innovative ways.

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