

**GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MANIPUR
(1890 - 1947)**

**Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of**

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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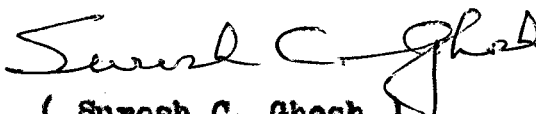
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Growth and Development of Education in Manipur, 1890-1947" by Ashikho Henia is in fulfilment of eight credits out of the total requirements of twenty-four credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This is her own work and has not been submitted for any other degree of this or other university.

I recommend that this Dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(Suresh C. Ghosh)
Chairman and Supervisor

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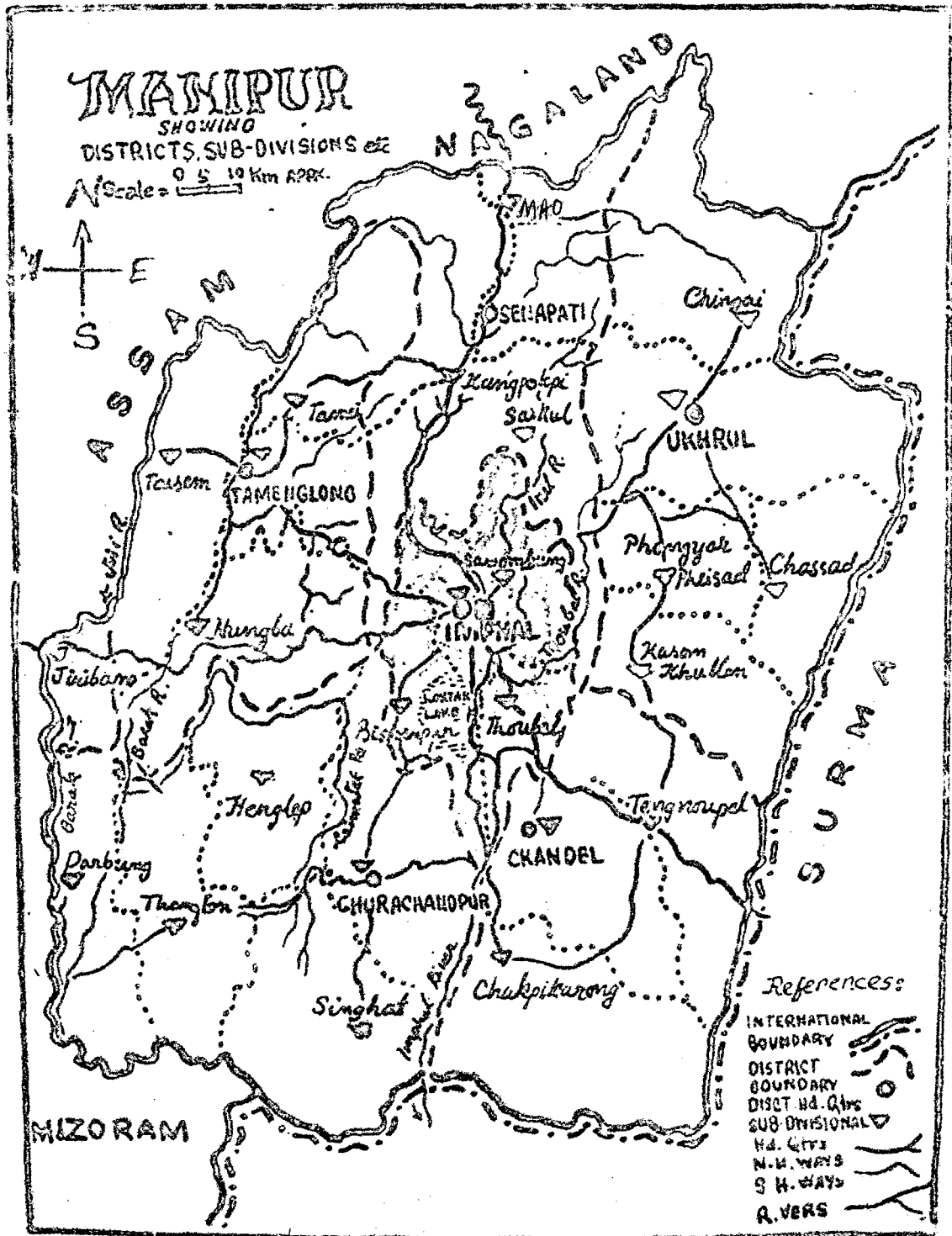
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ASHIKHO HENIA

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Source: Government of Manipur, 1979.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

In the late 19th century (1880s), Manipur, North-East of India was in deep turmoil and consequently, the British took over Manipur in 1891. Since then, till 1947, Manipur administration was in the hands of the British Political Agents with the State Darbar and the Maharaja as titular Native-King without absolute political power.

(Manipur was conquered by the British in 1891, and the British re-established the system of indirect rule, 'Native Rule', with a British Political Agent, a State Darbar with a Maharaja.) During this period there prevailed two so-called political and administrative systems both in the Hills and Plains of Manipur. (In the Plain/Valley areas there prevailed the feudal Monarchical system whereas in the Hill areas there prevailed the Tribal Traditional Democratic systems of Village Chieftoms practised by the Nagas in particular and Kukis as well.) Manipur was administered by the British indirectly which functioned in accordance with the whims and wishes of the British Political Agents and other native-officials. So it is essential to investigate as to how and why the British set up and developed the followings according to Western models such as, Education, Administration Policy, Judicial System, Revenue, Industry, Police and Military departments etc. both in the Hills and Plain areas of Manipur.

(Before the British advent, Education had been mostly confined to the Royal and Noble circles only in Manipur.

Moreover the system of education was in the form of Sanskrit Tols, Pathsalas and Madrassas especially in the Plain areas of Manipur. But in the Hill areas the same type of education was unknown except the Tribal-traditional practice of unwritten system of education. But with the coming of the British the education system had abruptly changed and yet effectively developed in Manipur. However, in the beginning, the British did not encourage the Hill-Tribes to educate more than the Middle School standard.

In the Hill areas the medium of instructions were mainly conducted both in English and Manipuri language in Bengalee script in all the schools. Whereas, in the Plain areas the medium of instructions were conducted in English, Manipuri language in Bengali script, separate school for Bengali language and script, Sanskrit and Arabic as well. (Thus the growth and development of education in Manipur was firmly founded through grants-in-aid, in the form of Manipur State Government Fund and the Imperial Fund (British India).)

As the Government officials were greatly burdened about the minute details of administration, consequently they realised the need for education, the changing system ~~and~~ subsequently revised their policy. In this way the importance of imparting education to the general public was started with great enthusiasm so that they could use the services of the Native-educated persons for running the administration

smoothly by employing them as soldiers, clerks, peons, Lambus, Teachers and Evangelists, etc.

(It could also be seen how and why Western Education was introduced, nourished, promoted and developed in the State with the coming of the Christian Missionaries (American Baptist Mission and North-East India General Mission). In the beginning the Missionaries came to Manipur to preach and propagate the Christian religion, following the colonial steps of the British Political Agents. But later on they found practical difficulties especially among the Valley/Plain peoples as most of them, except certain Sanamahi Group, were already confirmed and professed Vaishnavite Hindu religion. This new religion came from Bengal through a famous philanthropist and a leading Pandit, named, Shanti Das, in the early 18th century. And as such the Christian Missionaries could not find an alternative for preaching the Gospel message in the Valley of Manipur during this period.

But ultimately and with the sole consent of the British Political Agents the Missionaries went to the Hill areas and there they found the blank-sheet of foreign contacts and thus they preached there and converted the simple innocent Hill Tribals to Christianity. They faced stiff resistance for conversion in the beginning even at the risk of their lives. [The Hill-Tribals were animists, nature worshippers having their own style of life in simplicity and frankness with open minded society according to their customs and traditions of their respective Tribes before the coming and contact of the Christian Missionaries. But

gradually the Missionaries tamed and lured them away with the Biblical Message of Love, Hell and Heaven, and thus ultimately they founded Churches, Schools, Dispensaries for the Hill Tribes and the Tribals naturally found and felt the need for a new yet Western civilization through and mainly Christian Education. Thus, the Christian Missionaries established and developed numerous schools/institutions and paved a new emphasis to the learning of the 3-R's. Thus to trace out as to how educational development along with Christianity especially in the Hill-Tribal areas of Manipur would certainly add a new academic dimension about the generous humanitarian contributions by certain Western Christian Missionaries.

Because of modern education, its growth and development, alongwith the existing indigenous schools, new ideas, values, norms have given and created a great impact in the Manipuri society. People began to yearn more for higher learning on Western models. New political-administrative systems, religious outlook, educational standards, Law and Justice, Police and Military systems etc. emerged, adopted, developed and improved. The impact of the growth and development of education in Manipur contributed tremendously to social change, awakened a brighter hope, a desire for dynamic change from extreme orthodoxy to liberalism and toleration for mutual accommodation of all Faiths and Cultures, with the spirit of Secularism and Democracy, have been created for a better society.

Since there has been no available secondary work on the subject of the growth and development of Education in Manipur,

this research work is based mainly on primary sources available in the form of unpublished as well as published documents, such as official correspondences and reports, surveys and accounts, Gazetteers, contemporary memoirs, pamphlets and newspapers. Some secondary works have also been found to be relevant to this work. Details of these sources are given in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The British East India Company had conquered Bengal in 1757. The British did not intend to extend their territory to its north-eastern region till the next century. This is very clear from the fact that inspite of the golden opportunity to annex Assam when an appeal of Gaurinath for help during the civil war was complied with in the person of Captain Welsh, who not only supported and drove away enemies but also restored law and order in the country. But Welsh was recalled back by the Calcutta authority in 1794. The Company rendered help in order to gain knowledge of the unknown country or "from motives of humanity and from a wish to be better informed of the interior State of Assam, its commerce etc."¹ However the success of the expedition was not followed up, instead the troops were recalled on the ground that the non-interference policy was the keynote of the day thus leaving the country to its fate after getting all the information about its people, wealth etc. Secondly, the economic importance of the country at that time was not yet realised and as such the need to occupy or annex it did not arise.

But the policy of non-interference did not prove advantageous to them in subsequent years. Gait wrote that "the British government was not accustomed to interfere in the

1. H.K. Barpujari, Political History of Assam, 1826-1912, Vol.I, p.3.

internal affairs of foreign states."² According to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, they tried to wash their hands in regard to the affairs of the North-Eastern region mainly because their interest was not affected or in other words they remained only as an observer waiting for an opportunity, yet the prevailing policy of non-interference was to be abandoned due to the increasing growth of the different Imperialistic powers. Firstly, the increasing interest of Russia in the near and Middle East was a threat to the British power in India. Secondly, the defeat of the Napoleonic France was not the defeat of the French altogether in the East. In fact the animosity between the two power is widened. Realising that the French were active in the East-Burma, the Company had to take effective measures to prevent them from establishing their hold in that area which would be a menace to their power in India. Thirdly, after the British withdrawal from Assam, Burma was emboldened and established her control over the whole North Eastern region, namely, Manipur, Assam, Cachar etc. and was designing to conquer even Bengal which naturally perturbed the British authorities in Calcutta.

So the British felt that "any power which might advance along the Brahmaputra into Central and Eastern Bengal was a potential threat"³ to them. Therefore the determination to resist the Burmese necessitated the encouragement of the Assamese and the frontier tribes to oust the foreign yoke.

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2. E.A. Gait, A History of Assam, p.233.
 3. N.K. Barooah, David Scott in North East India, 1802-1831, p.63.

Accordingly the North Eastern Rajas and Chiefs were won over one after another by means of agreements in the course of which the need for restoring the rightful claimant to the throne was felt. Assam was commercially important to the British right from the early 1820's. With defeat of the Burmese the country came under the Company's influence. Tempted and encouraged by the wealth of Assam, the British Company started improving transport and communication systems. Besides this, the general foreign policy of the British government in Britain changed with the coming of the Whigs to power in the 1830s to maintaining and extending "Great Britain's power not only in Europe but all over the world to protect and extend British Imperial and trading interests and to enforce international agreements for the abolition of the slave trade."⁴ It was on this that their policy in the North East India was based and carried out. It was in the course of exploiting the wealth of Assam that the British came in direct contact with the immediate Hill tribes including the Nagas.

Geographically the frontier areas needed special skill and tactics to secure lasting peace and for that the British took care to prevent the Russian influence from entering India through the North West frontier and also to check the power of Burma on the North East. Therefore, the British had to follow different types of policies suited to the circumstances

4. W.D. Hussey, British History (1815-1939), p.47.

and positions. "The British also were conscious of the necessity of developing closer political relationship with the neighbouring border kingdoms, such as, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim which becomes protected allies in that process."⁵

Historical and Political Background

Manipur, an erstwhile petty princely State, was situated on a strategically important zone between Burma and Assam, was very much an area of imperial concern. In fact "The British policy towards Manipur was largely dictated by the Burma-phobia and by the increasing influence of France in the Indo-Chinese peninsula."⁶ And it may be the reason that "the First Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26 was fought out due to the fear of the growing Anglo-French rivalry in commercial interests in the East."⁷ Later on Burma felt a prey to the British colonialists in the process of exploiting the country.

The history of Manipur contains not much interest until about 1714. There was constant feud between Burma and Manipur. Burma invaded Manipur and had asserted her supremacy and sometimes reduced Manipur to a Tributary State. So the ruler, Jai Singh, having sought the aid of the British a Treaty of alliance which was negotiated in 1762. This was the first

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5. B. Prasad, Foundations of India's Foreign Policy (1860-82), p.79.
 6. B.C. Chakravarti, British Relation with the Hill Tribes of Assam, p.165.
 7. S.K. Bakshi, British Diplomacy and Administration in India (1807-13), p.132.

formal agreement between Manipur and the British government of India (or the British East-India Company).

The British policy as known to the world was that of her policy: 'Divide and Rule' and its policy towards Manipur was no exception. The relation between the British and the Native State of Manipur was conducted through a Political Agent who was under the control of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and who was appointed from among the District Officers of the Province. However its formal relation was mainly originated in the first Burmese war and only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Yandabo on 24th February 1826, by which the British recognised Gambhir Singh's title to the throne (1824-34) of Manipur. But confusion arose about his sovereignty "with regard to Manipur, it was stipulated that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country he shall be recognised by the King of as Rajah thereof."⁸ It was not clarified whether Gambhir Singh should be treated as the sovereign ruler of Manipur or a vassal king under Burma. The British were anxious not to allow Manipur to remain a dependency of Burma for the Burmese political over Manipur would expose the Sylhet frontier to the danger which had precipitated the war in 1824.⁹ The government of India regarded Manipur as a protected State. A surprising feature of the Treaty of Yandabo was that it was silent about the Kobo (Kabaw) Valley which had been a bone of contention

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8. Alexander Maekenzie, History of the Relations of the Government with the Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal, p.150.
9. R.C. Majumdar, British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Part I, Vol.IX, p.1028.

between Burma and Manipur. The Valley unquestionably belonged to Manipur and it was never in any sense a Burmese province, being, when not under Manipur a feudatory of the great Shan Kingdom of Pong.¹⁰ The Burmese claimed this territory and the British upheld the claim. By the Treaty of 1834 the Kabo Valley was thus transferred from Manipur to Burma and the government of India which while conscious of the just claims of Gambhir Singh which had to be sacrificed for placating Burma, agreed to pay Rs.6,000/- per annum to Manipur State as compensation.¹¹ This measure was of a friendly gesture to Burma by the British. Subsequent administrative arrangements were the transferrance of more Naga areas/territories to Manipur by the British policy of Divide and Rule. For the first time in 1851 the British recognised a Manipur Raja thereby formalising the subordinate status of Manipur. After 1858, all Indian Princes, including Manipur began to receive Sanads (Royal Gifts). Disputed succession had always been a cause of trouble and anxiety in Manipur and the British spared no pains to fish in such troubled waters.

The British government appointed a Commission in 1861 to lay down a definite boundary to replace the imaginary line

10. Sir James Johnstone, Manipur and Naga Hills, p.81.

11. R.C. Majumdar, op.cit., p.1029. See also Mackenzie, op.cit., p.152.

(Border Post) drawn northwards from the Kabe valley in 1824, known as Pemberton's line. Thus till 1880, Manipur was constantly troubled with constant raids and expeditions such as, by the Nagas from the Naga-Hills, the Sooties or Kamhow Tribe, the Chassad Tribes and the Lushais etc. During the annexation of King Thebou's dominations, a small force under Colonel Johnstone, resident in Manipur succeeded in rescuing a number of British subjects and Europeans held in North Burma.¹²

In 1886, the Maharaja, Chandrakirti died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Surachandra. Major James Johnstone retired in the same year and his place was taken over by Major Trotter, but he too died within six weeks of his appointment. Then Grimwood was sent to Manipur as Political Agent from Sylhet but was transferred after eleven months of service in Manipur to Shillong. In the meantime, Mr. Heath was appointed but he too died within a few days. So in 1889, Mr. Grimwood was called back to Manipur as Political Agent.¹³ During this period the Maharaja Chandrakirti had ten sons and thus left them behind who grouped themselves

12. W.W. Hunter, Imperial Gazetteers of India, Vol.IX, p.327.

13. Appointment of efficient persons and frequent changes of the incumbent gave opportunity for domestic squabbles within the Royal family. Thus it was said that extension of the British Empire upto Manipur was consequent upon domestic strifes in the royal family on one hand and the success of British on the other. But, the manner in which Manipur lost her Independence in the hands of British forces deserves special mention in this context.

into two rival camps. And so, the grouping into camps was important in the analysis of the events of the Manipur Palace Revolution of 1891. The first group (camp) consisted of Maharaja Surachandra and his three other brothers whereas the second group consisted of Kulachandra (Jubraj heir apparent), Tikendrajit (Senapati, Commander-in-Chief), Angou Sana and Zila Ngamba.

It was this grouping and the fight between the two groups that put an end to the independence of Manipur which it enjoyed. (In fact there was no real rivalry between Maharaj, Surachandra and his step brother, Kulachandra, the heir apparent-Jubraj. As history has it, at the root of the conflict and serious rivalry lay between the younger brothers of both camps. The British Government took advantage of the situation and they lost no time in bringing the conflict into its climax. See also, J. Roy, History of Manipur, p.107.) During Surachandra's reign there were revolts, in suppressing for which the British rendered assistance according to their pledge.¹⁴ He had to face a sea of troubles like fear of overthrowing him from the throne, uprising by the Kukis living in the frontier created troubles in 1887 but on this occasions, Tikendrajit went with a force and suppressed it and their leader Tombu was arrested. The king was a peaceful

14. L. Ibongohal Singh, Introduction to Manipur, pp. 153-154.

man and was "never anything more than a puppet and the real Ruler of Manipur since 1880 had been the Senapati, Tikendrajit, a man who had always been hostile to the British influence."¹⁵ Moreover the popularity and ability of Tikendrajit drew upon him to wrath of the High Command of the British government although the Political Agent at Imphal Mr. Grimwood liked him. The dissensions between the two rival factions of the Royal brothers over petty matters were at last culminated in the Palace Revolution early in September 1890. The storm that had long been gathered amongst the Princes at Manipur came to head and burst. The spark that kindled the blaze arose out of a very small matter indeed. The immediate occasions seem to be the humiliation inflicted upon Angao Sena and Zila Gumba by the King at the instance of Pucca Sena. They lost some of their offices, rights and privileges and had good reason to fear that they would be either banished or punished. This goaded them to rebellious ideas. So at midnight when the Maharaja had retired and the rest of the Palace was wrapped in slumber, those two Princes scaled the walls leading to the Maharaja's apartment and began firing of rifle shots into the windows and bed chambers of King Surachandra who immediately and silently fled to the Residency (the Building of the Political Agent). Tikendrajit was not present at the

15. M. Bhattacharya, Gazetteers of India (Manipur), p.84.

time of the occurrence. But joined his two step brothers afterward and the whole Palace was occupied without any bloodshed.

For reasons not definitely known, Jubraj, Kulachandra was not in the Palace the night when the incident took place but returned only in the morning and was proclaimed King. In the meantime the ex-King, Surachandra had found shelter in the Residency along with his brothers, ministers and a number of alarmed retainers.¹⁶

At the Residency the Maharaja expected that the Political Agent would help him and restore him to the throne, but a surprise lay in store for him as the Political Agent disarmed the followers of Surachandra and told that he should not be allowed to fight until the orders of the Chief Commissioner of Assam were received. Instead the Political Agent urged the Maharaja to exert himself to regain the throne by other means. Mrs. Grimwood, wife of the Political Agent reported¹⁷ that the Maharaja did not listen to this advice and after hours spent in fear as to what the next move might be signified his attention to make a formal abdication. "He requested the Political Agent to make arrangements for his journey to Brindaban."¹⁸ Mr. Grimwood accordingly communicated the

16. R.C. Majumdar, op.cit., Part I, Chapter XXVIII, p.711.

17. Ethel St. Claire Grimwood, My Three Years in Manipur, pp. 140-141.

18. J. Roy, History of Manipur, p.109.

intention of the Maharaja to Tikendrajit and his party. On hearing this news they were pleased and agreed. Later on he communicated to the Governor General of India. "But a further complication was made by ex-King Surachandra that immediately after he crossed the territory limits of Manipur, telegraphed to the government of India that he had not abdicated and that the Political Agent had misunderstood him. So on reaching Calcutta he applied to the Government of India to restore him to the throne."¹⁹

Thus there was confusion of counsels among the British authority. The government of India was disposed to restore the ex-King to the throne and re-assert his authority. But Grimwood, the Political Agent of Manipur, and Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, objected to the proposal tooth and nail. "The Chief Commissioner entirely supports the Political Agent's view that the abdication of the Maharaja was intended to be permanent. He is strongly opposed to his being reinstated; considers that the country will be more content and better governed by the Jubraj."²⁰ Finally the

19. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, 1891- Secret-E, Nos. 101-156, No.150, p.24. Confidential letter from the Viceroy of India to the Secretary of State, London. "It is the right and duty of the British Government to settle successions in subordinate Native States. Every successions must be recognised by the British Government and no succession is valid until recognition has been given. Manipur is a subordinate Native state. The British government recognised successions in Manipur and have asserted *SUZALMIGNTY* in many ways and Manipur ruling family have repeatedly acknowledged their position of dependence. It was the right and duty to uphold Native Chiefs recognised by the British in case of gross misrule and punish unlawful revolt against their authority."

20. Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, 1891 (April), Secret-E, Nos. 3-55 (quoted from the letter of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam).

Government of India decided that Kulachandra-Jubraj might be recognised as the Maharaja of Manipur if he agreed to the following conditions as:-

- i) To administer the country according to the choice of the Political Agent,
- ii) To deport Tikendrajit from Manipur, and
- iii) To allow the Political Agent to keep 3000 soldiers in the Residence.

The Government of India, therefore, ordered the Chief Commissioner of Assam to proceed to Manipur and carry out the above terms in a Darbar. "It is difficult to say which showed the greatest want of wisdom, the government in issuing such an order or the Chief Commissioner in accepting such a mission quite derogatory to one of such high rank."²¹

Not surprisingly, Mr. Quinton's Mission proved a lamentable failure and his repeated attempts to bag the tiger in his own den eventually resulted in the outbreak of the war on March 24, 1891. The Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood, kept secret the real object of the visit of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Quinton and disarmed the suspicion of the royal family of Manipur by false stories regarding the decision of the British government to banish Tikendrajit. But it was the inability or unwillingness of the Regent, Kulachandra to

21. Johnstone, Manipur and Naga Hills, p.278.

banish Tikendrajit that led to all the troubles.²² The sudden and unprovoked attack on the Manipur Palace by the British troops during the night (to capture Tikendrajit) set ablaze the flame that destroyed the British officers as well as the Manipur State.

During the cease fire the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Political Agent of Manipur and some other high army officials (who were perhaps given the safe conduct) went to the Palace for negotiations with the Maharaja and the Senapati. No sooner had they come out of the Palace than the mob who assembled in the compound attacked and brutally murdered the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the Political Agent of Manipur and wounded Mr. Simpson but the other officers were arrested who were later on killed at the instance of old Thangal-General without the knowledge of the Regent, Kulachandra and Tikendrajit Senapati. (The entire responsibility fastens around General Thangal who had personal grudge against Grimwood and Simpson. Had the other British officers were spared things might turn out differently but it was too late.)

The government of India now felt deeply concerned over the cold-blooded murder of the officers and sent a fullscale British force in three columns, namely,

- (A) Kohima column (Naga Hills) under Brigadier-General H. Collett,

22. Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Vol. XXXV, Part II, p.140.

- (B) Silchar Column (Cachar) under Lt.Col. R.A.F. Reanick,
and
- (C) Tamau Column (Burma) under Brigadier General, T. Graham.

Thus Manipur was occupied within a month and the Union Jack was hoisted over the Capital (Imphal) on 27 April, 1891. This triumphantly sounded the death-knell of whatever sovereign power Manipur had enjoyed. The Maharaja Kulachandra was deported to Andamans but Tikendrajit and Thangal the General were executed despite the Queen's and the Royal Ladies' protests, because they were considered responsible for the war against the British. Since then the British Imperialists at once assumed the role of Raj-makers and set themselves to decide the fate of Manipur. Opinion on the question of whether the State should be annexed to British India or not, was discussed but divided sharply. Regarding this question there was much debates both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords in British Parliament. Two former Viceroys, namely, Lord North Brook and Lord Ripon participated in the debate and begged the British Government not to annex the Princely State of Manipur.

But the new Chief Commissioner of Assam Mr. Ward in his note dated 16th July, 1891, had strongly recommended the annexation of the State of Manipur and said "that if a Native State wages war against the Queen, that alone is sufficient and justifiable ground for annexing the State to

British territory".²³ The pro-annexationists held that any measure that was short of annexation of the offending state would be interpreted by every Native State in India as a sign of weakness. Mr. Duishah Andeshir of Baroda, a close friend of Lord Lansdowne suggested "substituting for the name of Manipur the term 'Quintipur' after the name of G.W. Quinton, late, Chief Commissioner of Assam was murdered at Imphal, Manipur during his mission visit to Manipur in 1891, which would remain as an example of standing reproach to the people of Manipur. Lord Lansdowne, while admitting that the government had undoubtedly a moral right to annex the State of Manipur for it had been guilty of rebellion, also favoured the policy of inflicting sufficient punishment on the State without annexing it.

Viscount Cross, in a debate in the House of Lords, expressed disapproval of annexation on the ground that annexation would undoubtedly involve an application of the cumbrous machinery of the British Law to Manipur with considerable and trouble and it might give to Native Princes a mistaken idea of the policy of Her Majesty's government. "In the end the government of India declared that the State of Manipur had become forfeit to the crown

23. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, Oct. 1891, Nos. 123-147.

but the Queen Express of India had been graciously pleased to forego her undoubted right and to permit re-establishment of Native rule under a minor Raja on suitable grounds.²⁴ Thus Her Majesty made a regrant of it as an act of mercy. So the form of administration known as 'Native Rule' was established in Manipur. It made a very drastic policy change in its status or rather Manipur was put on an entirely different footing.

H.M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India said that the decision not to annex was a decision imposed upon the government of India by Her Majesty, the Queen. Mr Ward proposed that he would confer upon him the title of Raja not Maharaja and tie him down by strict conditions especially defining his position as one subordination to the Queen Empress of India and making the existence of the State dependent upon the loyalty and good conduct of the Raja and his successors.

Major Maxwell, the new Political Agent of Manipur who also became the Superintendent of the State suggested that the five year old, Churachand, son of Chaobiyama and great grand-son of Raja Nur Singh, should be the Raja of Manipur. The government of India (under Governor-General

24. Ibid., p.18.



in Council) confirmed Maxwell's proposal and Churachand was selected as the future ruler of Manipur. Churachand and his successors were to pay an annual tribute of Rs.2,50,000/- for the sins of their predecessors. Further the permanent of the grant was to depend upon the ready fulfilment of all orders given by the British government with regard to the administration of his territories, the control of the Hill-Tribes dependent upon Manipur the composition of the armed forces of the State and any other matter in which the British government might be pleased to intervene. Thus the government of India decided that it would administer the State in the Raja's name. The British government of India gave to Political Agent, Major Maxwell the following instructions as he should exercise those powers with due regard for the customs and traditions of the Manipuris and should endeavour to interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions in/^{so}far as they might be compatible with the peace and good order.

The decisions to re-establish native rule and setting up of a regency administration during the minority of the young Raja apparently under overall control of the British officers largely suited the convenience of the government. The period of regency (1891-1907) was fully utilised for making all the major decisions and also

introducing several changes in the administrative set up of the native State of Manipur and the years of peace that followed helped to rehabilitate the economy of the territory. The Political Agent exercised considerable influence in the affairs of the State, particularly administration of the tribal areas, which the Raja, even after his formal installation on the Gaddi (throne) of Manipur with full power would find impossible to change. During Churachand's minority (1891-1907) the Political Agent, Major Maxwell administered the State as the Superintendent. He introduced many reforms keeping the old institutions in tact as far as possible. He abolished slavery and Lallup system.

In 1901 Lord Curzon and in 1904 Lord Kitchner visited Manipur. In 1904 thousands of women demonstrated in the towns (known as First Nupi Lal or First Women's War) to protest against and disobey the orders of the Superintendent or the Political Agent that public should bring bamboo cane etc. to reconstruct the house of the Assistant Superintendent which was burnt at night.

On 15th May, 1907, the charge of the State was handed over to the Raja. He was to manage the State in accordance with a set of rules sanctioned by the government of India which was called Rules for the Management of the State of Manipur. The Raja was formally installed on the

Gaddi by Sir Lancelot Hare, Lt. Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The administration of the State was made over to His Highness, the Raja and a Darbar (Council) consisting of a member of an I.C.S. Officer as Vice-President lent from Assam Provincial Civil Service.²⁵ Besides there were other Manipuri members who were entrusted in different portfolios such as judicial, stateworks, civil police and jail. The president was incharge of the following, namely, education, medical and armed State police. The vice-president was incharge of - the Hill - Tribes, Finance, revenues of all sorts.

In 1910, the principal political event was the punitive expedition sent by the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam against the Kukis living in the unadministered tract outside the eastern boundary of the State. "These Kukis committed frequent raids on British subjects in the Naga Hills district and Manipur State subjects."²⁶ But they were punished and fined.

During the First World War the government of Manipur donated Rs. One Lakh to the war subscription fund of the government of India and also gave Rs. one lakh thirty-four

25. Encyclopaedia Britanica , Vol.XIV, p.790.

26. R. Friel, Supplement to Vol.IX, Assam District Gazetteers (Naga Hills and Manipur), Part II, p.1.

thousand as war loan. Col. H.W.G. Colle, the Political Agent raised 2,000 people comprises of Nagas and Kukis for labour Corps to France. When the Kukis were ordered for the second time to join to war coolie Corps in 1917 a serious Kuki revolt against the British policy of recruitment for the Labour Corps in France took place and was known as the Kuki Expedition of 1917-1918.

Kuki Rebellion:- Although the immediate cause of the revolt was cloudy and yet when recruitment started for labourers for employment in France during the First World War, Kuki Rebellion took place in Manipur. There were genuine grievances and genuine abuses behind the immediate cause, also alarmed by rumours of further recruitment and coercion and the dreadful conditions of service in France which turned discontentment into open rebellion by the Kukis. "One general defect in the administration of Manipur was that the rules did not make adequate provision for the administration of the Hills."²⁷ The only intermediate between the Officers at Imphal and the Hill people was in the shape of the petty officers termed as Lambus. Thus administration was out of touch with their Hill-subjects and not always well treated. So in December 1917 men of Mombi started raids in the southern tip of the Manipur

27. M. Bhattacharya, op.cit., p.304.

valley. The people of the Chin Hills of Burma (Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, 1922, External. The Kuki chiefs of the Semra Tract under Burma, rebelled out of sympathy with their brethren Kukis in Manipur.) also started trouble in a similar manner as a protest against raising labour Corps in that area. (Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, 1922, Internal, File No.320. The Political Agent went to the hills with the hope of raising a fair number of recruits. But once there, the chiefs declined to give coolies instead offered money. This was refused and they were told either they must supply recruits within a fixed period or submit to punishments.) The rebellion eventually spread over in the Hill region surrounding the Manipur valley. The British having been faced with a general uprising of the Hill people of that area; launched an all out offensive led by Brigadier General Macquoid. Nearly 3000 soldiers were engaged in it. On receipt of insolent messages from Mombi and Longya Kuki villages, the then officiating Political Agent of Manipur marched with 100 rifles to Mombi village. Open hostility greeted them. But the British suppressed the rebellion and destroyed the place. So by the Spring of 1919 the opposition of the Kukis was crushed and they were surrounded. In May operations were brought to a close.²⁸ After the rebellion had been put

28. L.W. Shakespear, History of Assam Rifles, pp. 214-36.

down, the future administration of the Hills came up for consideration.

An Advisory Tribunal was appointed in connection with the cases of the principal Kuki Chiefs in the rebellion. Three persons mainly responsible for the uprising were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Nine Chiefs were interned in the neighbourhood of Sadiya Frontier Tract. Rules were framed by the government of Assam which were approved by the government of India regarding question of the policy of Tribal administration in future. The Rules were, namely, of the Hills and administer their charges subject to the control of the President of the Darbar and of the Political Agent. Secondly, for the proper administration of the Hill areas opening up of new roads and bridle paths, the extension of education among the tribes and the bringing of medical relief within the reach of the people of the Hills. Thirdly, the British authorities in Manipur adopted after the rebellion was the constitution of a Separate Naga dominated sub-division with Headquarters at Ukhrul in 1919. Tangkhul Assembly as the Tangkhulong was founded there, the association was enlarged in membership in 1925.²⁹ In 1919 the Hill area was divided into four sub-divisions, one with Headquarters at Imphal and three outside, viz., (1) The south west area inhabited by Kukis with Headquarters at Churachandpur, (2) The western portion inhabited by Kabui

29. S. Chaube, Hill Politics in North East India, Chapter XII, p.194.

and Kacha Nagas with Headquarters at Tamenglong and (3) the North West inhabited by Tangkhul Nagas and Kukis with Headquarters at Ukhrul. This system continued upto 1930 where a rearrangement of the administration of the Hill areas was made. The subdivisions constituted in 1919 were abolished, the outlying subdivisional Headquarters done away with and the whole area was placed immediately under the President of the Darbar with two subdivisional officers to assist him - one in charge of the North and the other of the South.

Kabui Rebellion:- The Hill tribes continued to be administered on behalf of the Maharaja by the President of the Darbar and his two assistants who were extra-Assistant Commissioners lent to the State by the government of Assam. During the last Kuki rebellion the Kabuis suffered very badly at the hands of the Kukis. Though they remained peaceful and loyal to the government, it failed to give them adequate protection. For this reason they lost confidence in the government. Considerable unrest exists among the Hill people in the North-West of Manipur State in the year 1930-31.

Some time before 1927, a Kabui by the name of Jadonang of Kambiron enunciated a new religion cult induced the Kabuis to believe that they would overthrow the existing administration and that would enable them to take revenge

on the Kukis for what the latter had done to the Kabui Nagas during the Kuki rebellion of 1917. He proclaimed himself a Kabui Naga Raja. Large assemblies of Naga have been held at a village marked Nongkhai where Jadonang has been treated as a god."³⁰ According to the Kukis, Jadonang was collecting weapons and guns with the intention of attacking them. The Deputy Commissioner in 1931-32, for the Naga Hills also received information that Jadonang has given out that revenue may be paid to him instead of paying to the government. So in 1931 trouble broke out because of a demi-religious movement launched in the Hill portion of the State. The Political Agent decided an action against Jadonang. But he had left Manipur and had entered Cachar with some followers where he was arrested under Section 108, C.P.C. He was handed over to the Manipur authorities in March. Jadonang was wanted not only as the leader of the new movement but also as a murderer. Thus he was placed on trial for the murder of four unarmed Manipuris who were travelling towards Cachar in 1929 and he was hanged on the 29th August 1931. The Hill subdivision in Manipur State was abolished on grounds of economy.

Unfortunately the trouble spread over a large area and now under his chief disciple, Gaidileu who had become

30. Foreign Department Proceedings 1931, File No.144.

high priestess of mysterious cult involved with human sacrifice.³¹ She (Gaidileu) was arrested but got escaped. Since that time serious attempts to capture her failed for a long time. A semi-religious, semi-martial movements affecting both the Kabui and Kacha Nagas who had been told that if they followed the new cult a Naga Raja would be created which will rule over all the tribes in the Hills and bring the Kukis especially under subjection. The movement spread beyond the borders of Manipur, namely, to the North Cachar Hills, Naga Hills District and the Plains of Cachar. The Political Agent with an escort of Assam Rifles visited the villages and burnt them to give lessons that it could not be tolerated.³² The operation movement was placed directly under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills.

Moreover at that time in other parts of India, the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi was going on in full swing. The Kabuis must have been encouraged by its movement. After a long search, Gaidileu was captured in October 1932, from the village of Konoma in the Naga Hills. She was *then* tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The (late) Jawaharlal Nehru in his famous book 'Unity of India' has referred to the Kabui

31. Rustomji Nari, Enchanted Frontier, p.103. See also Robert Reid, Years of Change in Bengal and Assam, pp.110-111.

32. Foreign Department Proceedings, 1933, File No.459, Nos. 1-2.

movement and Rani Gaidileu. In 1937 after accepting the provincial self-government the Congress leaders tried for the release of Gaidileu but failed. However she was released only after India's Independence in 1947. The government of India gave her a pension in recognition of her efforts to free the Kabui Nagas from the British.

The 1930's are notable for the growth of the political consciousness. Factors favouring its growth were the struggle for freedom by the Indian National Congress, the deplorable state of manifold genuine wants of the people, weakness of the administration and the perverseness of an unscrupulous section of the State officials. In 1933 an organisation called the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha was formed and became a political organisation. Thus by 1934, the All Hindu Manipuri Conference was held at Imphal. "In 1938, a progressive Meithei, Irabot Singh converted it into the Manipuri Mahasabha, soon it was affiliated to the State's Peoples' Congress after Independence and it turned into the Manipur Congress."³³ It followed the ideology and policy of the Indian National Congress but the programmes had to be modified to suit the local conditions.

In November 1938, a petition signed by 356 leading citizens of the State was submitted to His Highness, asking him to set up a Legislative Council and to nominate the members of the Darbar from amongst the Councillors."³⁴ Again in November 1939 the Mahasabha submitted another

33. V.V. Rao, Instability in Manipur Politics.
Newspaper - 'The Assam Tribune', Oct. 4, 1967.*

34. Administration Report of the Manipur State
for the year 1939-40, pp.1-2.

*See also, S. Chaube, Hill Politics in North-East India, p. 192.

petition to His Highness to set up a Unicameral Legislature of 100 members out of these 20 to be nominated by him. Other details contemplated in the petition were, vote by ballot, joint electorate, payment of tax or literary or both as the criterion of the voting right, formation of Ministry by the leader of the largest party in the legislature and the fixing of the civil list at a fixed ratio to the revenues of the State. The government of India was anxious to bring all States still in relation with local governments into direct relation with the government of India. So when the new Act (the Constitution Act of 1935) came into force, relation with the State should be conducted by the Governor of Assam in his capacity as Agent of the Crown representative.

Federation in terms of Part II of the Act of 1935 was the subject of prolonged correspondence between 1936 and 1939, was over the administration of the Hills, the traditional policy of the British officers was that to exclude the Hills administration from the control of the Maharaja of Manipur. The government of India accepted the view point of the government of Assam that the administration of the Hills could not be handed over to the ruler of Manipur. Finally Maharaja Churachand in a letter dated July 21, 1939, agreed to Federate on terms which covered the exclusion of the Hills administration from his control. The Federation was never established. The sudden outbreak of the Second

World War in September 1939, brought an abrupt end to the discussions on the subject for separate and federated administration of the Hill administration of Manipur.

The women's agitation of 1939-40, known as the second Nupilal (women's war) took place in Manipur. The immediate cause was that during the year there was acute famine in Manipur, but the merchants/businessmen kept on exporting rice to outside the State of Manipur. Since the cost of Rice was already too high and the prospect of a very poor harvest threatened worse, the women of Manipur demonstrated to have the rice-export stopped. "Women seized some Carters who had come to sell rice to foreign merchants in the British Reserve. The trouble is at bottom economic and the Marwaris have been making unjustifiable profits out of increased prices."³⁵

Thousands of women demonstrated before the State office and asked the Darbar of Manipur to ban the export of rice and stop all rice mills. Mr. Sharpe, the President of the Darbar went to the Telegraph office to wire the Maharaja who was then at Nabadwip in West Bengal for his approval of banning those demands by the women demonstrators. While still inside the telegraph office he was being besieged by several thousands of women. As the telegraph office was inside the British Reserve, a

35. Microfilm:- Ref. 2175(29), 1940 (Under Assam Administration). Letter No.1, from His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, K.C.S. I. to Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India. See also Sir Geoffrey Evans, Imphal, p.20.

detachment of the Assam Rifles cleared the demonstrators. Major Bulfield and Major Cummins came to his rescue. However to satisfy the angry mob, Mr Gimson, the Political Agent ordered the immediate removal of the electric switches of the rice mills.

During this time the Congress Ministries had resigned all over British India in 1939 and the deadlock which had led to the Quit India Movement of 1942 had already begun.

Maharaja Churachand abdicated his throne/Gaddi, in favour of his son, Bodhachandra Singh. Shortly after he died in November 1941. Then the Second World War broke out and Manipur was involved in the war. Japan joined hands with the Axis powers and declared war against the British and her Allies with America. In the beginning of the War, the defense posts of the British and the American in the Pacific were rather weak and naturally fallen in the hands of the advancing Japanese troops. The Japanese forces within a few days gained the mastery over a vast area both land and sea (from Pearl Harbour, Dec. 7, 1941) to the eastern border of British India, after conquering the Phillippines islands, Indonesia, Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Burma... all came under the Japanese military occupation and control. War then knocked at the eastern doors of British India, the invading Japanese army could enter British India by land routes through Arakan and across the Manipur State. Subhas Chandra Bose with his Azad Hind Fauz came over to Manipur South with the Japanese troops in the

hope of liberating India from the British Imperial power by means of force or violence. "Manipur, of course, achieved international fame during the World War II. It became one of the 14th Army's main bases and its successful resistance to the Japanese onslaughts early in 1944, together with the heroic defence of Kohima some 50 miles to the north"³⁶ was of vital importance to British India. During this turmoiled period of World War Second, the following dignitaries visited Manipur. They were as follows: The Maharaja of Gwalior, Patiala, Faridkot and Tehri Garwal; J.B. Rana of Nepal; Bishop of Assam; Member of the Viceroy's Council for Information and Broadcasting; Wing Commander, Civil Defence of Assam; Director of Burma Refugee Organisation; Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills; Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander of South East Asia; Eleventh Army Group Lt.General Sir William; Air Chief Marshal, Sir John Baldwin; Commander, 3rd Tactical Air Force and General Mutaguchi, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief and many other distinguished personnels also took serious note of the North Eastern India-War-Gate (Battle Front) in Manipur.

With the end of British rule in India, paramountcy over Manipur lapsed on the 15th August 1947. The Maharaja formed a body which framed a Constitution for Manipur. For the first time in the history of the state a government was formed by the elected representatives of the people.

36. R. Reid, Years of Change in Bengal and Assam, p.111.

Priyabrata, the younger brother of the Maharaja of Manipur, became the Chief Minister of the new government. So after long negotiations the Maharaja Bodhchandra and the Chief Minister signed the merger agreement with the government of Independent India and then Manipur was ceded to the Union of India on 15th October, 1949, abolishing the post of the Political Agent and Manipur was converted into a Part 'C' State, administered by a Chief Commissioner. India became a Union Republic on 26th January, 1950.

Judicial System (Civil and Criminal Courts)

The decision to administer the State through a Regent necessitated and changes brought about in the administrative structures in the State. The British Colonial attitude on the system of indirect rule generally emphasised the Judicial aspect of Native authority and encouraged greater formality in Native Courts and insisted on close supervision by administrative officials. The British therefore re-established the Native courts, namely, the Chirap (civil) Court, Town Panchayat Court, Muhammedan Court and Rural Panchayat Court. All these courts composed of native members who were kept under the close watch of British officers.³⁷ The only Jail in the State till 1947

37. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, June 1903, External-A, No.66.

was at Imphal. This Prison was opened in 1892. The Criminal and Civil Justice was administered in the State through the medium of various officials sitting together as Judicial Benches. The control of the Raja's authority in judicial matters was not so rigid. The State Darbar was the Supreme Court of appeal, for all the cases in which the Manipuri population was concerned. It also constituted as the highest Criminal Court in the State, and it tried all cases which were beyond the jurisdiction of the Chirap (Cheirap).³⁸ It also heard appeals of all sorts of the Cheirap's orders. The Darbar was empowered to pass sentences of death or imprisonment for life subject to confirmation by the Political Agent. It was also empowered to appoint all village officials, title holders and on the recommendation of the Judicial Member, the Members of Cheirap and Panchayat Courts. Regarding Civil Justice a change was made in 1910-11, in the system of the final disposal of appeal cases by the Darbar. Formerly the decision of the Darbar was final and irrevocable. But by the revised rules for the management of the Manipur State, His Highness, the Raja or the Vice-President can within a month of the passing of the Darbar's order direct that the case be re-opened only on the ground that material evidence has not been considered. Thus the highest Original Court was the State-Darbar.

38. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, August 1907, External-A, Nos. 18-23.

Next to the Darbar Court there were two Chief Courts, such as, Chirap or Chairap Court, and the Military Court (Guard). The Chirap Court was the high Court of the State which literally means Civil Court but it administered both Criminal and Civil justice. It was both the court of appeal as well as of primary jurisdiction for serious cases only. At first, there were about 15 Judges but later on reduced to 5/6 members, each of them received some paris of rent free land.

The Military Court was composed of the 8th Senior Army Officers named Majors and other officers of the Army. It used to try cases involving only the soldiers.

There was also a Court for the trial of cases in which women were concerned and other minor courts for cattle disputes etc. The Women's Court known as the Paja consisted of 6 members appointed by the ruler from no particular class. Cases of family disputes were heard. However the more serious were sent up to the Chirap (Civil Court).

Village Panchayat:- The villages in the Manipur valley had clubs locally known as 'Singlup' or wood-Club. These clubs under the village Headman exercised general control over the village and try cases for petty civil and criminal cases in the villages in the valley of

Manipur State. There were no formal codified laws for deciding cases. Established customs, usages and precedents were the guiding principles of settling disputes. Such types of village Panchayat courts were established in 1902. "The Subordinate Courts known as the Panchayat Courts, try civil cases in which both the parties are Manipuris. Appeals from these Courts lie in the Chirap Court, which also heard original criminal and civil cases that are beyond the power of the Subordinate Court."³⁹ Below the Chirap Court was the Sardar Panchayat Court consisting of six Members and 12 Rural Panchayat Courts, each of which had five members. But the Seknai Panchayat had six members. The Rural Panchayat courts had no power to impose sentences of imprisonment regarding the criminal cases. Rural Panchayats have been directed to secure the cooperation of the village elders in the disposal of local cases. The President of the Darbar has been deputed to inspect the Chirap and Sardar Panchayat courts twice annually. The Mauzadar of Jiribam was given civil power equivalent to those of the Sardar Panchayat court and on the criminal side it was invested with the power of a Third Class Magistrate. The valley was divided into 11 Circles for the purpose of administration where in each

39. J.C. Higgins, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the Year 1909-1910, p.5.

of them had a Panchayat Court. The Court which inflicts a penalty was a fine of Rs.50/-. The Town Panchayat at Imphal imposed fines upto Rs.100/-. By 1943-44, according to administration report, the Sardar Panchayat Court have been empowered to try civil cases upto the value of Rs.1000/- as a temporary measure. Appeals from the Chirap Court lie in the Darbar. The Darbar was the Highest Original and Appellate Civil and Criminal Court for all cases in which the Manipuri population alone was concerned. There is no appeal from its decision, but His Highness , subject to approval of the Political Agent, may remit punishment and revise decisions."⁴⁰ By 1939 the Courts consist of the following: His Highness Revisional Court, the Darbar Court, the Cheirap Court, the Sardar Panchayat Court, the Court of the Mauzadar at Jiribam, the Kangpokpi Foreigners' Panchayat Court and 13 Rural Panchayat Courts. Their powers and functions remained as in the preceding years. In 1944 a new Court, known as 'A Chief Court' was established with a provisional Chairman and two Assistant Judges. So the original and Appellate Civil, Criminal and other judicial powers of the Judicial Member and the Darbar were transferred to this Court. It became the only Appellate Court in Manipur and all applications to His Highness were received by the Chief Court.

40. A.G. MC Call, Administration Report of Manipur, State for the year 1929-30, p.12.

As a corollary, it followed that alongside the native administration, there should be Colonial Courts to deal according to Western Law and Order and procedures with cases involving non-Natives, to exercise jurisdiction over Natives in areas where Native Courts did not exist and where Native Courts existed, to deal with cases involving Natives which were held to be unsuitable for these courts. Accordingly, "at the apex of the Native Courts, the British established the Court of Political Agent, the Court of the Superintendent of the State, the Court of the Assistant to the Political Agent, the Court of the Assistant of the Superintendent of the State." The Court of the Political Agent and his assistant dealt with cases involving only the British or the European subjects. The courts of the Superintendent and his assistant administered Civil and Criminal justices concerning the Native people. The Court of the Superintendent was at the same time an Appellate Court for Revenues cases from the Court of the Sub-Deputy Collectors, and for Civil and Criminal cases from the Courts of the Assistant Superintendent and Cheirap.

Appeals against the decision of the Cheirap Court were also heard by the Political Agent's Court, the Political Agent with the approval of the Chief Commissioner of Assam could give them seven years imprisonment and death sentences. The position of the Political Agent and

Superintendent was that of a District Magistrate and a Court of Sessions, above him was the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who exercised the powers of Court of Session and the High Court, in both Criminal and Civil proceedings within the limits of Manipur State.⁴¹ British subjects were however solely under the jurisdiction of the Political Agent.

Judicial Systems in the Hills:- All original cases in which the Hillmen were concerned were tried by the Vice-President of the Darbar. Appeals against the order of the Vice-President lie to the Political Agent.⁴² Formerly the Maharaja was the President of the Darbar between (1907-1916) but by 1917 onwards the President of the State Darbar was always a British Officer sometimes a Native Indian lent by the Assam Government. Thus after 1920 'the President has powers equivalent to those of a district magistrate and the Sub-Divisional officers have powers equivalent to those of Sub-Divisional Magistrates of the First Class under the Indian Criminal Procedure Code 1898. So the Hill cases were dealt under the President's power. Appeals in Civil and Criminal cases against the order of a Sub-

41. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, Sept. 1891, No.1962, External-A.

42. R. Friel, op.cit., p.8.

Divisional officer, when admissible lie to the President. Appeals against the order of the President in criminal case, lie to the Political Agent. But there is no appeal against the order of the President in Civil cases."⁴³

Revenue System

By 1880 the revenue system under the Native rule was that the people paid revenue in kind and labour. Even officials instead of receiving salaries in cash were remunerated by allowances in land and rice, and public buildings, bridges and roads were constructed or repaired by unpaid labour. In 1894, the valley was divided into four Pannas or Tahsils each of which had a revenue demand of about half a lakh of rupees. The Tahsildars or Lakpas, received a commission of 10% on their collection.⁴⁴ The system of land holding was that the whole land Tenurial system was based on the assumption that all land belonged to the King and it was his discretion to give away or retain as he pleased." The Revenue officer (Phunam Selungba) supervised all matters connected with land administration on behalf of the king and received rent in kind."⁴⁵ There were four kinds of revenue free lands, namely, (a) Ningthou Lam (or Snalou) - which was personally enjoyed by the King,

43. C.S. Mullan, Admn. Report of the Manipur State for the year 1921-22, p.8.

44. B.C. Allen, Assam District Gazetteers (Naga Hills and Manipur), Vol.IX, p.118.

45. R. Brown, Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory, p. 86.

(b) Lairon - this is a grant of land for the maintenance of some particular temples, (c) Lagun Lou - this refers to lands given to the Brahmins on the occasion of their taking sacred thread, and lastly (d) Lands given free to the favourite and relatives of the Raja and to the officials and title holders which were subsequently known as Khoropos and Toloblou.

The villages in the Manipur valley were divided into Siphai villages and Civilian villages. The Siphai villages got one Pari of land per head from the lands around their villages free of revenue. The Civilian villages got a Pari of land per head from the fields around their villages but they had to pay land revenue or rent of one Chengkok (about 20 K.G. or so) of rice to the king every year and also to perform Lallup service of ten days in every forty days for the King. Just after the Manipur uprising in 1891 when the State was administered by the British the estimated land revenue was 85,000 maunds of paddy. Since April 1892, land revenue was paid in cash at the uniform rate of Rs.5/- per Pari and a house tax of Rs.2/- per house. However the ruling class (the King and members of his Darbar) and other high officials like members of the Native Court and the Sepoys, to whom more than 2/3rd of the whole land was granted were exempted from paying land revenue. Each member of the Rural Panchayat was remunerated by one

Pari (one Pari is equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) during the tenure of his office. The members of the Sirdar Panchayat received not less than 25 Paris (about $66\frac{1}{2}$ acres) and those of the Cheirap 125 Paris about ($312\frac{1}{2}$ acres).

In 1897-98, a general survey was carried out and known as Nal Survey with no map. In 1904-06, Chain survey was made with maps. From 1921- Cadastral survey had been carried out in Naharup Pama and some circle of Ahallup Panna. The land revenue was collected by the Lakpas and then by the Maujadar. They were under the officer-in-charge of the land revenue office who was under the direct control firstly of the Political Agent and Superintendent of the State, then under the President of the Manipur State Darbar and lastly under the Deputy Commissioner.

Before 1891, Manipur was a protected State by the British India having a Monarchical system. "Taxes were collected in kind and the main sources of revenues were land tax, house tax, fisheries, salt, ferries, elephants, forest produce, taxes on imports and exports, oilseed, silk, cotton, sale of tea-seeds, rubber, ivory and bee-wax."⁴⁶ Apart from these regular taxes the people were subject to 'Lallup' or forced labour which required every male in

46. Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, July - 1882, External-A, Nos. 240-244.

the State between 17-60 years of age irrespective of caste and creed, was to work for the king for ten days in every 40 days. Thus, "a person liable to give Lallup was entitled to cultivate for his support one Pari of land, subject to the payment in kind of the tax to the Raja."⁴⁷ The burden of this duty largely fell upon the poor, whereas the rich and well-to-do escaped it altogether. "The practice was so rigid and severe that even in case of sickness, the Lallup member had either to carry out or find a paid substitute, and very often the family was impoverished because of this system."

According to Johnstone, slavery system existed in Manipur before 1891. These slaves cultivate the Royal lands, retaining for themselves just sufficient of the produce to sustain life. Certain number of slaves were often given to favourite Ministers as a reward or, gift and even sold in exchange for ponies. Ordinary individuals possessed slaves by purchases. So, in 1892, Maxwell, the Political Agent proclaimed that the bad practice were bound to perish under British rule and on the occasion of the investiture of Raja Churachand (before he was sent to Ajmere for education), Maxwell declared Lallup and

47. M. Bhattacharya, Gazetteer of India (Manipur), p.297.

Slavery defunct."⁴⁸

In 1902-1903, the various sources of revenue were as follows, namely, Land Revenue, Hill House Tax, Fisheries, Foreigners Tax, Ferry, Salt Tax, Forest Revenue, Tea Seed, Law and Justice, Jail, Excise, Kubo Valley compensation and miscellaneous items etc.

However the main concern of the British was the collection of land revenue. When the Raja came back to Manipur in 1907, after his education, a scheme for the future administration of the State was handed over to him, thereby he became the President of the Darbar and took incharge of Education, Medical and Armed State Police. The Vice-President of the Darbar was an I.C.S. English Officer who took incharge of the Hill-Tribes, Finance and Revenue of all sorts. At this time the Political Agent and Superintendent of the State was Lieut.Colonel J.Shakespeare, Mr. Cosgrave, the Vice-President an Imperialist Bureaucrat exerted a tremendous influence over the proceedings of the Darbar. It was his duty to draft the annual budget which was generally in toto by the Darbar.⁴⁹ The budget duly approved should again be submitted to the government through the Political Agent for final approval. No Bill on the Treasury could be encashed nor any payments made without

48. Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, January 1893, Secret-E, Nos. 1-23.

49. Foreign and Political Dept. Proceedings, August 1907, External-A, Nos. 18-23; Subject: Scheme for the Future Administration of Manipur.

the counter signature of the Vice-President. His duty was to check that the Budget grants did not exceed and that unauthorised payments were not made. Rule 12 of the Scheme reads: "He is allowed to refer to the Darbar any order which will either increase the expenditure or diminish the revenue, and if he considers it necessary he may make a further reference to the Political Agent as provided in Rule 7."⁵⁰

In 1913 the Manipur valley was engulfed by a widespread agitation against a system known as 'Pothang' which was burdensome as whenever the officials of the State government went on tour, then the villagers had to carry their goods and luggages free of cost; on refusal, they were punished by whipping. Moreover, the villagers had to subscribe money, chicken, eggs etc., to feed them. Only the Imphal villagers were exempted from the system of forced coolies by the Darbar. Thus, the 'Pothang' system was abolished from the valley, but this was vigorously enforced in the Hill territory. And yet in its place in the valley new taxes were imposed to defray the extra cost, which consisted an increase in the land revenue at the rate of annas 3 per rupee; sale of thatching grass mehals and minor fisheries, imposition of survey, petition and process fees and an increase of court fees and a nominal school fee in primary schools.

50. Ibid.

In the valley a house tax of Rs.2/- per homestead was collected but in the Hills it was Rs.3/- per house. Maxwell assessed the land revenue at a uniform rate of Rs.5/- per Pari and introduced the Patta system, (which was in force in Assam Valley) in the Manipur valley. (A register known as 'Dag Chittas' on Land Revenue assessment record the name of the occupant of each field and the Janabhandhies showed the number of each field included in each patta. The Patta confers no title to the holding, but in practice when land was taken up for purposes of state, it was customary to give the owner compensation. Revenue could be in two instalments for estates which pay more than Rs.10/- in revenue.) According to this settlement the Tenants were conferred a permanent heritage and transferable right of occupancy so long as they paid the revenue due from them. "Where a tenant was unwillingly to take a ten year Patta, annual Pattas were issued which, however would not convey any permanent rights in the land held by the Tenant".⁵¹ The previous traditional kings share was now replaced by the new system of fixed money payments.

Economic disparity was a major factor in the growing differentiation between the Plain and the Hill

51. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, 1893, Nos. 1-23 (Secret-E).

peoples of Manipur. Potentially the central valley was richer than the Hill territory. The State authorities were content with mere collection of land revenues from the Hill villages and never showed interest either in the improvement of land or agricultural production. Among the Hill Tributes a House Tax of Rs.3/- was levied on each house, per year, but no attempt to measure up the area under cultivation was made.

The Hills were divided into five Lams, such as, in the North, the Mao Lam, North East of the valley includes the Tangkhul Lam, South of the Tankhul lies the Tammu Lam, South-West corner of the State lies the Moirang Lam, and lastly the Kapui Lam lies in the North of it.⁵²

In 1919, the State government commissioned two Mao-Nagas to make an enquiry about terrace cultivation in the south-west Hill areas of Manipur. After a scientific and proper survey of the area they found and reported to the State government that such terrace or, wet rice cultivation method was impossible in that area owing to the steepness of the Hill and primarily due to shortage of water and irrigation facilities.

52. B.C. Allen, op.cit., p.119.

The annual tribute paid to the government of India was Rs. 50,000/-. This started since 1891 and continued upto 1920. But in 1921 it was reduced to Rs. 5,000/- per year till 1947 or so. (The Govt. of India reduced the amount on the ground of the Maharaja's service and co-operation to the Govt. during the First World War in raising money fund and Labour Corps and also due to suppression of the Kuki uprising in 1917).

Administration of land in-charge was always a Sub-Deputy Collector. Under him were the 4- Kanungoes and 28 Amins. Land revenue collection staff or Lakpas in the valley and Mauzadar in Jiribam in addition to that by 1930 there were also Mohurrirs, peons, Pana clerks, sometimes temporary Mohurrirs and peons were added. But the number of these staff were not uniform. By the year 1940-41, the numbers of Kanungoes and Amins were 5 and 31 respectively and the same number existed till 1944-45. However, regarding the collection Staff, a little change was that due to the introduction of Tahsil system, there were 5 Tahshildars, 5 Pana Clerks, 36 Mohurrirs, 73 peons, and in this year other temporary staff employed before were being abolished.

House Tax in the Hills was levied at Rs. 3/- and annas 10 on the house of all Nagas and Kukis cultivating land in the valley on Jiribam. Taxes collected on Foreigners were at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year on every adult who stays in the State, grazing tax were levied at the rate of Rs. 1/- per year. Trading License fees were taxed at the rate of

Rs. 25/- and Rs. 10/- or so a year according to the size of the business in addition to any income tax payable. Taxes were also collected on export on Cattles.

Income Tax was assessed on the salaries paid to Govt. servants. No excise attempt was made to tax on the liquor of the Hillmen. Opium was smuggled into British territory - British reserve at Imphal, an administered area in Manipur State. Thus the receipts and revenues arising in these administered areas belong to the Crown Representative where it would make it over to the Federal Government.

The annual budget of the State consist of two parts, one part relating to State in general, while the other part relate to the Hill Tribes of Manipur.

Thus, in brief, the Revenue system in the State of Manipur continued till 1947 and still continues within the framework of the Constitution of India.

INDUSTRIES

The entire State was industrially very backward. There were no industries except the small industries in handloom, Silk and Salt. Such industries, however, did not account for more than 9% or so of the State output. The colonial interest of imparting Hill cloth from England also generally jeopardised the smooth functioning of the native industries. In fact the British period was a period of eclipse of these industries. Division and sub-division in

the Plains, isolation of the Hilly people and crippling of entrepreneurship characterised British administration in Manipur.

The economic backwardness of the State must be seen in the context of the political system of indirect rule from which it ultimately derived and to which it was inexorably bound. Indirect rule guaranteed the perpetuation of quasi-Sovereign units which in many cases had inadequate resource bases. Although the Govt. of India permitted the States to exist it kept them in a condition of dependence. While it protected their boundaries and internal political structure, it did almost nothing to help them in the external economic world. The States existed in an isolated limbo where they were subjected to few exterior pressures and to no internal pressures, not even those normally exerted in autocratic States. It was the deliberate policy of the government of India to keep the traditional institutions intact and adopt almost total non-interference attitude towards the States particularly in commercial matters. But the actual practice tended to suggest that the government's economic policy was something like a combination of interference and non-interference. 'It exerted pressures on the ruling princes of it was in the interest of the government to do but although it had the power and ample opportunity to interfere in the financial dealings of the princes, it did not'. As a matter of fact, the high officials of the political department

carried out a policy of close suppression if not the financial dealings of the princes, but of the dealings between the States and capitalists by limiting direct negotiations between them.

A surprise was that, Manipur had not experienced British commercial exploitation which the neighbouring countries or States had. Under conditions of isolation and also a fairly stable internal self-sufficiency in food production, the ruling princes tended to isolate the State economically. A more over-riding consideration was perhaps the fear that if the State became linked economically with the outside world, they were likely to become subservient politically. This fear was confirmed by the agitated reaction of the Maharaja over an attempted tea-growing by James Johnstone, the Political Agent for his own personal consumption. "I, as a matter of courtesy first sent to ask him if he had any objection to my growing a little, and in reply, he sent an official to beg me not to think of it. This man said, the Maharaja will supply you with all the tea you want free of cost but begs you not to think of growing. The officer went on to explain that it was feared that if I successfully demonstrated that tea could be a cry for annexation".⁵³

With the consolidation of British supremacy, Manipur was also no longer free from foreign control. However, before

53. J. Johnstone: Manipur and Naga Hills, p. 71.

their advent to Manipur, there was small cottage industries especially salt.

SILK INDUSTRY :- In 1902, Mr. Aderson of the Firm of Messrs A. Wright & Company, Calcutta visited Manipur with the sole objective of establishing a Silk Rearing and Spinning Industry in Manipur.⁵⁴ No sooner had he returned to Calcutta than he submitted to the Government of India (Political Deptt.) a draft of an Agreement which was to be signed, if agreeable, between a syndicate to be established by the Company itself and the Manipur Darbar. He further stressed in the proposal that the industry should be solely monopolised and financed by the Company. The British official on behalf of the Native State concerned, started negotiating with the Firm and L.W. Lane, Secretary, Foreign Deptt. immediately wrote to C.W. Botton, Officiating Chief Commissioner of Assam on 20th May, 1903, for fuller information regarding the local conditions of Silk growing Manipur, the qualities and kinds of Silk at present exported, the number of Silk growers and the probable effect the proposed industry might have on the people before the grant of the proposal monopoly. He also pointed out the desirability of deputing a responsible officer to Kashmir to make an on-the-spot enquiry about the system on which the silk industry was carried out in that State. The question was whether the

54. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings; June-1903, Nos. 70-73.

proposed industry should be handed over to the Manipur State or to a Private monopoly. Mr. Hennikar, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Assam, who was deputed to Kashmir was in favour of private monopoly, as according to him if the State undertook the project, it was much more likely to oppress its own subjects - make them rear-silk worms against their will - harass them for non-delivery of cocoons, etc., than a private firm.

While fully appreciating the arguments that led to the retention of Silk growing in Kashmir as a State monopoly, Hennikar argued that no insuperable difficulties would arise from committing the management of such a monopoly to private hands, provided that Manipur State retained powers of control and inspection. He thus concluded that where industry had to be established, a small State such as Manipur might well be glad to be spared to risk of embarking a large sum of money on a doubtful enterprise. With proper safeguards against ill-treatment of the workmen in the factory or jokeing agriculturists who raised the cocoons, it might be quite a desirable thing to grant a respectable firm some concession such as a monopoly in return for their erecting and working. The political Agent in Manipur also wrote on the same lines as the existing native small scale industry was not intended for export, it could pursue its own course alongside of but unaffected by the operations controlled by the proposed factory. The Agreement was finally signed by

the parties concerned in 1906, first for term of 30 years. The Raja agreed that he would grant the land that might be necessary for the successful operation of the factory, free of land revenue. He also agreed that the State would not levy any tax or duty on any cocoons, silk or silk waste exported by the Firm. In case of dispute, the decision of the Lt. Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam would be final binding on both parties.⁵⁵

In 1907, operations were started by the Manipur Company Ltd., to whom all rights to make silk in the State had been transferred by Messrs Anderson Wright & Company under their agreement with the Raja of Manipur. Despite the advantageous terms, the Company could not make any progress owing to want of rain and the difficulty in obtaining labour. So in 1913, the Company abandoned the project and the Manipur Darbar decided to run it as an experiment for few years. However, the chief defect for its failure were due to the importing of the seed from Europe - the time was quite late (instead of May-June, it was ordered by October), because of that and with the carelessness of the cold storage, Firm, on its way from Calcutta the whole of the seed (eggs) for the coming season had hatched out and died.⁵⁶ And yet according to administration report of 1915-16, showed that good results

55. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings; 1907 (April) External-A; Nos. 52-54.

56. Administrative Report of the State of Manipur for the year 1913-14, p. 7.

were obtained only from the seed which arrived in good condition. By 1918, the scheme on large scale production was given up even by the Manipur Darbar too. And in 1918-19 only on small scale, the industry was carried on by some Loi villagers in the valley who were professional rearers of Silk-worms.

FOREST: The other major industry was on forest. Though the silk venture proved a failure but not with timber. 'In 1898, the management of the Manipur forest on the Cachar border had been entrusted to the Deputy Conservator of Forest, Cachar on the condition that the gross income on produce should be divided between the government of India and the State in the proportion of 25% to the government of India and 75% to the State for a period of 3 years, subject to revision.⁵⁷ The financial results from the Manipur Forests between 1898 to 1905 was satisfactory. The Political Agent and the Conservator agreed the existing condition, but later on the Conservator felt that the share of the gross income retained by the Govt. of India was too small. He proposed that income should be divided as $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and $\frac{2}{5}$ th instead of $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{3}{4}$ th respectively. But Maxwell, the Political Agent insisted on maintaining the status-quo. (Maxwell refuted the Conservator's view by pointing out that the government spent no money on maintenance, fire-protection, watch and ward, the improvement and exploitation of the Manipur forests. B.C. Allen,

57. F.D. Proceedings; 1898. (September); External-A; Nos. 59-70.

Officiating Secretary, Governor of Bengal and Assam, impressed upon the Govt. of India that no change was necessary in the existing agreement and the same should be continued until the question of modifying it was raised again by one of the other party. See, F.D. Proceedings, 1906 (January); External-A, Nos. (56-57):

In 1910, the local authorities made an agreement with the Bombay Trading Corporation of Rangoon for working the Teak forests in the Kabo-Valley all along the eastern border of the State.⁵⁸ Under the agreement between Manipur State and the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, the latter had to give a royalty of Rs. 14/- per ton on all Teak export and that the import duty levied by the Govt. of Burma should be paid by the Manipur State. The Chief Commissioner of Assam argued that Manipur Teak was inferior in quality and that the import duty not exceed Rs. 3/- per ton. And the Lt. Governor of Burma agreed, its reduction at the rate of duty to Rs. 3.50 per ton.⁵⁹

The Bombay-Burma Trading Company completing their girdling operations in the forests on the Burma border about 3,111 trees in 1912-13 and 3,592 in 1913-14. In spite of all the gains, the Govt's Forest Policy was a source of anxiety to the Hill people who practised shifting cultivation.

58. Deptt. of Revenue and Agriculture, Forest; 1911 (January); File No. 226 of 1910-under agreement.

59. Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Forest; June-1912; File No. 164 of 1912.

The State monopoly of forests prohibiting the people from clearing them for cultivation became one of the sources of constant clashes between the Hill people and the British.

WEAVING INDUSTRY: A considerable quantity of cotton was grown but mostly imported from outside the State. Weaving had become a considerable industry in Manipur but mainly for local consumption. It was carried on by the women folk, the handlooms in use were primitive and laborious. Manipuri Monga was scarce, weaving of Silk cloth with imported yarns was increased. During the year according to administrative report in 1921-22, the export of Manipuri cloth rose considerably, *no doubt, due to* the Swadeshi movement in India (where import of foreign cloth was strongly resented by the leaders, emphasised on local made cotton clothes). By 1940-41, according to administration report, there were already 200 fly-shuttle looms and 300 country looms working for the department. A considerable number of Manipur Arts and Crafts were sold in many parts of India and abroad.

Dyeing cotton clothes was done from colours locally produced, such as from flowers, herbs, barks and seeds of fruits etc. But then black colour was permanent.

SALT INDUSTRY: This was one of the most important industries in the State since hundreds of years back. Manipur is rich in salt mines. The brine produced by these salt mines was sufficient, for local consumption. There used to be a considerable number of salt wells in the Valley the monopolies for working which were sold by the State. As imported

salt gradually found its way into the State markets, the demand for Manipuri-made salt became less and as a result the existing salt-wells were allowed to fall into disrepair.

MILITARY

The task of placing the administration of the State on a firm footing could not be isolated from that of mobilisation of the Military forces which was a necessary condition of an Imperial power. In the development of a colonial power, economic motives are certainly supreme. However, the colonial movement in its latter phase, combined in itself both economic and political interests and this was so because without the guarantees of political security economic exploitation could not flourish. In Manipur, the question of political security was very crucial and the recognition of this supreme strategic importance of the State was the main reason why it was taken over for central administration in 1949, Manipur being placed in a commanding position between Burma and Assam, demonstrated advantages as a military authorities.

The military force of Manipur consisted of the species of militia, who were liable to be called out for service when required. However, their members in 1883-84 were put at 5349-infantry; 501-artillery, 400-Cavalry etc. and 700-Kuki irregulars.⁶⁰ Her Calvary was a terror to her enemy.

60. W.W. Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer of India; vol. IX, p. 332.

The bulk of the soldiers in Manipur received no pay, but had land assigned to them according to rank. The service in the army was hereditary to a great extent, and according to Dunn (1884), the army had swelled to 7000 including 700 irregulars. The troops were supposed to be organised in regiments (battalions). The once celebrated Manipur Cavalry which had performed brilliantly in the Burmese wars was extinct by 1884 or earlier. The main reason for this was the indiscriminate export of ponies from the State. According to the Assam trade report of 1879-1880, the Ruler of Manipur had prohibited the export of ponies in an attempt to resuscitate the old breed.

With the deep penetration of British capitalists in Assam and Burma, the British felt the need for a controlling hand which, would according to them, assist in the consolidation of the country from the Brahmaputra to the Chindwin. Therefore, the local authorities at first raised a strong military force properly officered by Englishmen and enlisted in the force of the Native people. In view of the increasing threatening attitude of the Nagas and the Kukis on the border. Mr. Porteous, the Political Agent reiterated the need for a change in the whole organisation of the State Police too and conducted that a properly armed and well disciplined force was a prime requisite.⁶¹ With the approach of the formal transfer of power into the hands of the Raja in 1907, the British became increasingly sceptical about the composition

61. Foreign & Political Deptt., Proceedings; 1895 (Nov.); External-A, Nos. 42-54.

of the Military Police. The Govt. of Assam realised after a perusal of all the correspondence with Mr. Maxwell that the replacement of the regular troops by a Military Police would be detrimental to British interests because the people of the State were not well disposed towards the British Govt. and the minor Raja being a weak character disturbances were not unlikely to arise from intrigues regarding succession.⁶² The authorities at Simla at last considered it unpolitic to relax any security arrangements in the face of the growing insecurity in and around the State of Manipur. There were regular system of rural police in the valley. The State had only one Thana Station at Imphal. As found according to Administration Reports from 1906-1945, there were Police Departments which consisted of, namely, (a) The Military Police; (b) The Naga Police; (c) Civil Police, and (d) Village Police (Choukidars).

MILITARY POLICE: This force was to look after the affairs of the State. The force was under the command of His Highness the Raja. It was generally employed to provide guards for the Palace, the Jail, Revenue Offices and to preserve peace and to check any disturbance that may arise among the Hill Tribes. It also supplies a guard of honour to His Highness the Raja, escorts for him and the Vice-President of the Darbar, when necessary and escorts for Treasure to and from the Imphal Treasury, between Kohima and Imphal. Also escorts

62. Ibid, 1904 (July), External-A; Nos. 2-5.

to guard prisoners from Imphal to adjacent British districts were also taken from this force. Initially there were increase and decrease and vice-versa of the number of personnels in the respective police Departments till 1947. These patterns continued within the rest of the Three (3) Police Departments, namely, the Civil Police, the Naga Police, and the Village Police in which the Civil Police played a dominant and important role in Manipur Police Department. The Military Police Force consists of the following till 1921-22, as Native Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Drill Instructor, Sepoys, Burglers and Bandsmen. But by 1923-23 onwards till 1930, its sanctioned strength were 8 Indian Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Riflemen, Sepoys, Burglers and Bandsmen. However from 1931-32 till 1939, the Force was organised into 6 Platoons, Indian Officers Havildars, Naiks, Sepoys, Burglers, Bandsmen and non-combatant establishment. By 1940-41 till 1947, the Force consists of Subedars, Jamadars, Havildars, Riflemen etc. The Commandant of the Force was His Highness the Maharaja whereas the Superintendent of Police was by Mr. E.E. Hughes and was responsible to His Highness through the President of the Darbar. In 1943-44 till 1947 different English personnel held charge of the Military Force.

NAGA POLICE: The Vice-President of the Darbar held charge of this Deptt. In 1916-17, it was found that the President

of the Darbar held charge of this Deptt. The Force consisted of Head Constables and constables. The Police were recruited from the villagers themselves and each village was adequately represented and they were paid by the State. The two Thanas were at Makhan and Khongnem in the Mao-Maram Naga areas. In 1916-17, the Thanas were at Makhel and Karong and that continued till 1947. Since there was no special Police force for the Hill areas in Manipur. Each of the Sub-divisional officers maintained a staff of Lambus (interpreters) for his own area and the President of the Darbar had a similar staff for dealing with the Hill areas under his direct charge. The Lambus carried out the duties of Police in addition to being the ordinary representatives and messengers of government which resembled the 'Dobashis' in this respect of the Naga Hills. The Lambus consisted of, Manipuris, Tangkhul Nagas, Mao-Nagas, Maram-Nagas, Kabui and Kacha Nagas and Kukis etc.

CIVIL POLICE: The Police member of the Darbar held charge of the Civil Police Department. But in 1940-41, this Department was under the charge of the President of the Darbar. The Force consisted of Sub.Inspector, Head Constables, Writer Constables and constables. In 1916-17 an Inspector was added to the above Force. However in 1933-34, Coukidars were added too. The only Thana in the valley was situated at Imphal, which has jurisdiction only in Imphal valley, but when ordered by the Police

Member or Judicial Member, men were sent out to investigate cases in the Mofussil area. In 1915-16 in the valley, the outpost was at Sengmai, north of Imphal to preserve order in the neighbouring Gurkhali (Nepali) settlement. The other Three outposts were the Jiri Outpost, the Mao Outpost and Sebong.

The Outposts were under the direct control of the Political Agent as they were maintained mainly in regulating the movements of Foreigners into the State. The four Outposts, namely, Mao and Sengmai Outposts controlled the Dimapur Road, the Pallel Outpost controlled the Burma Road and the Jiribam Outpost in the Cachar Road from 1900 till 1932, it was the Tairelpokpi Outpost which controlled the Cachar Road but by 1933-34 it was replaced by Jiribam Outpost. But in 1943-44 due to the Second World War in Manipur these Outposts were all abolished. Yet by 1945 some of them were revived like at Mao-Outpost and Pallel Outpost. Again in 1934-35, according to administration reports there were 8 other temporary outposts in the valley, such as, Mayang Imphal, Yairipok, Thoubal, Kakching, Moirang, Bishenpur, Lamsang, Sawombung. Police Stations in the State during the year 1944-45, were at Imphal, Jiribam, Thoubal, Moirang, Mayang Imphal, Bishenpur also a number of Village choukidars were employed. In order to maintain order in the British Reserve in

in Imphal, the Political Agency maintained a sub-Inspector and some constables too and that the Force was maintained by the Government.

The Village Police:- This Body consisted mainly the village Choukidars in the Valley who were paid partly in cash and partly by grants of land. Their roles were not as important as those mentioned in the foregoing three main Departments, namely, the Military Police, Naga Police and the Civil Police.

Policy of Hill Administration

Till 1890 Palace Uprising or so, there was no significant mentioning about the separate Hill Administration of Manipur. But since large Hill areas being transferred to Manipur in the 19th century and with the result that a separate Hill Administration foresaw a viable British Policy of 'Divide and Rule' to suit her Colonial interests. But there was no clear cut demarcation/jurisdiction for Hill and Plain administrations, except the plan of the scheme for future administration of Manipur in the early 20th century (1907 and 1908). Since then the Hill administration became a vital issue for various domestic and political purposes in the State. So then a separate Hill administration and later on it was looked after by the President of the State Darbar with the sole approval of the Political

Agent who was the Head or sole authority of the State representing the Government of British India through the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

The Manipuris of the valley effectively extracted tributes from the Hill-men in the past. Even after 1891 there was no proper administration of the Hill Tribes and no proper provision was made for them in the State Budget. The State expenditure on them was only 1/4th of the amount of the Hill people paid in taxes. Neglect of their interest and lack of touch between them and the administration came to a head-collision in the Kuki rebellion in 1917.

The Raja had a body Guard of about 100 Riflemen which made it difficult to enforce his orders outside the valley, whereas the Political Agent had a Police Battalion to support the authority of the Vice-President by carefully emphasising inter-Tribal disharmonies and superficial differences in terms of Religion. The British policy of 'Divide and Rule' played a crucial part in ensuring the very stability of the colonial system in the State and elsewhere.

Towards the Hill people, the British found 'the let-frontier troubles settle - themselves policy outdated, because of the condition of Manipur was now in the process of being girdled on every side by British Districts. They therefore, felt that a properly armed and well-disciplined Force was a sine-qua-non to keep the Hill

people under control.⁶³ By the force of arms they brought the Hill people under their control and by the same force they undertook to maintain their hold over them.

From the very outset the Hill people were antagonistic towards the British with his inexperience and inadequate knowledge of the attitude and aspiration of the people, the Chief Political Officer of Manipur, made a wrong assessment that the Hill Tribes were most anxious for British Rule.⁶⁴ And this would be proved by subsequent events. Though hostile, the Hill people did never put forth a combined resistance against the British, for they were a divided house which fought against itself and could not stand united. If an injury was done by one to another of the same clan or tribe it was incumbent on the injured to avenge the wrong doer.⁶⁵ Inter-tribal war was thus a common feature among them. In their inability or failure to understand the causes or genuineness of most of these conflicts, the British wrongly interpreted all their violent outbursts as merely an act of extreme barbarity or inhumanity.⁶⁶ This wrong interpretation led

63. F. Poli. D. Proc., 1895 (Nov.), External-A, Nos. 41-54.

64. Ibid., 1891 (Oct.), Secret-E, Nos. 123-247.

65. H.K. Barpujari, Problems of the Hill Tribes of North-East India, p.8.

66. F. Poli. D. Proc., 1903 (January), External-A, No.66.

them to wrong conclusion like to put a stop to of such cruelties was only through Superior Force or punitive expedition. With severe threat the local officers levied a Hill house tax of Rs.3/- per house per year and forced labour without payment mostly and even a slight protest was faced by them with retaliation from a punitive expedition. There was constant incidents of raids among the Hillmen themselves which greatly troubled the local officers. So the British were inclined to think that vigorous enforcement of the disarmament policy alone would turn the hot-headed Hillmen into loyal subjects of the British. So the British government of India instructed its Frontier Officers to licence guns with caution and moderation, imposing a maximum limit as far as possible and confiscating all unlicensed guns and heavily fined the owners of such guns and liberally rewarding informers. And yet inspite of all these measures the policy of disarmament failed because firstly there were still unadministered areas adjoining the Hill Territory and as a result many owners of unlicensed guns had placed their weapons with their friends in those areas while the search for weapon was carried on.⁶⁷ Secondly, the ruthless Policy of subjugation by the British detachment was a constant reminder to the Hill people that the British were not their benevolent masters but their suppressors.

67. Administration Report of the State of Manipur for the year 1906-7, p. 2.

The most surprising part of the scheme of 1907 (Scheme for the future Administration of Manipur, Foreign Deptt. Proceedings, 1907-August, External-A, Nos. 18-23) was that of the absence of any sort of representation of the Hill people in the Manipur State Darbar. Except that the Vice-President was given charge of them, little or nothing had been mentioned of them in the whole Scheme.

Another important fact was that the administration of the whole Hill Territory which formed 9/10th of the total area of the State of Manipur was entrusted to a single officer who was already over burdened with his usual duties in the Darbar. The Hill Territory was separated from the general administration of the State on the false plea that 'the Hill Tribes were not Manipuris and have entirely different customs and languages'. It was therefore the motive of the British Administration to create a 'barrier of a wall' not only between the Hillmen and Plainsmen, but even among the Hill people themselves. The British Officers, however, justified their action on grounds of humanitarian that the dealings of the State with the Hill Tribes have been in former years so cruel as to cause several remonstrances from the Supreme Govt. and much friction was caused between Political Agent and the State authorities by the efforts of the former to protect to Hill Tribes. Thus, in regard to the administration of the Hill people, the British assumed the role of a 'Saviour' minus a redeeming power.

The system of government the British Officers wanted to bring about was a government not by persons but by a machine worked under rules, which hardly suited the conditions of the Hill people for there was little or no scope for the development of personal ties between the officials and subjects. No wonder, the only officials with whom the people came into contact were the petty Manipuri 'Lambus' who were something like peons or messengers working in between the Hill villagers and the Political Agent and Vice President of the Darbar.

Yet a point of fundamental significance which marked the British policy towards the Hill Tribes was the recognition of the Tribal Chiefs, who, no doubt, enjoyed considerable powers and privileges within their Chiefdom.

The Kuki rebellion (1917-19) though short lived, effected far reaching consequences in the history of Manipur. The outcome of the rebellion was the overall reorganization of the administration. Decentralization was urgently necessary and established three British Subdivisional Offices in the Hills⁶⁸ to maintain Law and Order and to prevent raiding. The Sub-divisions were, the South-West Area with Headquarters at Churachandpur, inhabited mostly by the Kukis and was under the charge of Mr. Gasper; the North-West Area with temporary Headquarters at Tamenglong inhabited mostly by Kabui Nagas and Kacha Nagas also Kukis

68. Administration Report of the State of Manipur for the year 1918-1919, p. 2.

and the charge was taken over by Mr. Shaw, the Third was in the North-East with Headquarters at Ukhrul, which was inhabited by the Tangkhul Nagas and was under the charge of Mr. Peters.

A large Naga areas in the North of the State including the Mao-Nagas and the Maram Nagas groups, the whole of the Mombi area in the South East and to various Tribes of Hillmen bordering the valley continued to be administered directly from Imphal under the President of the State Darbar.

For some years before 1929, according to Administration Report (during 1931-32), the Hills were divided into four (4) Subdivisions with subdivisional Headquarters at Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Ukhrul and Imphal. But in December 1929, it was decided as an experimental measure for three years in the first instance to withdraw the subdivisions from the Hills and it was later on re-divided into two divisions as North and South under the control of S.J. Duncan, and B.C. Gasper respectively.

Because of the Kabui Naga uprising in 1930-31, the North West Hill area of Manipur (the Kabui Naga uprising against the British led by Jadonang ^{who was} executed, initially started since 1927 and continued the movement by a disciple, Rani Gaidiliu till 1933 which was crushed in the same year. She was then arrested and imprisoned for life but was released when India achieved Independence in 1947) the

State Government realised that the Kabui-uprising would had been brought under control earlier if the three (3) Sub-Divisions were created in the Hill areas, namely at Ukhrul, Churachandpur and Tamenglong, ever since the Kuki-uprising in 1917. And thus the local Hill administration would had been handled by the respective Sub-Divisional Officers, instead of being brought certain minor administrative issues and controlled at the far away Headquarters at Imphal. It was also felt that the removal of the Sub-Divisions from the Hills was responsible for the administration once more being out of touch with the Tribesmen. Accordingly, the Tamenglong Sub-Division was reopened in October, 1932 and from 1st May 1933, a new arrangement was made whereby the Hill areas were redivided into 3 (three) Sub-Divisions, namely, Sadar, Ukhrul and Tamenglong, which remained in force till 1947. The President of the Manipur State Darbar was also in charge of the Sadar Sub-Division, North of the State, at the same time he was responsible for the administration of the whole Hill areas.

CHAPTER - II

CONTRIBUTION BY THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN COLLABORATION

WITH THE BRITISH OFFICIALS TOWARDS EDUCATION

Manipur was to conduct offensive wars against the Burmese as regards to Kobo-valley, against Tripura as regards to Takhen, against Cachar as regards to Mayenleipak and other neighbouring Hill countries and conducted defensive wars against the Burmese Hill peoples, Mayangs, Mohammedans, Tripuris and others. (So education for the Manipuri adult males were mainly to remain ever ready to fight against those people at least for defensive purposes and thus every male was compelled to learn as to how to use defensive and offensive weapons of war, namely, swords, spears, bows and arrows, shields and subsequently guns as well and to keep their physique in good and strong conditions. (In this respect the Manipuris too somewhat ever ready like the ancient Platonic concept of Education). Therefore, it was for this reason that as soon as they reached the age of maturity they already learnt a part of education like the art of wrestling, long and high jump, jumping with one foot, racing, throwing stones, etc. etc. When grown up they learnt riding ponies and playing various tricks and feats including throwing Arambai.¹ Having given due importance physical power of education by the Manipuri society and the individual literary education was considered

1. L. Ibonghal Singh, Introduction to Manipur, p.77.

as secondary only. Manipuris were educated in using primitive weapons. Some worked on the tactics for defending and taking offensive by men of war without weapon against persons with weapons. So the grandeur of Manipur before the British advent of modern educational system lay in the Manipur cavalry and heroism. And now it lies mainly in the art of dancing which depict their bravery and heroism.

(The Hill-Tribal education had been aimed directly at preparation for life in the tribal society at the very early age. The educational activities were conducted within the family and social circles. Knowledge was imparted through actual participation and the child's involvement in actual learning processes. His father or elderly person would take him to the forest and fields etc. and teach him as to how to hunt and trap wild animals like, tigers, elephants, bears, deers, eagles, etc. etc. He was taught all kinds of practical training while he was in his early age as a social discipline in society. Later when he grew up, he participated in the village life and government. Even as a child he/she was taught the method of cultivation, namely, Jhum and Terrace cultivation. And they were taught as to how to plough, slash and burn, to sow seeds, to weed and to reap the harvest also to cut wood for fire and for construction of buildings, cutting of bamboos for making different purposes of domestic or market facilities, all are performed according to season. Apart from household chores, a little girl was taught as to

how to collect yarns from the forest and to weave handloom clothes. (And thus a young Tribal was taught all the theoretical and practical types of 'Tribal education' before he/she started an independent way of life in the Tribal society). The male child was especially taught in the arts of fighting as the Tribal feuds were common in primitive days. He was taught the method of handling weapons, swords, daos, spears, shields, bows and arrows, and guns etc. for defensive and offensive purposes *in* Society.

However, with the coming of British administration in the State of Manipur, the British brought and introduced their educational system in Manipur like in other British Native states of India, But generally speaking, the government of the State was indifferent towards the development of education, public health and medical facilities to its subjects. In 1869, Brown reported in his book entitled "Statistical Account of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule" which say that there was no school or any wish for them on the part of the authorities, offers of assistance in the formation of a school were declined by the Manipuris who stated that they preferred to remain ignorant. Some of the highest officials did not know how to read and write and like the Knights of the Middle Ages, despised such arts as beneath their serious consideration.²⁾

2. B.C. Allen, Assam District Gazetteers, Vol. IX (Naga Hills and Manipur), p. 128.

The Maharaja's officials although illiterate and lacking in modern educational knowledge, were not even ashamed of it. Thus in the history of the progress of education in Manipur, perhaps the first place of honour will go to Major General James Johnstone, the Political Agent in Manipur from 1876 to 1886. Before 1870, popular education was unknown, The colonial rulers were not that much interested in the introduction of education to their Native subjects but their main interest lay on political control and economic exploitation. Their minds were preoccupied in the territorial extension for global empire, rather than introducing welfare scheme. But then they were not completely against the policy of civilising the ignorant people through western education, where they later on, could use the literate groups for their smooth running of administration at the local level. For this purpose, the British gave more emphasis on simple type of education, especially in arts subjects.

In 1872, however a vernacular school was established in Manipur at the suggestion of the late political Agent, Major General W.F. Nuthal, and the Government of Bengal presented Books and maps at the value of Rs. 400/- or 500/-.³ But due to want of encouragement, it did not function properly. Attendance was poor and not regular because students went to school only when they feel like. Johnstone reports that it was a set back as about 50 or 60 students, including two girls

3. E.E. Dun. Gazetteer of Manipur, p. 26.

attended. But then the school was closed after few days as the attendance was extremely small and very little was done by the Raja or his officers to stimulate the cause of education. Not only that the failure of Major General Nuthal's school was due to a widespread belief of the Manipuris that they would lose caste, if they knew English. Moreover, education was going on at this time in the traditional way, i.e., at the residence of the teachers.⁴ The Maharaja and his Darbar were not keen to establish schools and were not interested in the spread of general education. During the tenure of Johnstone as Political Agent of Manipur, a Middle English School was established at Imphal after a good deal of persuasion in 1885,⁵ a year before he left Manipur. This marked the beginning of general education in the State in subsequent years and progress was made and a number of schools were established in the Valley. During the period of a decade (1880-1890), the only School established or initiated by the British officials in the State was the Johnstone School (1885) and yet it was closed for a time during the disturbances of 1891 (between the Imperial power and Manipur), where Manipur was defeated and its territories

4. R.K. Jhalajit Singh, A Short History of Manipur, p. 252.

5. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, Dec. 1885, Secret-E; Nos. 188-189.

The chief Commissioner hope that the Jubraj would with his ministers do all in their power to maintain the School which the Chief Commissioner was just about to open and that they would assist to Political Agent in getting people in the town and State, who could afford to do so, to subscribe towards its support.

were brought under their colonial power of British expansionism. But the School was re-opened on June 1, 1892.) The British aggressive conquest of Manipur in 1891 rocked the fond-age old world of Manipur to expand her horizon and woke up to reality. (Under the British sovereignty, Manipur was for the first time, politically linked up, with the rest of British India. Thus it became a period of seedling season, as well. In the historical process, two important colonial seeds were planted: firstly, one of political integration with British India, and secondly, the modernisation processes were sown.)

(The Western Christian Missionaries took active interest in education and civilizing the Hill-Tribes on western model. Thus, till the integration of the State in 1949 with the Union of India, the various Missions met the primary educational wants of the Hill peoples to a large extent. Of course, there were numerous schools maintained by the State Government in the Hills too, but most of their initiation was concentrated in the Valley, since the Valley people were against Christianity and the missionaries' activities. So it was the British political Officials who encouraged the cause of education among the Valley people. Thus, gradually many schools sprang up here and there. The first primary school in the Hill areas was established at Mao in 1893.)

Education in its primary stage continued to receive much attention and a striking feature is the adoption of Bengali - as the language for primary school instruction,⁶ in Manipur. (At the beginning of the present century (1901-2) the State had only about 17 primary schools and only one Middle English School. Expenditure on education around 1900 was about Rs. 10,040/- and additional expenditure was provided for new schools in order to meet the growing demand for primary education in the State.⁷)

(There was no formal education in the Hill areas and no responsibility was held by the Maharaja of Manipur whose main concern was around the valley only before the British advent in Manipur. However, the administration and functions of the Schools in the State under the colonial rule through its Native Maharaja was that - all the schools in the Hills were under the control of the Vice-President of the State Darbar and those in the Valley were under the general control of the Education Member of the Darbar.⁸) So the progress of education in the State upto the year of integration with the Union of India (1949) was mostly a record of the growth of the number of primary, secondary and High Schools.

(Education has made very little progress in Manipur. At the Census of 1901, only about 1.9% of the male population

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6. Foreign and Political Department Proceedings; December-1900, Nos. 24-26.
 7. Ibid.
 8. M. Bhattacharya, Gazetteer of India (Manipur), p.369.

or say about 9 per mile of the population know how to read and write and the number of literate women was less than one per cent per mile.⁹ But then it must not be supposed from this that the Manipuris were rude, uncultured although cut-off as they were by their mountain walls from their fellow men who were not to be expected that they would take much interest in the affairs of the outer world and a literary education has few charms for them. Yet a surprise thing was that they were neat and clean, well housed and clever craftsmen. Both man and woman were full of enterprise and intelligent and perhaps few people could manage better without schooling.

'With the emergence of Vaishnavism in Manipur from 1705 to 1903,¹⁰ there were hardly about 16 to 28 Pathsalas which clearly indicated that within a span of about 200 years, the growth of education was very much minimal. Rather, education was maintained mostly among the Royals and the Aristocratic circle but for the masses little significance was made. Therefore, it clearly shows that with

9. B.C. Allen, Assam District Gazetteer, Naga Hills and Manipur; Vol. IX, p. 65.
See also, Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVII, p. 195.

10. James Hastings, Encyclopedia and Ethics, p. 402.
See also, N. Tombi Singh, 'Manipur' - A Study, p.

(Vaishnavism was originally brought from Bengal by a saint named Shantidas or Shanti Das who converted the Maharaja and his Ministers so that later on it was declared that 'Hinduism was to be the principal religion of the Meitheis by a Royal Edict in 1705' and with this religion the Bengali script was introduced into the State. After some decades these script in Manipuri language was used in Pathsalas and Vernacular schools etc.)

the British conquest of Manipur in 1891, the rapid growth of schools were spontaneous. Regarding primary education, the British Government officials like the Political Agent and the President of the State Durbar, indirectly encouraged with grant-in-aid for the opening of schools, namely, Path-salas, Madrasses, Sanskrit Tols, Girls' School and other numerous village schools in the Hill areas. Thus, the following administration reports must be taken into account:

There was a Girls' School too at the beginning of the present century but was closed down due to motives of financial matter in 1902, as it was considered that the advantage it conferred were out of all proportion to the cost of its maintenance. Before the British advent in Manipur female education was considered to be a luxury and only among the noble families of the Maharaja. The education of women cannot be said to have made equal progress although it was hoped not without reason that in a country like Manipur where women hold such an important position in the economic activity of the State; the efforts to establish a good school for the daughters of higher classes would have been attended with more success than has actually been the case. The failure was not improbably due to the rumour started by malignity and disseminated by stupidity that as soon as the girls had been satisfactorily taught to read, write and speak they were to be shipped off to England where there was said to be scarcity of marriageable women. The sole basis for this untoward myth

lay in the fact that at that time among all the officers in Government, civil and military then serving in the State of Manipur not one was married.¹¹

Such rumour constantly arose in Manipur and defined their wide circulation through the agency of the Bazars where time hung so heavy that such gossip was eagerly retailed and received to often ready acceptance. There were no difficulties in the shape of caste scruples or the restrictions of the Pardah (Purdha) to be overcome but the shrewd Manipuri women would have to be convinced of the practical value of education before they would send their daughters to school.

By 1903-1904, the State had one Middle English School and one Upper Primary School and 28 Pathsalas. During this time, text Books have been prepared in Manipuri (Bengali version) and instruction was thus imparted in that language. The year marked a great advance in the spread of education and the Manipuris were evidently becoming sensible of its advantages. "During the year 1905, one of the most hopeful signs in the situation is the growing popularity of education, the furtherence of which has received a good deal of education during the past three years".¹²

11. T.C. Hodson, "The Meitheis", p. 24.

12. Foreign and Political Department Proceedings, 1905, Secret-E, Nos. 458-459.
(A confidential letter from the Secretary, to the Chief Commissioner of Assam; To the Secretary, to the Government of India).

Regarding the growth of the number of Schools, namely, Primary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools from 1906 to 1947 were grouped into Part-I and Part-II, which have been detailed below, as follows:-

Part - I

PRIMARY EDUCATION (1906-1947)

1906-07: In the Valley of Manipur, according to the Administration Report of the Manipur State Darbar, during the year there were 9 new Pathsalas, making the total number with the previous 28 Schools, comes to 37, and a Sanskrit Tol in Imphal. The Sanskrit Tol was meant mostly for the children of the Brahmins. Sanskrit was taught both in the Lower and Upper Primary levels. In the Girls' School, besides studying all subjects upto the Lower Primary standard, the girls were instructed in weaving and embroidery. However, the number of girls were quite few.

(In the Tangkhul Naga Hills, there were 8 Schools out of which 7 were village schools with Tangkhul Teachers. Education among the Tangkhuls was first of all in the Ukhrul (Tangkhul) diaket. The advanced pupils learned Manipuri in (Bengali script) and a few scholars at this school aspired to learn English.)

The Kuki schools were of very humble institutions. Some young men of the village were sent to get education to Aijal (capital of Mizoram) government high school for that purpose they were given scholarship of Rs. 5/- per month for

transmitting their knowledge to the youths of their village on their return. These Schools sprang up at the request of the people themselves.

A Bengali School: A Bengali School was established by colonial, Maxwell for the 1st time at Imphal, for the benefit of the children of Bengalis who were employed in the State. The cost of the School was Rs. 60/- a month, of which about Rs. 18/- was realized in School fees. The Government encouraged the promotion of Primary education in the State with grant-in-aid for their maintenance and by recognizing that schools initiated by the local peoples themselves.

1907-1908: According to annual Administration Report of the Manipur State that during the year 6 new Pathsalas were opened in the valley. The teachers received Rs. 3/- per mensem from the State Government. The object of introducing this system of village schools was to spread education and at the same time, by inviting the cooperation of the villagers to save the State from much expense.

At Lilong, a Madrassa School was established. Its curriculum consists of Arabic, Urdu and Persian, owing to the introduction of the study of these classical languages the number of boys attending this school has trebled in the year and an additional Moulvi has been provided for, in the next years' budget.¹³ Expenditure on Bengali School was Rs. 756/-

13. A.W. Davis, Annual Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1907-1908; p. 8.

during 1907-1908, while the amount realized as school fee was Rs. 231/-.

In 1908, the first Technical School in the State was opened. (In the Tangkhul Hill areas, there were nine schools) and in the Northern Hill areas (near Mao-Thana/Gate), there were five schools. Although the number of pupils were not large and yet they were taught how to read and write in Manipuri, in order to make them fit for employment under the State as peons and constables etc. In the south of the State, there were three Kuki schools of a very elementary kind of its existence and the other two kuki villages petitioned for opening of schools in their village.

1909-1910: There were already about 56 Lower Primary Schools in the valley; seven were in the Tangkhul Hills area, six schools were in the Northern Hills area and five Kuki schools on the Lushai border, but these Kuki schools as they do not submit no returns, they have not been in the list of the Education Department of the State. Thus, during the year the number of Madrassa school was increased to three with a new one opened at Kherao. Towards the close of the year 'Mr. T.O.D. Dunn, Inspector of Schools, Assam valley and Hill Districts, visited Manipur and inspected the Johnstone School, the Ukhrul School, the Bengali School, and many Pathsalas'.¹⁴ He was impressed by the students' performance that he gave

14. J.C. Higgins, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1909-1910; p. 8.

valuable suggestions to the teachers and inspecting staff which emphasised for practical training as well.

1911-12: During this period, there were 66 Lower Primary Schools in the valley, out of which four were Madrassas, a Tol (Sanskrit) and a Girls' school. In the Northern Hill areas three schools were abolished on account of the continued poor attendance. There were four Kuki schools among the villages on the Lushai border but submit no progressive returns. Therefore, both the Primary schools (Kuki schools and the remaining schools) in the northern Hills were closed at the end of the year as considered of no practical and progressive value. Consequently, the saving finance were used to increasing the number of scholarships for Hill boys to study at Imphal-valley where they received tuition and personal supervision. 'All the primary schools, both in the valley and in the Hills are maintained by the State Government. The cost of the State on all accounts of education was Rs. 36,135/- of which Rs. 5,041/- was on account of Hill schools and was charged to Hill Tribes.¹⁵

1915-1916: (The number of primary schools increased to 71 on 31st March 1916.) Of these, 66 were in the main valley, one at Jirighat and four in the northern Naga Hills. (Six Tangkhul schools in the North East of the State were closed down from 1st July 1915 owing to the unsatisfactory work of

15. J.C. Higgins, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1911-1912; p. 11.

the teachers and pupils as well. But the bright boys were taken into Ukhrul school which accounts partly for the increased attendance at that School.) A number of Lower Primary schools in the valley started coming up and that was mainly due to the abolition of school fees in that year. Education was made free but not compulsory by the State Darbar. Of the 66 Lower Primary Schools in the valley, four were Madrassas; one Tol and one Girls' school.

Boys who passed the Lower Primary examination in any division were admitted into the Upper Primary School. During the year two schools were running on the suburbs of Imphal. However, these schools were financed and governed by the Johnstone school. Therefore, it was part and parcel of the Johnstone School in its proper functioning of the Lower Primary Schools.

1916-1917: There were 72 Lower Primary schools on 31st March 1917. In the main valley alone, there were 68, one at Jirighat and 3 in the Northern Hills, but one Hill school was closed down during the year at the request of the villagers. Two new Madrassas were again opened in the valley and its total number rose to six. During the year, there were three Upper Primary Schools. Apart from formal education, boys in all the valley schools were trained physical exercises especially Deshi Kasarat was taught in all the Lower Primary Schools.

1917-1918: During this period, the number of schools were 72, of those 69 were in the main valley, one at Jiribam and two in the Northern Hills.¹⁶ In the valley there were 69 Lower Primary Schools of which 7 were Madrassas, one Tol and one Girls' school. In all the primary schools, there were about 4,170 boys and 40 girls. The number of Upper Primary Schools and the extra-curriculum activities in the State were the same as in the previous year.

1918-1919: The number of Lower Primary Schools were 74 on 31st March 1919. Of these, 70 were in the main valley, one at Jiribam, two in the Northern Hills and one in the Southern Hills. The one in the Southern Hill and Madrassa in the valley were opened during the year.¹⁷ Of the 70 valley Lower Primary Schools, 6 were Madrassas, one Tol and a Girls' School. All the Primary education were maintained by the State with grant-in-aid. There was an increase in the number of pupils, say, e.g., 5,233 boys and 41 girls, were on the roll. In the Upper Primary School pupils paid school fee which was credited to the State.

1919-1920: There was an increase of one Lower Primary school from the previous year. Of the 75 total numbers, 71 were in the valley, one at Jiribam, 2 in the Northern Hills and one in the Southern Hills.¹⁸ Out of the 71 Lower Primary

16. Robert H. Henderson, Administration Report of Manipur State for the year 1917-1918; p. 12.

17. Robert H. Henderson, Administration Report of Manipur State for the year 1918-1919; p. 13.

18. C. Gimson, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1919-1920; p. 13.

schools, in the main valley - 8 were Madrassas, two were Tols and one Girls' School. The cost of education in the State was about Rs. 50,150/-, of which about Rs. 5,595/- was on account of Hill School and was charged to 'Hill-Tribes'.

1921-1922: By 1922, the Lower Primary Schools had come upto 94. Of these, 73 were in the valley, one in Jiribam and 20 in the Hill areas. The number of Madrassas increased to 9. The Lower Primary education was made free but not compulsory. During the year, the total number of Lower Primary School's children were 6,044 boys and 25 girls. The three Upper Primary Schools at Imphal received boys who have passed the Lower Primary examination. Boys who passed the Upper Primary examination were eligible for admission to the Middle English classes of the Johnstone School.¹⁹ Total expenditure incurred by the State on education during the year was Rs. 62,966/-, of which Rs. 7,031 was spent on Hill Education.

1923-1924: During this period, the State had now 102 Lower Primary Schools, where there were 6,260 boys and 23 girls in all on the roll as on March 31, 1924. There was no change in the number of Schools in the valley and at Jiribam the school made no progress during the ten years' of its existence. The number of Upper Primary Schools at Imphal remained the same.

19. C.S. Mullan, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1921-22; p. 17.

1925-1926: The Lower Primary Schools increased to 107 during the year under administration report. Of these 74 Lower Primary Schools were in the valley where 9 were Madrasahs, 2 were Sanskrit Tols and a Girls' School. In the Hills there were 32 Lower Primary Schools. In the North East and South West Hill Subdivisions, certain schools were closed down on account of poor attendance, but others were opened in villages where there was a desire for education. In the North West Subdivision, attendance was good in all the Schools and two schools were opened during the year.²⁰

1927-28: The number of Lower Primary Schools maintained by the State Govt. was 127. However of these 77 were in the valley, 45 were in the Hills and 5 in Jiribam settlement. Out of the 77, Lower Primary Schools in the valley, 9 were Madrasahs, 3 were Sanskrit Tols and a Girls' School. Regarding Hill education, it was under the control and administration of the President of the Manipur State Darbar, and the Subdivisional Officers, who visited them during their tours. In the valley, education was under the supervision of an Education Member of the State Darbar. In the South West and North East Hill Subdivisions, many schools were closed down on account of poor attendance and opened only in villages, where the people showed some desire for education. In the North West Subdivision, the Kukis continued to show their enthusiasm for education, but the interest taken by the

20. C.B. Crawford, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1925-26; p. 18.

Kabuis in education is definitely on the decline. For the first time, one school was opened in a Kacha-Naga village in this Subdivision.²¹

1929-1930: There was a decrease in the State Lower Primary Schools during the year, that is, 122 as against 127 in the previous year. There were 77 Lower Primary Schools in the valley, 40 were in the Hill areas and 5 in Jiribam. The number of Upper Primary Schools in the valley remained the same.

1931-1932: In the valley areas of Manipur, His Highness, the Maharaja of Manipur, held incharge of the education during the year. The Deputy Inspector of Schools toured and inspected both Upper and Lower Primary Schools in the valley moreover, he was assisted by two sub-Inspectors. Of the 78 Lower Primary Schools in the valley, 10 were Madrassas, whereas, others were same as the previous years. During the year under administration report, emphasis on girls education was made and girls' school was encouraged to be opened by private enterprise, important among them were at Wahengbam Leikai, Kwakalthel, Heirangkhoithong and Chingakham Leikai etc.

(In 1924, the Manipuri language (in Bengali script) was recognised for the Matriculation examination by the University of Calcutta. Since that time, text books for the Upper and Lower Primary standard upto the Matriculation were

21. A.G. McCall, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1927-1928; p. 20.

printed. Primary education was imparted through the medium of Manipuri. /

Hill-Schools: Education in the Hills was that, the villagers erected their own school buildings and the State supplied ordinary school furnitures, books, slates, etc. During the year under Report, 47 Lower Primary Schools were in the Hill areas. There were two State Upper Primary Schools in the Hill areas. 'One at Mao and the other at Ukhrul but both were closed down owing to a change of policy where in its place one large (Upper Primary School) was opened in Imphal at Hoirangkhom.'²² And for that accommodation, scholarships were given to students.

1933-34: The valley had 85 Lower Primary Schools, out of which 19 were in Imphal, 61 were in villages in the valley area and 5 in Jiribam. Out of the total Lower Primary Schools, 3 were Sanskrit Tols, 3 were Girls' School, 10 Madrassas and one Hindi School. During the year the teaching of English was introduced in the Lower Primary Schools. There were 3 Upper Primary Schools all situated in Imphal.

Hills: In the Hill areas there were 52 Lower Primary Schools including the Chinga School at Imphal for Hill-boys (students). Educationally the Kabuis and the Kacha Nagas were behind the Kukis and Tangkhuls. (The Ukhrul Lower Primary School included

22. Captain C.W.L. Harvey, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1931-32; p. 15.

practical agriculture as one of the subjects in the curriculum. There were two Hill Upper Primary Schools. One was the Chinga Hill School at Imphal and the other was at Ukhrul. In 1933, the original Ukhrul Upper Primary School was reopened in response to an urgent demand from a large section of the Tangkhuls who did not wish to send their children to the American Mission Upper Primary School at Ukhrul.²³⁾

1934-1935: His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur held charge of the education department. The total expenditure of education in the valley was Rs. 50,250/-. The valley had 85 Lower Primary Schools out of which 23 were in Imphal, 57 were in villages, in the valley and 5 in Jiribam. There were 3 Upper Primary Schools, all situated in Imphal. Also there was one State aided Girls' School (Sagolband) which was managed by private Committee of 7. In the Hills, the State had 62 Lower Primary Schools which were distributed as follows:²⁴

<u>SADAR</u>	<u>UKHRUL</u>	<u>TAMENGLONG</u>
1 Mixed (Chinga)	1 Mixed (Ukhrul)	1 Mixed (Tamenglong)
1 Chothe	9 Tangkhul	9 Kuki
3 Kuki	2 Kuki	3 Kabui
11 Mao	1 Maring	3 Kacha Naga
11 Maram	2 Anal	
1 Maring		
1 Kabui		
1 Prum		
1 Kom		

23. G.P. Stewart, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1933-1934; p. 30.

24. G.P. Stewart, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1934-1935; p. 34.

1938-1939: The Education Standing Committee held 5 meetings. There were 88 Primary Schools in the valley out of those 3 were Upper Primary Schools, 68 were Boys' Lower Primary Schools, 4 Girls' Schools, 3 Sanskrit Tols, and 10 Madrassas. During the year under administration report, the Mantripukhri Hindu School was converted into a Manipuri School. 'All the Sanskrit Tols are situated in Imphal. The State maintains a centre for the Assam Sanskrit examinations and so the 3 State Tols, the Tol in the British Reserve and some private Pandits prepare candidates for the Assam Sanskrit Board's various examinations.²⁵ The Madrassas Lower Primary Schools' examination were examined in Mohammedan subjects. In the Hills, there were 60 Primary Schools. In the West Subdivision (Temenglong area) there were 17 Lower Primary Schools and 1 Upper Primary School.

1940-41: The valley had by this year, 90 Primary Schools. In the 3 Upper Primary Schools, small tuition fees were levied from the students. The Hill areas too have 3 Upper Primary Schools, one in each subdivision, and 28 Lower Primary Schools in and 32 village Schools.

1943-44: There was a decrease in the number of Primary schools in the valley which totals upto 89, out of these 3 were Upper Primary Schools, 73 were Boys' Lower Primary Schools, 2 Girls' Schools, 10 Madrassas and a Tol. The

25. E.F. Lydall, Administration Report (1938-39), p.22.

Madrassas in the valley which provide for Muslim boys and girls exclusively, include in the curricula, a course in Islamic language in addition to those for Lower Primary Schools. General education in Primary schools were free but in Upper Primary Schools, small tuition fees were charged. In the Hills, education was seriously interfered with by the Japanese Army during the Great World War II in the State of Manipur.

1944-45: The State Darbar Member held charge of the Education Department. During the year, three meetings of the education Standing Committees were held and the number of schools, functioning in the valley during the year were 87. During the year most of the schools were destroyed due to air-raid and military occupation in both the Plains and Hills of Manipur because of the fierce fighting between the Japanese and British forces. So, education was carried on in private houses which were being paid for by the State. In the Hills, schools were however, re-opened only when the Japanese had withdrawn from the State of Manipur.

"During 1946, yet Education received a set back as in the previous years thousands of people were evicted from their homes by the Army and many schools buildings were occupied. Buildings which have been occupied by the Army are rarely fit for use when vacated and reconstruction will take time.²⁶

26. Political Department, Political Branch; 1946. File No. 13(11), p./46, Nos. 1-2.

PART - IIMIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND HIGH SCHOOLS - (1906-1947)

Education in Manipur was very slow in comparison to other Native Princely States of British India. The progress was far behind that even the first of its kind was established in 1885 by Major Johnstone, the Political Agent in Manipur. So, till 1906-1907, the only Middle School was the Johnstone School at Imphal. Apart from the general education imparted in the Schools, gymnastics had been added to the subjects taught and for that an instructor, a Naik from the 16th Rajputs Regiment was brought to the school, for physical training.

1907-08: The former schools (Johnstone School) was extended by adding two new wings because of the increase of students on the roll. In this year, a new system of paying fees was introduced. Another important school, the "Bengali School" was established by Colonel Maxwell. Its total cost of maintenance during the year was Rs. 756/- while, amount realised as school fees was Rs. 231/-. During the year, the First Technical School in the State was opened in 1908. In the valley, education was under the general control of Education Member of the Darbar. But inspection was done by Inspector of Schools. Whereas, in the Hills, it was controlled by the Vice-President of the State Darbar.

1909-10: During the year, the Member of Middle English Schools had increased to 3. They were, namely, the Johnstone

School at Imphal, the Bengali School at Imphal and the Ukhrul School in the Tangkhul Hill Area. The previously established Technical School was closed down due to the non-availability of suitable trained teachers and few students on the roll etc. The Johnstone Middle English School taught upto the High School standard.

From 1911 till 1920, under administration reports, of the State Durbar, the number of Middle Schools remained the same at the same places. However, in 1916 a new Middle School for Girls was opened with about 22 girls on the roll. The Lady Earle Girls' School was meant mainly for the girls of the Bengali Community in the State.

(Regarding expenditures of the Middle School education, the Valleys were maintained mainly with grant-in-aid from the State budgets and partly fees from the pupils. However, the only Middle School in the Hill at Ukhrul, North-East of the State, which was maintained with grant-in-aid from the Govt. and also a portion was borne by the American Baptist Mission Society.) Boys in the valley were trained in physical exercises and gymnastics as part of the curriculum apart from formal education. The Lady Earle Girls' School was maintained mainly by the grant-in-aid from the State and partly by School fees.

In 1920, regarding expenditure on Bengali Middle School a subscription was raised for the school. Another striking important factor was that even the Ukhrul Middle School which was supported with the help of the American Baptist Mission also ceased during the year.

1921-22: During this year under administration report, there was a School at Imphal, named the Johnstone Middle English School from 1885-1920. But with the growth and development of higher education in Imphal and elsewhere, the Johnstone Middle English School had been formally extended and recognized by the Calcutta University as Johnstone High English School upto the Matriculation standard in 1922. 'Mr. Phillipotts, the Head Master has endeavoured to encourage the playing of games and the school sports held during the year were a great success.'

Regarding the maintenance of schools, the Johnstone School, the Ukhrul School and Lady Earle School were all maintained with the help of State grant-in-aid and School fees collected from the pupils. But for Bengali Middle School, it got two small grants, one from the State government and the other from the Town Fund, moreover, a monthly subscription was raised by the Bengali Community to supplement the income from School fees.

1923-1925: The only High School in the State was the Johnstone High School. Other Middle Schools were, namely, the Bengali School, the Ukhrul Mission School and in 1926 another Middle School came up at Kangpokpi called the Kangpokpi Middle School. The Bengali School follows the curriculum prescribed for the Middle English Schools in Assam. Whereas, the Ukhrul School and the Kangpokpi Schools followed a course which closely approximate to the Middle English standard in the highest

classes. The Ukhrul School taught only upto the 5th standard.)

"Vernacular": "Since the time when the Johnstone School was founded between 1877-1886, by Major General Sir James Johnstone, Education until then had been imparted through the medium of the Bengali Language. However, in the year 1924, the Manipuri language was at last recognized for the Matriculation Examination by the University of Calcutta. All the Text Books for the Upper and Lower Primary Standards upto the Matriculation are now in the process of being printed and all primary education throughout the State will now be imparted through the medium of Manipuri."²⁷

1927-28: The number of High Schools and the Middle Schools were the same as in the previous years. There was a well equipped gymnasium at the Johnstone School for that a Gymnastic Instructor was employed. In the middle schools, curriculum, physical education was also included. The Boy Scout movement which had started some two or three years' back made good progress during the year, which came under administration report and an expedition into 'Camp' was successfully undertaken with arrangements made by Rajkumar Bodh Chandra Singh, Scout Leader. His Highness the Maharaja visited this camp.

Manipuri language (in Bengali script) had become one of the recognized vernaculars for the Matriculation examination. Although regular teaching were essential but for want

27. Captain C.W.L., Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1931-32, p. 42.

of suitable books, the pupils found it difficult to make speedy progress. Its introduction in the schools entails with it the question of its introduction in Arts course for the University examination, and that was not possible without suitable Manipuri literature. To solve the various problems in connection with the public instruction in Manipuri, the Darbar during the year under administration report sanctioned the formation of a Standing Committee on Education Matters with the Education Member as Chairman.

1929-30: As in the previous year, the Standing Committee on Education Affairs continued especially in connection with the decisions concerning payment for copyright and payments for translation of foreign books into the vernacular for adoption in the curricula of State Schools. As a Sub-Committee to the Darbar it performed a useful work to the State.

At the Kangpokpi Middle School, the Mission intended to introduce any teaching and books necessary to ensure entry into the Johnstone High School when such a course was desired by any of the Mission pupils. Boys who passed the Upper Primary examination, were eligible for admission to Middle English Schools.

(During the year 1930, the Mission schools at Kangpokpi and Ukhrul were maintained again by the Mission with the assistance of a State grant. The amount spent on these schools by the State during the year was Rs. 1,704/-).

1931-32: Then only Official High School was the Johnstone High School, situated in the British Reserve and managed by a Committee of which the Political Agent is the Secretary. In addition to the pupils' fees, the State contributed a sum of Rs. 7,380/- towards the maintenance of the school, while it also received a grant-in-aid of Rs. 50/- per month from the Government of India and another sum of Rs. 50/- per month from the Govt. of Assam for a period of 5 years, beginning from 1927. The school had 325 pupils and inspected by an Inspector of schools of Assam Government and later on it was affiliated to the University of Calcutta.

There was a private High School, known as the 'Manipur Institution' in Imphal. The School received no grants-in-aid but managed by private enterprise. The school received provisional recognition by the Calcutta University during the year. In this period, the only separate Middle School was the Bengali School. But in addition to that, both the Johnstone High School and the Manipur Institution were also imparted Middle English classes in their respective schools. The number of boys getting admission were limited and selected only from those who passed the State Upper Primary Examination. As for female education, a move to create interest and to encourage Girls' Schools to be opened by private enterprise was emphasised during the period.

1933-34: His Excellency, Sir Michael Keane, Governor of Assam, visited Manipur. His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur

held charge of Education in the valley. The total expenditure on education during the year was Rs. 51,616/- . The education Standing Committee held four meetings. Apart from Bengali Middle School, there was also one Middle English Girls' School in Imphal known as the Lady Earle Girls' School. The two recognised High Schools in the State were the Johnstone High School and the Manipur Institution, which was renamed as the Churachand Institution in March, 1934.

1934-35: The Bengali School had extended upto class VII of the Matriculation standard. Other Middle English Schools were, namely, Lady Earle Girls' School, two un-aided boys' schools like the Ramlal Pal and Narsingh.

The Johnstone High School was managed by a Committee of 5, the Political Agent who was the Secretary and the President and one Darbar Member were in the Committee. The State contributed Rs. 5,000/- annually moreover it received grant-in-aid of Rs. 45/- per month from the Government of India and Rs. 50/- per month from the Assam Government.

The Churachand High School was managed by a Committee of 9, one of whom was nominated by the Darbar. It received a grant of Rs. 1,000/- from the valley budget and also a grant at the rate of one rupee per Hill Tribe Student per mensem from the Hill Budget as it receives Hill students into the Institution upto 25% of its capacity. There were also two other un-aided High Schools and one of them was the Manipuri Girls' High School. Scholarships were given to bright and

brilliant students to pursue for further studies outside the State, for example, to Assam and Bengal.

1935-1939: His Highness, the Maharaja of Manipur, held charge of the Education Department. During the period, a number of Schools were opened and recognized by the Government. With the rapid growth of primary education, naturally a need for higher education was demanded. So, by the end of the year 1939, two categories of Middle Schools type in the State were found representing Government aided schools and un-aided schools.

The Government aided schools were, namely, Middle English Bengali Girls' School, Lady Earle Girls' School and also the Bengali High School and the Johnstone High School, which have Middle Classes in their own respective premises. Also for boys, there were the Nambol School and the Faizia Middle English Madrassa. There were also two un-aided Middle English Boys's Schools, namely, the Ramial Pal and the Narsingh Boys' Middle School. During the period, so far under administration Report, there were about four High schools, out of which one was the Girls' High School.

The High Schools were: (1) The Johnstone High School, (2) The Churachand High School, (3) The Bengali High School and (4) The Tamphasana Girls' High School. All were located in the Imphal valley.

The managing committee of the Churachand High School in 1939 was only six members, two of whom were nominated by the

Darbar. It received a grant-in-aid of Rs. 12/- per Hill Tribe student per year from the budget. It was a recognized High School. The Bengali High School was granted (provisional recognition) for two years that *were* 1938 and 1939, by the Calcutta University. It was managed by a Committee of nine, two of whom were nominated by the Darbar, one by the Commandant of the 4th Assam Rifles, one by the Political Agent, The State granted Rs. 40/- per month; Rs. 345/- per year from the Imperial Government; Rs. 20/- per month from the Imphal Town Fund. The Tamphasana Girls' High School was founded in 1935 and till 1939, it was the only Girls' High School in Manipur. In 1936, the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, granted it provisional recognition and the State gave grant-in-aid of Rs. 150/-. It was managed by a Committee of 12, two of whom were Darbar Members.

1940-41: In 1940-41, the number of Middle Schools (4) remained the same as in the preceding years. The Nambol Middle English school had 48 boys on the roll, whereas, the Faizia M.E.Madrassa had 91 pupils. During the year "a Kanchipur Polytechnic School started by Sjt. A.C. Singh of Imphal with the help of local subscription. A Committee of five and the State made a grant-in-aid of Rs. 30/- per month to the School. There were nine teachers with 191 pupils on the roll. The curriculum apart from the general studies consists of weaving, basket making and tailoring etc."²⁸

28. E.F. Sydall, Administration Report (1940-41) of the Manipur State, p. 17.

1943-44: During the year, as the Second World War was going on and both the Japanese and the British were also having being fighting a very bitter war in the State of Manipur, there were hardly few schools, which functioned for namesake at private residences, since the school buildings were under military occupation. As the Faizia Middle English Madrassa was occupied by the Army and so education was carried on in the Kherogao Lower Primary Madrassa school house. The Madrassa received a grant of Rs. 20/- from the State and Rs. 30/- from the Assam Government. The Kanchipur Polytechnic School carried on in a temporary shed with six teachers.

The Johnstone High School classes were held at the Head Master's residence at Khagenpak because the proper school building was occupied by the Army and R.A.F. The Managing Committee were, Political Agent as ex-officio Chairman and Secretary, the President of the Darbar, one Darbar Member, the Head Master and one teacher. (In the Hills, education came to^a halt due to the war in the areas, as even fierce fighting between the Japanese and the British forces took place at Mao-Naga Hills between the Manipur border and the Naga Hills near Khuzama.)

1944-1945: During the year, the State Darbar Member was in-charge of the Department and the Education Standing Committee held three meetings. The two Middle English Schools that functioned were, the Nambol School and the Faizia Middle English School. The Kanchipur Polytechnic School continued to be

housed in a private school and provides for teaching of such technical subjects as, carpentry, basket making, envelope making, embroidery etc.²⁹

The other high schools were the Johnstone High School and the Churachand High School, although the names of the schools were there, but their education was imparted at private sheds with very few pupils, teachers and less curriculum.

In the post World War II[†] and with the defeat of the Japanese and the subsequent victory of the British in the war, which ultimately brought about the educational system almost completely came to a turmoiled condition,

in Manipur during the war-period in particular. Also the war psychosis constantly prevailed then, deeply in the minds of the peoples of Manipur during this period and that proper administration was not at all feasible or possible in a dynamic and progressive manner. During the period 1946-47, the Govt. of India was very busy with the British government for the transfer of power to India on 15th August 1947 and as such the central government in Delhi could not pay special attention towards Manipur Education in particular. On the other hand, the Hill Tribals (like the Naga Independent Movement, and also the Mizo *Social* Movement), were developing which brought about Manipur Education problem in a

29. F.F. Pearson, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1944-45; p. 21.

complex and disturbed manner, even until the Merger instrument with the Union of India, which was signed in 1949. And thus, in the post-Independent era, that is after the India's Independence on 15th August 1947, a new development of educational horizon dawned upon Manipur with the rest of India. The joyous enthusiasm of the people of Manipur are great and the growth of educational institutions are increasing alongwith the quality of education.

CHAPTER - III

CONTRIBUTION OF THE MISSIONARIES TOWARDS EDUCATION

(Manipur became a semi-independent native state ruled by a Maharaja under British protection, at the time of the arrival of Christian Missionaries. The Missionary's request for opening a Mission-Centre, had to wait on the decisions of the State Darbar and the good-offices of the British Political Agents at Imphal. In the Princely State of Manipur, the Valley was surrounded by the Hills mostly inhabited by the Naga Tribes and Kookies or Kukis, where the British power exerted some influence through its political agents.)

Originally it is said that the Meiteis migrated from the Hills and they were having good relations with the Hill people till "the emergence of Hinduism as the principal religion of the Meitheis by a royal edict in 1705".¹ Thus, Hinduism or Vaishnavism was introduced by a Saint named Shantidas who came from Bengal to the valley of Manipur and with this religion the Bengali script came into being in Manipur and the script was introduced into the schools later on. (As the Maharaja of Manipur and his followers were converted to Hinduism, a new Hindu culture was formed in the Valley of Manipur and the traditional ways of life was changed rapidly and the consequence was that the good relation between the Hill peoples and the plain peoples were

1. James Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IX, p. 427.

cut off,) thinking that the so-called traditional ways of life would be ruined. The Hindu Caste system was also imposed upon the Meiteis and barred those Tribals from them as untouchables. {So in course of time, two-sections of people gradually evolved in Manipur, one was in the Plain-Valley and the other was in the Hills of Manipur. And yet before the conversion of the major population of the Valley into Hinduism, the only difference between the valley people and the Hillmen was that of language and facilities of communication and agriculture. There was understanding and tolerance which bound the two major sections of the population in spite of their differences.)

So a new dawn of orthodoxy and conservatism arose in the valley of Manipur. The society began to be based not on merit or talent, but on the hierarchical order of castes and sub-castes of "the numerous castes the most dominant was the Kshatriya to which the bulk of the Meitheis professed to belong."² The Rajkumars, Bishnupriya Manipuris and Brahmans belonged to the upper classes. At the lowest strain were the Lois and Keis. "Prima facia, the caste system in Manipur seemed to be rigid. In reality, it was the opposite, for instance, the inhabitants of a village could be elevated en masse to that of Hindus of pure castes".³ "If the Raja chose any person could at any time receive the sacred thread

2. W.W. Hunter, The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IX; p. 328.

3. James Johnstone, Manipur and Naga Hills; p. 84.

of the twice born castes, and on payment of a small sum of money be admitted as a Hindu and thereforth called Kshatriya".⁴ "Another striking fact is that the Meiteis do not accept the Supremacy of the Brahmins",⁵ who are generally at the apex of the caste ridden Hindu Society. "The continued existence of the earlier faith is another peculiar feature which enables one to study the process by which in Hinduism animism is tempered by metaphysics".⁶

Closely linked with the divisive policy of administration which ran the Hill-territory on different lines from that of the Valley was the social policy of the government. ^(cf. text) They used the services of the Christian Missionaries in furthering the cause of their administration in the Hills with a view to pacifying them the ideology of Christianity. The colonial administration indirectly encouraged Missionary activities in the Hills. Absence of a caste system, lack of inhibitions in respect of food and drink and social mixing and equality of sexes were the institutional framework of their society or established social customs. "The Hill-societies evolved effective institutions for regulating their own social life. The most important among them were the village councils and the Morungs or Dormitories for the young

4. Ibid., p. 84.

5. J. Hastings, Op.cit., p. 84.

6. Ibid., p. 402.

unmarried men - some tribes had separate Dormitory System for unmarried girls".⁷ In short, "the Morungs are Guard-houses, Recreation Clubs, centres of Education, art and discipline and have an important ceremonial purpose".⁸ The village Councils composed of elders who had both judicial and executive powers. They settled disputes of a social or religious character arising among individuals or families in the village. The specific character, composition and methods of functioning of these councils varied from Tribe to Tribe and sometimes from village to village, but in each case they represented the effort of the society to evolve a machinery for efficient self-government.

"The lines of social classification were mainly based on age, physical and social maturity."⁹ "Ownership of land denote command over wealth and therefore, provided an important basis for social stratification. However, land was not the only criterion on which one's status or position in a society was judged. Ownership of Mithun and Cattles commanded respect in their society and also provided a stock of wealth which could be used in exchange."¹⁰

Thus, the societies in the Hill villages and the central Valley of Manipur presented a contrasting picture,

7. Elwin, "Nagaland", p. 18.

8. Ibid., p. 8.

9. James Hastings, Op.cit., p. 123.

10. Govt. Report, Nagaland; Techno-economic Survey of Nagaland. p. 16.

largely due to the impact of Hinduism in the Valley of the Meitei Society and Christianity in Hills of the Nagas and Kukis. As a result of this artificial differences in their social set-up, the people tended to form social incommunicability around themselves. "The Meiteis began to adopt a holier-than-thou attitude towards the Hill communities. This repulsive attitude naturally embittered their social relations. Finally doubts and fears centred around entirely different sets of situations and quickly developed into blind alleys in mutual communications".¹¹⁾

(In this manner the British understood the whole social anomaly and it was their unconcealed policy to use the Hindu orthodoxy as a powerful instrument for keeping the population divided at the roots.) (With the coming of the British rule the difference was given a more prominent stamp through their divide and rule policy. It is needless to point out how much the British Govt. through their policies and the conduct of individual officers encouraged sectarianism and orthodoxy in the Valley of Manipur). On any slight pretext they magnified the 'ISM' to push the people poles apart. "To worsen the situation, the British intensified their administration and ran the Hill-territory on different lines from that of the Valley."¹²⁾ Moreover, the process of isolationism of the Hill

11. B.K. Roy Barman, Modernisation Processes in the Hills of North-East India. (Journal of the Institute of Defence strategy; Jan. 1970; p. 8).

12. Foreign and Political Department Proceedings; April 1908, External-A; Nos. 2-5.

people gained rocketing speed under the Imperial rule. (The tribal religion/tradition was uncontaminated by any, before the advent of the British administration in Manipur. So it was the work of the pioneering Missionaries sometimes at great personal risks and sacrifices, ventured into the wilds of Manipur-Hills and established lone Mission Centres and thus proselytisation process was established. The simple folks were taught the ways of Heaven and Hell through the Bible, which attracted the innocent Tribals as they found easy reach for conversion to Christianity and to go to Heaven after their earthly life rather than remaining in their animistic ways of life and go to Hell after their death. Every converted home was required to learn the Bible Gospel message and prayers etc. and so the necessity of learning developed through primary education.) In this way the tactful British Administrators with their policy of 'Divide and Rule' could easily win over the Tribal minds one by one to their administrative fold.

(The Missionary activities flourished in the Hill areas of the State since it was firstly objected by the Meitei people of the Valley as their religion was Hinduism. But then "it must be remembered that there were hardly any welfare activities of the government in the Tribal areas when the Missionaries started their works. The government expenditure on them was less than one-quarter of the amount they paid in taxes between the years 1891-1918. The actual number of

Christians rose from zero in 1891, and 45 in 1901 to 10401 in 1931.¹³)

(Missionaries made their impact mostly through evangelism, education, and medical relief works. Their personal salvation which in its turn introduced a new Individualism, in place of the former community spirit. The real beginnings of Missionary enterprise on an organised scale may practically be said to have been made in the early present century.) The benefits of civilization were slow in coming but come they did.) The pace of the change was made by the arrival of the Christian Missionaries from the West. Yet they had to face difficulties and bear on the sort of life that was liked in the Hills. They had to work-out a method by which the old customs and traditions could be adapted to suit the new faith which they were offering. Since religion was so intertwined with life at every step and stage that elimination of old customs, festivals, sacrifices, traditional dancing and singing and taboos etc. almost meant changing the whole manner of the Hillmen's life. Nevertheless, (although it claimed many that was familiar to, yet it promised much more that 'Good' not only for their soul but also for their earthly needs. There can be no two opinions however that the early Christian Missionaries earned and deserved the gratu- tudes of these Tribes, to whom they brought a humanistic

13. M. Bhattacharya, Gazetteer of India (Manipur), p.133.

religion and modern civilization in place of Tribal primitive ways of life. These Missionaries also studied the local dialects, invented an alphabet and translated the "Gospel" tracts and Christian Hymns into local languages and brought about educational reforms to the Tribal people. This cured the latter of their cruel customs like Head-hunting and inculcated in them western and Christian concepts of life and ethics. In this connection, David Scott, the first Political Officer of the North-East Frontier had felt the necessity of educating the tribes "for nothing permanently good can be obtained by other means".¹⁴ In this way, succeeding Administrators from their intimate knowledge of the tribes were all convinced that only "Christianity could change their primitive ways of life, raise their scale of civilization and render their country important".¹⁵) On the result of the amazing transforming power of the Bible Gospel among the Tribes, Mr. Pudaite, interestingly commented as follows: "They had been savage and uncivilized people but now they were counted among the rank and file of civilized society of earth. They had once been filled with fear and frustration but now with friendliness and assurance of life".¹⁶

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14. J.B. Bhattacharjee, The Garos and the English, p.217.
 15. S.K. Barpujari, Early Christian Mission in the Naga Hills (Journal of Indian History, Vol. 48, 1970), p. 427.
 16. Pudaite, Rochunga, Education of the Hmar People; pp. 67-68.

Education and evangelisation always worked simultaneously. As the Missionaries were carrying out their Educational programmes, at its full swing, the Hill people got only half-an education ⁱⁿ the subsidised Mission schools, throughout the British period ^{which} were almost entirely of middle English standard. "The schools were aimed primarily at religious instructions or intensification of the propagation of Christian teachings. The people were taught the three 'R's in preparation of Bible reading and for their daily religious exercises".¹⁷

In this connection, it can clearly be said that "the Primary objective of the Mission was to collect good preachers. Their teachings were based on religion and literature. The general standard of knowledge remained quite low. The Hill students even today are generally weak in Mathematics, natural sciences and abstract philosophy".¹⁸ Real education was not imparted to them and whatever was done, was to suit the convenience of the Imperial power of Britain. Thus, all the educational activities of the Christian Missionaries in Manipur were conducted within the framework of the colonial structure. Practically, no hospital or medical services, even on the extremely modest scale in which these exist over the rest of British India, were extended to the people. Had it not been for the Missionaries the pace of the spread of

17. Ibid, p. 73.

18. ^{S. Chaubey} Hill Politics in North East India; p. 42.

modern education among the Hill-people might have been much slower. But they were concerned with education only so far as it subserves their chief purpose and 'the essential thing in all mission education is the creation of a Christian atmosphere in its institutions'.¹⁹)

(James Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur appealed for the introduction of a regular system of education, including religious instruction under a competent clergyman of the Church of England. The earliest converts underwent untold persecutions for embracing the new faith of Christianity. But conditions quickly changed. The people afterwards perceived to constructive results of education and came forward to assist the Mission by donating land and rendering free labour and materials for the buildings.) The parents wished that their children acquired the right knowledge and that their character was moulded on sound lines. There were two Foreign Christian Missions, working in the adjoining areas of Manipur, namely

- (a) The Welsh Presbyterian Mission at Aijal (Mizoram . . .)
- and (b) The American Baptist Mission at Kohima (. . . Nagaland).

(The American Baptist Mission became involved in Manipur by accident, which they considered as a fortunate. Although they thought about the area as not a potential field and yet within less than ten years they had annexed it.)

19. Anderson Whitehead, Christian Education in India, p. 7.

(In 1890-91, the year in which the Maharaja Surachandra Singh was forced to abdicate the throne of Manipur and during that time a young English Missionary named William Pettigrew arrived in Bengal, under the sponsorship of a Private Society - 'the Arthington Aborigines Mission' - a member of the Church of England. He remained an Anglican, however and continued to serve under the Arthington Mission which apparently had no objection to this action. He began to take interest in the Manipuri-Meiteis, some of whom he had met in Cachar, learned their language and found a way of entering Manipur. So, Pettigrew entered Manipur as a Missionary of the Arthington Aborigines' Mission in 1894. But later on joined the American Baptist Mission. "The Mission application in December to the Acting Political Agent, Mr. Porteous for permission to enter Manipur as Missionary was consented to by the latter without consulting higher authorities".²⁰) Because of his views on Baptism, he contacted the American Baptist Mission at Kohima who were already working among the Nagas in the Naga Hills outside Manipur territory.

(In January 1896, Pettigrew's application to be appointed as Missionary of the American Baptist Mission in Manipur was accepted. "In the same month, the Executive Committee of the American Baptists in Boston, U.S.A., decided to take over the work of Manipur which had been vacated by the

20. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings, Jan. 1895; Secret-E; No. 25, p. 2.

Arthington Aborigine's Mission".²¹ Pettigrew started Lower Primary School in Imphal with an attendance of 80 boys. Actually all he really did was providing tuition for the children of Government officials, wrote a primer and grammar. He was allowed to carry on for only six months. He thought that his call was among the plain-valley people but objections had been raised concerning his preaching which caused a great alarm to the local authorities. Pettigrew made the necessary preparations for advancing western education through which he hoped to Christianise the Meiteis. To Christian Missionaries, western system of education formed preparation for evangelism. But the Hindu-Meiteis interpreted Rev. Pettigrew's activities as a deliberate attempt to teach them the "Government-Religion"-Christianity. The British Authorities not wishing to antagonize the orthodox Hindu Manipuries would not permit Missionary activity in the State. Consequently Major Maxwell, the Political Agent took an alarming view of the situation. After "returning from Furlough, considering the sentiment of the people and the Darbar, forbade Pettigrew to preach among the Hindu Meiteis of the Imphal Valley."²²

Because it would mean to wage war against the so-called State political stability given the choice between political stability and Christian proselytism, the British definitely preferred the former. The peculiar position in which the

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21. Assam Mission Conference: February 11-19, 1899; p.50. 5th Session; Dibrugarh, Assam.
22. Foreign and Political Deptt. Proceedings; July 1894; Secret-E; No. 26; p. 3.

British were put to administer the State on behalf of the Minor Raja for some years did not allow them to interfere with the religion which occupied so much of their Meiteis time and attention.

More important, (the policy of British India towards the Princely States after the 'Great Revolt of 1857', particularly in matters of religion, was apparently "Non-interference or strict neutrality".) Any departure from such policy according to C.J. Tyall, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, would very likely be seized upon by Hindus in Bengal and elsewhere as a ground for an attack upon the Government and also be construed as a breach of so-called *atta*'neutrality'. Thus insofar as the Hindu Manipuris were concerned, the British decided to maintain the status-quo and Major Maxwell, had to serve the ultimatum. (This Missionary work in Manipur was thus closely linked with the political interest of the Colonial rulers, where Christian proselytism was considered to sustain colonial occupation in the hill-territory, for instance, Rev. Pettigrew was recommended to work among Hill-Tribe~~s~~ of Tangkhul, if he was to remain in the State which were directly under their administration,

"But with the understanding that the British Government cannot guarantee him safe conduct owing to the unsettled state in which these Tribes live".²³ Accordingly, Pettigrew toured

23. Ibid. P. 3.

the Tangkhul area of Manipur and finally decided Ukhrul for his Mission Centre in 1895. In Feb. 1896, with his wife Alice, began their life long work in Ukhrul. This, however, did not totally open to the Naga areas in Manipur to the American Baptist Mission. The Maharaja's Darbar was very firm on the resolution that no further Mission station would be opened in the State.²⁴ So this resolution was binding on the Mao-Naga Hill areas till 1927 in the form of white Missionaries being forbidden to visit the area.²⁵ Therefore, the Christian proselytization in this area was carried on by Native evangelists from the neighbouring Tangkhul Hill areas. The Mao-Naga Area, northernmost part of the state of Manipur (bordering the states of Manipur and Nagaland), was considered as of strategic importance to the Government. The Mission was not free to choose its area of operation, and the final decision lay with the British Officials.

Pettigrew being settled at Ukhrul (North East of the State of Manipur) opened a School there. But then it was one thing to declare a School open and quite another to get students. However, the officials not only gave grants but also interfered in the day-to-day administration on functioning of the Mission Schools. In this he was assisted by Major Maxwell, the then British Political Agent of Manipur, who was

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24. Supplement of the minutes of the American Baptist Mission Conference. Feb. 17-24, 1916; 14th Session; Nowgong, Assam. p. 12.
25. American Baptist Mission Conference Report. Nov. 23-Dec. 1, 1927; 25th Session; Golaghat, Assam, p. 60.

once on tour in the Hills, helped the Missionary, Pettigrew, by threatening the villagers of Ukhrul with dire consequences (e.g., to be severely caned or sent to jail), if their boys were found absent from School on his return. Such attitudes and collaborations from the servants of the Government certainly helped the Mission to take roots.

In February 1897, about 20 boys got enrolled to the Ukhrul Mission School. A report on the Ukhrul School stated that quite six weeks were spent in persuading the villagers to send their boys to the School. 'Despite the support of Major Maxwell, the early years at Ukhrul were difficult ones the boys were undisciplined and refused to remain at their studies for any long period of time. The Missionaries were continually being cheated and troubled in other ways by the local inhabitants'.²⁶ Progress was slow at first and setbacks were frequent. Earlier some had gone to the extent of demanding payments for the valuable time their children spent in the School, besides, exemption ~~from~~ from tuition fees. Enforcing discipline was another problem. A class room would fall empty in-seconds, when the call of a barking deer (animal) was heard. Sending girls to School was unthinkable then, as they asked who would work in the fields and look after the household-chores, such as: to fetch water, cutting and carrying fire-wood, cooking, pounding and husking of rice and carrying paddy from the far off fields and so on.

26. F.S. Downs, 'The Mighty Works of God', p. 80.

(Further, associations of the Missionaries with the Colonial power advanced the prospects of Mission expansion. Implementation of the government policies enabled the Missionaries associated with the administration to tour large areas in the interior parts of the State. Colonial administration in Manipur permitted them as paid government servants, full access into the interior areas which was used profitably to spread Christianity beyond the area allowed to them by the government as Missionaries. ("Missionaries were not reluctant to identify with the government. They made use of government Inspection Bungalows, a privilege which they learned to appreciate, visit tea-planters, government officials, and generally act like Sahibs".²⁷) It was also not unnatural to take service under colonial administration.

(Rev. William Pettigrew acted as Honorary Inspector of Schools for Manipur and in that position he managed to visit all the schools in the State, which as a Missionary he could not. Though no religious instructions were permitted in the valley schools, copies of the Bible scriptures could be distributed to the students as literature. His service to the government also gave an influence which stood the Mission in good stead on a number of occasions. He was also appointed the Superintendent of the Census which was being taken in the Hills for the first time in 1911. Further, it was through

27. Bengt I. Anderson, "We lived in Nagaland", p. 12.

Pettigrew's active co-operation and influence that a Labour Corps for France was raised from the Hill-Tribes of Manipur for the service during the First World War in 1914-18.

Schools were opened and among the most important agents of the Missionaries were proselytization efforts. Within a year of residence in a village, Missionaries could open up schools. (Mission schools, however, normally did not go beyond Class VI (six). Their plan being to produce students who would not be tempted to go for further studies and therefore could be utilised almost immediately after completing the minimum educational requirements to reach wider people and Tribes. As for example, the First batch of students in Ukhrul Mission school studied only upto class VI. After the completion of this class/standard, Christian converts were made teachers and evangelists among the Hill Tribes.)

The Missionaries were often zealous of and wanted to extend their activities, oblivious of political consequences and the British officials, on the other hand, exercised political caution. As a result there were sometimes clashes not only between the over-zealous Missionaries and the politically cautious officials, but also among the Missionaries themselves. This incident happened when Rev. Watkin Roberts accompanied Dr. & Mrs. Peter Frazer of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Foreign Mission, who were the Pioneer Missionaries in Lushai Hills (Mizoram). Later on, Roberts, started his own Mission as the North East India General Mission in

Manipur, who was then in Aizawl (Mizoram or Lushai Hills) started his work among the Kuki-Mizos of the South-West Manipur without first obtaining Government's permission to do so. This attitude was interpreted as an encroachment on the American Baptist Mission Field.

Thus, in the South West area of the State of Manipur, trouble arose between the Christians of the North East India General Mission and the American Baptist Mission. The cause was created from the side of the North East India General Mission, that while this Mission accepted the boundaries laid down for it by the State authorities many of the Mission workers made a practice of disregarding these orders and proselytising process started into the areas where the Chief Mission authorities had agreed to refrain from working. This species of disobedience while it may not had arisen from personal motives lead to Christians assuming that they occupied a position of special privilege among Hillmen in the State. Thus, the sphere of influence on the North East India General Mission as well as that of the American Baptist Mission having been clearly defined by His Excellency, the Governor of Assam, it was hoped that there would be no more trouble in connection with the Kuki-Christians of the South-West Sub-division of Manipur and its work confined to administering to the Kukies and Lushais of that Sub-division. The sphere of activity of the American Baptist Mission had been extended to include the remainder of the Hill area within Manipur.

(The first task the Missionaries accepted was to learn the native languages but these differed from tribe to tribe, range to range and from village to village. They had no option but to start immediately by learning the dialects of the villagers in which they had opened a centre.

(Since the early 1920's, Manipur had been divided into two fields with one Missionary in charge of each division. Rev. William Pettigrew and Dr. Crozier divided Manipur into two 'sphere of influence', Rev. Pettigrew worked among the Nagas and Crozier worked among the Kukis. Naturally being settled in Ukhrul (capital of Tangkhul area in Manipur), Pettigrew mastered the Tangkhul language as well as the Manipuris) and Dr. Crozier picked up the Kuki language (Dr. Crozier came to Manipur around 1917 from Tura-Meghalaya, at the request of Pettigrew who, long felt the need for medical service in the State).) In the beginning, it was thought that the two Missionaries would work together but they simply could not get along each other, due to personal antagonism in part, theological led them to divide Manipur into two spheres of influence in the Hills of Manipur: ((a) Pettigrew supervised the North-East and Sadar Hills Region (the Mao-Maram, Naga Area) north of Imphal upto the Naga Hills border (now Nagaland) and (b) Crozier supervised the North-West and South-West of the State.)

(Both Missionaries learned the respective dialects of the Hill Tribes as the medium of instructions through which they wanted to spread the message of the Bible and put into

written script in Roman character, This being done in Bible translations, stories from the Bible, religious tracts etc. were prepared in that dialects. This was taught in the schools as they opened within a known tribe and resulted in bringing up a generation well versed in the dialect as they had been taught. Moreover, this began to cut across village boundaries and members of a Tribe which had previously no lingua-franca of within the Tribe and began to accept the Mission's selected dialect as the standard means of communications. This initiated the process of bringing the one-time independent, self-sufficient villages into closer having interaction and unified the loose Tribes into a homogeneous one. The dialect in turn came to occupy a special position vis-a-vis the tribes, it came to represent the Tribe and became the language of the Tribe. In line with this, Christian converts began to see Christianity as a special force - a uniting agent that transcended to the traditional clans, khels, villages and Tribes, etc.

(The cause of education contributed by the Missionaries greatly helped the promotion of literacy in the state. However, most of their efforts were found in the Hill areas of the State where the British officials left most of the educational developments in their hands. To the Missionaries, education and the process of proselytization go hand in hand, like the two sides of the same coin. Since the process of converting the orthodox Meitei Hindus could not make much

head way

due to their rigid attitude towards Christianity. Therefore, education among the Meiteis in the Valley was taken up by the Govt. officials.

(Rev. Pettigrew, who was in Ukhrul Mission Centre, established school around 1897, with about 20 boys on the roll and later on its number increased. In 1903, Pettigrew had nevertheless been successful in starting a Lower Primary School at Mao-Naga Centre in his capacity as 'Honorary State School Inspector'.) During this period, he was touring the Hill areas as well as Valley areas of the entire State of Manipur as 'State Government Official'. At this period, the attitude of the people in the Sadar Hill and North of the State of Manipur was sternly against Christianity. So teaching of Christian Doctrine was not permitted in the Schools, although a number of Schools were established through Christian Missionary initiatives. It was said that the people in the Mao-Naga areas and Sadar Hills of the Northern part of the State had made certain agreement with the Maharaja of Manipur, that no foreigner except the British official would be allowed to enter in this area and start separate Mission Centres. In the meantime, two Mao-Nagas from Punanamai village had converted to Christianity while attending the Mission School at Kohima (Nagaland).

During 1906-07, a School was established at Ukhrul under the patronage of Rev. Pettigrew who was in-charge of the American Baptist Mission. He then superintended all the

educational programmes among the Tangkhul-Nagas.

1907-08:- By 1907-08, there were nine (9) schools in the Tangkhul-Naga areas, and the biggest school was located at Ukhrul-Centre. Two boys from a number of the Tangkhul villages were ordered to go into the Ukhrul school, to learn for a year on condition of receiving rations at the cost of the State which was tried during the year under Report. But the result was not satisfactory. Some of the villages refused to obey the orders to send their boys to the Ukhrul school and for disobedience of the orders, the villagers concerned were punished.²⁸⁾

All the schools in the Hills of the State were under the control and supervision of the Vice-President of the Darbar, but those in the valley were under the Education Member of the Darbar. In 1908, some Kukis boys also attended the Ukhrul school. In 1909, the Chief of Senvon village Mr. Kamkholen Singson invited Watkin Roberts of the Welsh Mission at Aizawal (Aijal-Mizoram) to open a school in his village. In response to the invitation, Roberts visited the village together with some students from Aijal and a school was then set-up.

1918-19:- (By the year 1918-19, the Ukhrul School was maintained mainly by a grant-in-aid from the State but a portion of this was shared by the American Baptist Mission. And yet

28. Annual Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1907-08. p. 9.

in the next year it ceased.) (In 1917, Dr. Crozier, a Medical doctor was invited to Manipur from Tura (Meghalaya), at the request of Rev. Pettigrew for medical service in the State.)

(In 1919, the Kangpokpi Mission Centre was established. In November, Dr. Crozier moved to the new Centre and were joined by Rev. Pettigrew in 1921. Kangpokpi, North of Imphal in the Sadar Hill Area, was the Missionary Centre. School was established here". A middle English School, Orphanage, Leper asylum (the first in Manipur) and dispensary were established".²⁹ "Only the Ukhrul and Kangpokpi Schools received financial assistance from the Mission at that time, all other schools being self-supporting".)

1923-24:- (According to the Administration Report for the year 1923-24, the American Baptist Mission Society had one Mission School at Kangpokpi which was managed in the same line as that at Ukhrul.) The Society had Primary education only as follows:

8 village schools in the North East Hill area;
6 village schools in the North West Hill area;
5 village schools in the Sadar Hill area.

Regarding Middle School standard education in the year under Administration Report of 1923-23: "There were two Middle English Schools in the State. One in the Valley

29. F.S. Downs, 'The Mighty Works of God'. p. 161 & 164.

but one of them is the Mission School at Ukhrul, which was controlled by the American Baptist Mission and follows a course which was closely approximate to the Middle English standard in the highest class. Percentage of attendance in this school during the year was 94.9%.³⁰

1925-26:- During the year under Administration Report among the three Middle English Schools in the State, two were in the Hills, one at Ukhrul and the other was at Kangpokpi. Both were controlled by the American Baptist Mission Society but maintained with the help of the state grants.

1927-28:- Primary Education: Under the supervision of the American Mission Society, there were fifteen (15) Primary Schools which was maintained by the same Society. Nine (9) schools in the various Tangkhul villages were also maintained by the Tangkhuls themselves. Twenty-three (23) Schools were maintained in the South West Hill area by the North East India General Mission.

During the year 1927-28, under Administration Report, there were as in the previous year, only two (2) Middle English Schools. The Ukhrul School teaches only upto the V (5th) standard.

1929-30:- Relations between the State and the American Baptist Mission was satisfactory. "Mr. Coleman, the American Secretary of the North East India General Mission was engaged in making

30. C.G. Crawford, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1923-24. p. 18.

arrangements with the State concerning the occupation of the site - known as Churachandpur".³¹

Primary Education: During the period of 1929-30, the number of Lower Primary schools increased to 35 and Upper Primary schools consist of 4. Both L.P. schools and U.P. schools were maintained by the American Baptist Mission Society. The North East India General Mission Society also maintained 28 Primary schools in the South West area of the Hills of Manipur.

Middle Standard Education: Although the Kangpokpi Mission School course was equal to the Middle English standard and yet the Mission intended to introduce any teaching and books necessary to ensure entry into the Johnstone High School at Imphal when such course was desired by any of the Mission pupils.

1931-32:- Under Administration Report in the State for the year 1931-32, the various Missions in the State had been doing a great deal of work on behalf of education in the Hills. For the first time, the schools of the ABM schools were even opened to non-Christians alike, and they were not compelled to attend classes at which religious instruction was imparted.

Primary Education:- There were 37 Lower Primary schools. The Mission had also organised 14-Night Lower Primary Schools at which the number of pupils on the rolls totalled upto 74 boys and 81 girls. The ABM had 4 upper Primary Schools with a total of 115 boys and 46 girls on the rolls.

31. A.G. McCall, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1929-30, p. 3.

The North East India General Mission (NEIGM) also maintained 22 village Primary schools in which there were 5 Upper primary students and 389 Lower primary students.

Middle School Education: The AB Mission maintained a Middle English School at Kangpokpi with 72 boys and 43 girls. Whereas, the NEIG Mission had one Middle English school at Churachandpur, South of Imphal, where 18 students were on the roll. Besides, there was one Bible School with 23 students and one girls' school with 18 students at Churachandpur.

Expenditure: (a) Expenditure for the maintenance of schools by the American Baptist Mission amounts to Rs. 6,765 and also a sum of Rs. 1,396/- grant-in-aid from the State government. All the schools under the control of this Mission were using the State teaching curricula. The total number of teaching staff consisted of about 53 male teachers and 4 female teachers.

(b) The North East India General Mission in the South West area of the State spent Rs. 8,900/- on education. The teaching staff consisted of 27 teachers and 1 school Inspector. At the Mission's expense, three students were sent to the Shillong Government High School, Assam, for further training.

Thus, total number of students in all the Mission schools were 495, of which 460 were boys and 35 were girls. Out of the total number of students, there were 85 non-Christian students.

The American Baptist Mission work in the State was still continued to be under the charge of Mr. & Mrs. Pettigrew.

However, they were joined by Dr. W.R. Werclives from U.S.A. in December 1932. The North East India General Mission was firmly established in the South West area of the State of Manipur with its Headquarters at Churachandpur. Dr. Crozier left Churachandpur for America and the Mission kept under the charge of Mr. & Mrs. Rostard. In addition to its teaching and medical staff, the Mission had 13 Christian workers on which Rs. 1715/- was spent. The Christians of the area spent about Rs. 885/- for the support of Christian workers.

"The Darbar of Manipur, in their resolution of May 20, 1931, have stated unequivocally that education in the Hills must be imparted through the medium of Manipuri (written in Bengali character)."³² For this purpose, text books in Manipuri language (Bengali script) for Primary education were prepared so that the Maharaja and his Darbar hoped that a day would dawn upon when the Manipuri language which would become the Lingua-Franca even throughout the Hill areas also. (It continues upto now).

Before 1932, Hill education was imparted through the Hill-dialects (in Roman script) and English, but after this resolution of the Darbar, Manipuri was introduced in almost all the Mission Bible Schools, Middle English Schools and Upper Primary classes at Churachandpur and in a few of the village schools, in which the teachers were able to do so.

32. Captain C.W.L. Harvey, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1931-32. p. 18.

Thus, encouraged Hill schools to conduct its teachings in Manipuri language. In the Tangkhul Naga area, Manipuri was fast becoming the Lingua-Franca among the Tribal people owing to the immense variety of dialects and sub-dialects within one and the same Tribal community.

(“The American Baptist Mission, which works in the North East and South of the State, has always included Manipuri (Bengali character) in its curriculum but first teaches the Hill vernacular's through the medium of text books printed in the Roman character. In its higher classes, it goes on to the teaching of English. The State is much indebted to this Mission for spreading education in Manipuri over a vast tract of the country, but at the same time, the system adopted is open to the objection that it burdens young minds with two alphabets”³³)

The North East India General Mission, whose fields in the South West of Manipur has unfortunately not taught in Manipuri at all in its schools in the past, the teaching there being conducted in Lushai dialect with English as the final objective. Lushai is not a Manipuri language and it is gratifying to note that this policy is now being changed as there is strong objection to the use of a Foreign language to the exclusion of Manipuri - so close to the valley and the capital of the State”³⁴

33. Ibid; p. 17.

34. Ibid; p. 18.

(During the year 1940-41, under Administration Report "The American Baptist Mission has Middle English Schools both at Kangpokpi and at Ukhrul and a number of Primary schools in villages. A grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,500/- is made by the State. The North East India General Mission has one Middle English School and a Bible School at Churachandpur as well as a number of village schools".³⁵)

(During the Great Second World War,) which involved in Manipur also, the Japanese forces came along with the Azad Hind Fauj led by Subhas Chandra Bose and advanced to Manipur through the South and North East of the State of Manipur, via Burma and South East Asia. Because of (the serious battle operations in the North East Naga Hill areas of the State, "Mr. Brock, the then Missionary was forced to withdraw to the Imphal plain with the British troops".³⁶ Therefore, the educational work was completely paralysed and progress was hampered. But with the victory of the British power, over the Japanese, the re-opening of the road after the War,) the Kangpokpi Mission School was resumed its normal educational activities.

(Since the Great World War II was fought bitterly both in the Hills and plains of Manipur, its affects were that the Headquarters of the North East India General Mission at Churachandpur was destroyed when the Japanese advanced past it upto

35. E.F. Lydall, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1940-41. p. 18.

36. E.F. Lydall, Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1943-44. p. 30.

the Tiddim Road of the south of Manipur and also the Ukhrul Headquarters was destroyed when the Japanese advanced towards the Naga Hills. Both the Japanese and the British fought bitterly near the borders of Mao-Naga Hills (Manipur) and South of khuzama (now in Nagaland).

The Missionaries, Mr. & Mrs. Rostard left Manipur before the severe bombing in the year 1942 at Imphal. Thus, left the Missionary activities in Manipur both in the Hills, and in the Valley, till the achievement of India's Independence in August 1947, and later on the merger of Manipur into the Union Republic of India in 1949, which ultimately became a new educational policy in Manipur.)

CHAPTER - IV

IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON SOCIETY

"Education introduced by British was basically secular and liberal. It was accessible to anyone who could pay irrespective of caste or community. It popularised the idea of freedom of associations, equality before law, equal rights of all citizens of the state, equal freedom to follow any vocation".¹ One of the effects of British rule over India was the Westernization of the Indian Society. Western culture was fundamentally different from the Indian Culture where the latter was familistic, communal and religious. "Western tradition was introduced into this Indian society through bureaucratic structures, administrative, legal, military, educational and cultural trends. All these were entirely new to the Indian set-up. Indian society based on the caste system preserved a system of social inequality. The Western rationalism and law introduced equality, equity and universality in the society."² Scientific knowledge of the West was introduced in India. The ideas of rationalism, democracy and other political concepts of the West have become part of the Indian political life. It was also in the education of women and in the efforts for the emancipation of women that westernisation seems to have played a prominent role. Western civilization have greatly influenced in the various fields of education, social ideas,

1. J.L. Kachroo, Sociology, p. 166.

2. Mehta, David and Mithani, Elements of Social and Economic life in India, p. 131.

art and culture, economic life, defense, industry, communication, technology, health services, food habits and general living etc.

The demand for national education however, did not mean a rejection of foreign education as such but it meant the promotion of national culture. "The first and the foremost legacy of the British is India's Unity - slowly and steadily the British extended the same system of administration to the entire British India".³ The English education provided a common means for expression of ideas for all throughout the country. It also created an ever expanding class of citizens brought up in the liberal British traditions. Today, the educational system in India is a legacy of the British Universities, which were set up in India in 1857 after the model of the University of London to provide examining and degree granting agencies. So, education is not only concerned with transmitting the existing culture but also 'importing new values', improved ideas and skills required for modernisation and development. "The Education Commission (1964-66) appears to put more stress on the latter, when it says education must be an instrument of social change".⁴

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3. Sri Ram Sharma, The Legacy of the British Rule in India. Journal of Indian History, vol. XXXIV(83) Part-I. p. 231. April, 1956, No. 100.
4. Govt. of India, 1972, Education and National Development. Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66.

(Manipur was not annexed to British India, but continued the colonial system of indirect rule under which the British governed the people of Manipur through the Native authorities. The State Darbar (the Maharaja and his vassal Tribal chiefs) largely suited the convenience of British imperialism.) The combined feudalistic-colonial rule was intent on using them as their agents for maintaining and perpetuating their control and administration over the people. Thus, the people had a tendency to look towards them as a symbol of authority and oppression and in the process felt the impact of colonial domination rather indirectly. Theoretically, the state was given certain amount of autonomy and the Govt. of India rarely tried to force the ruling princes to change their political systems to any significant degree.

(Lacking sufficient financial resources and denied British backing, the State remained economically far behind the neighbouring states. Since their rule in Manipur was strategic interest and went to the extent of redrawing the political-territorial boundaries cutting across racial affinities solely to fulfil their temporary security needs.)

(The impact of Western education in Manipur is indeed a tremendous change. The British came with the policy of Divide and Rule along with the Biblical diplomacy of Hill and Heaven. Their policy was the spread of Christian Religion and political activities for territorial conquest. Among the Western Christian Missionaries in Manipur, some

notable persons were, Rev. William Pettigrew, Crozier, Roberts and some important British officers were, Nuthal, James Johnstone, Maxwell, Grimwood, Shakespeare, Goredon, Gimson, Harvey etc.)

The British used all kinds of tactics in their Western civilised style and at last they conquered the Hill and Plain peoples of Manipur and the no doubt, the impact is so tremendous in the Manipuri society that it is not easy to do away with without a magic wand. The main impact on the Manipuri society may be discussed into two parts, namely, impact in the Hill and the Valley areas.

Let us focus our attention firstly (in the Valley areas. Christianity could not penetrate in the Valley because Vaishnavite Hinduism has already paved a deep impact earlier before the British conquest. Even the First Christian convert Poromsingh went to the Hills of Ukhrul and remained there. Before the British conquest of Manipur, some leaders could neither read nor write. And thus, British came, educated them and civilised them. They have opened schools and taught them the way as to how the western civilization was marching ahead.)

They taught them the arts of politics, administration, education, law and justice, military science, the norm of democratic and monarchical values etc. It is also a very significant period since 1890 onwards that the Manipuri society has transformed tremendously into the Western pattern

of Democratic society, leaving aside the primitive and orthodox and monarchical system of life. The impact has been a dynamic change with the colonial systems applied in different forms, at different times. The change of policy in the valley of Manipur is a neo-Hindu approach because, the majority of the people in the valley along with the Maharaja were Hindus and that the British did not interfere much in their religious affairs. The Political Agents/Officials of the British Govt. did respect and regard even the Hindu Manipuri society as a political standard. But the impact was rather deeply prevalent after the second World War, because of the tremendous emergence and development of science and technology, as they have experienced especially in Military technology during the war time. The printing press, newspapers, telegraph and telephones, war planes, tanks, automobiles of different models, etc. with new scientific means and discoveries engrafted or given a lasting impact in the Manipuri society. "Was Brings Civilization" is worth quoting in a negative way. After the War, many left over of war materials/equipments contributed to the Manipuri society something like a new giant-industrial complex of West-London.

Apart from Manipuri language (in Bengali script), the growth and development of Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Tribal dialects, etc, mainly English language has given a permanent impact in all fields of human activity as a result of the growth and development of Education in Manipur.

Plain Areas:

Education plays a vital role in effecting changes in human society. Things which cannot be foreseen, which cannot be forced by royal will or which cannot be suppressed by bayonet are effected by education. In spite of many defects in English education, it helped a lot to think in terms of Democracy and individual liberty. Liberal ideas of the West have infected with a new social consciousness. Superstitious beliefs gradually disappeared as the people came in close contact with the Western scientific education.

After the acceptance of Vaishnavism, Manipur came into intimate contact with the medieval Bengali Culture. But since the introduction of English Education, new ideas began to pour from a different source. As a result of Western Education, in Manipur, theocratic monarchy became out of date.⁵ The first college in Manipur was established in 1946. known as D.M. College, in Imphal which opened the window of higher education in Manipur. Manipur is now passing through for Democracy. Success of Democracy depends on the creation of healthy public opinion and constructive leadership. These two essential elements of Democracy could be obtained through good educational means and institutions in Primary, Secondary and Higher stages of education and that significant progress could be made in all the fields of human services and welfare activities.

5. J. Roy, History of Manipur, p. 114.

By 1951, there were in all 554 Primary Schools, 85 Middle Schools, 12 High Schools and only one College.

(Today, not only primary schools, middle schools and high schools, but 'there are 25 hospitals, 68 dispensaries, 15 public health centres and 32 sub-health centres.⁶) Also very recently a new Manipur-University has been established (in April, 1981). And also, a Regional Medical College, including a Law College and Professional Schools etc. have been established.

Thus, with the advent of Western Education and civilization, which naturally deeply indebted and awakened in the minds of the people. Various kinds of social changes have already been taken place especially in educational activities which are on way to tremendous progress and development (see Constitution of India's Provision etc.) Higher education, various colleges, professional and technical education centres, were started. Teachers' training Institute, physical education and National Cadet Corps, audiovisual education, social education, like Adult Literacy Centres, youth clubs, farmers' union, etc. and Music and dancing education and the State Library have been set-up in the State.

"The Adimjati Institute for vocational education has been doing good work in the field of education. With the establishment of the Industrial Training Institute, the requirement of technical education in the territory should be met. But for advanced technical training, the administration

6. V.I.K. Sarin, India's North East in Flames, p. 120.

would have to arrange with technical institutions in the rest of the country for the training of suitable local candidates.⁷

These are certain main impacts of the growth and development of education in Manipur valley areas in particular.

Hill Areas:

The impact of the growth and development of education in the Hill-Tribal areas of Manipur has a peculiar condition than that of the Valley-areas. This main reason may be that the life on the Hill-Tribals were uninfluenced under any circumstances except the invasion and administration of British and Christian Missionaries who came to direct contact with their customs, traditions, beliefs and primitive, yet scientific in their own Tribal style. In the Hill areas there was no outside religion including Hinduism and Islam etc., except Tribal Traditional ways of life. Therefore, in the beginning there lies the example, "East is East and West is West and the twain shall never meet", but it was not so when the British penetrated with their Neo-Hill-Tribal policy of 'Divide and Rule' and thereby applying the method of "East and West are the alternate beats of the same heart", along-with the Bible in one hand and the Sword on the other. So with their superiority in modern scientific means of warfare and strategy, at last the Hill-Tribals were subdued and conquered.

7. M. Bhattacharya, Gazetteer of India, p. 379.

The present system of education among the Tribals of India dated back to the early 19th century. The credit goes to the Indian Education Commission of 1882, which examined the problems of education of the Tribal people and made important recommendations for development of education among them.

However, before Independence, no significant effort was made by the government to identify or to solve the problems of education of the Tribal people. Since Independence concerted effort has been made for the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the basis of the Constitutional provision. Tribal Welfare programmes have been taken up and priority has been given to educational programmes as a pre-requisite item to an overall development of the Tribal society.

(Christian Missionaries actively played the role of educational development as well as civilising the Hill-Tribals of Manipur and the North East India as a whole. The North East India aboriginals consist of numerous tribes which are found mostly in Assam, Naga Hills, Mizoram, Arunachal (NEFA), Tripura, Meghalaya, Sikkim and Manipur etc. "They belong to Mongolian race",⁸ and most writers admit that they belong to the Tibeto-Burman Family.

8. Dr. Vatsyayan, Indian Society and Social Institution, p. 139.

(The immediate impact of British power on the Hills of Manipur was territorial. Civil and Criminal Laws of the Tribal societies were based on customs and traditions of numerous agencies and the government had no intention to change them in the beginning. Closely linked with the divisive policy of administration, which ran the Hill-territory on different lines, was the social policy of the government. Every growing child was imbued with the idea that success in life comes with education. Coupled with the trend was the far reaching influence of Western Democracy and Christianity.) The old Tribal Chieftain's rule has crumbled and changes followed up like season of floods. New types of local government and administration have supplanted the old orders. And thus, new Democratic system of education has changed the old concepts and superstitions of Tribal-Chiefdoms.

(Another social change is the breakdown of Tribal customs and Religion. With the coming and acceptance of Christianity and contact with the outside world, the Tribal practices have almost disappeared) and even the few who cling to them do so which is also quite a prefactory fashion. (Conversion to Christianity required the abandonment of indigenous Tribal-customs, beliefs and practices of the Hill people,) rendering them to the conviction that the values they treasured in their cultures for centuries had no universal validity. The loyalty of the converts were regarded as sinners. (New religion has so inter-twined with life that at every step and stage,

elimination of old festivals, sacrifices and taboos etc. are almost meant changing of the whole manner of Hillmen's life. With the drinking habits of rice-beer, alcohols being frowned-upon, one of the very essence of the Tribal festivals had gone out. Trade and commerce, dancing and singing are next casualties and therefore, the new taboos. Life was suddenly no longer simple and pagan. Dislocation of social and ~~the~~ cultural life of the Tribal society was indeed caused by Christianity so far as the social status of the village Chief was concerned. Traditionally his position was connected with the indigenous customary rites, usages and practices. The temporal powers in a traditional society were linked with this position. The conversion of the Tribal-Chief would automatically lead to the loss of this ritualistic privilege, where the Chiefs were endowed with real temporal absolute power. Thus, a great resistance to Christianity could naturally be expected of course with paradoxical and historical circumstances if and when a Tribal Chief would embrace Christianity.

Before the coming of Christianity, education among the Tribal people was both primitive and informal. There ^{were} ~~was~~ no schools ^{did they have any} nor ~~having~~ written scripts of their own. Education activities revolved around the family, the village and the Tribal Society. Knowledge was imparted through actual contact and practical demonstration and participation in domestic affairs, social and religious life of the people.

Modern education was mainly initiated by the Christian Missionaries. Thus, the Christian message and school were something new in their approach and appeal. It brought about certain positive changes and progress among the Hill people. A new horizon hitherto unknown was opened to them. It broadened their outlook and philosophy of life. The power of the Bible Gospel captivated their hearts and imaginations and a thirst for knowledge and formal education at once supplanted their search for blood and vengeance in their old habits.

'In the Hills, since Independence, due to the impact of foreign Missionaries, a new culture gradually evolved although Mongoloid-stock, christian by faith and developing a composite tribal-cum-Western culture. However, the plain (valley) areas due to the impact of Hinduism before the British advent and upto now is their Hindu culture".⁹

Thus, the impact of the growth and development of Education in Manipur has enlightened for a new Democratic and progressive society.

9. Kanti, Sen, Hill versus Plain; Mainstream (Journal), vol. 6. March 16, 1968, No. 29.

CHAPTER - V

C O N C L U S I O N

Manipur, the petty Princely State, was troubled with constant raids and expeditions before 1880, by the Burmese, the Nagas, the Sooties or Kamhows, the Chassad Tribes and the Lushai Tribes. During the period between 1880-1890, the administration of the State was not functioning smoothly as the Maharaja Chandrakirtie died and his sons/Princes divided among themselves into two-rival camps for the throne, which led to the Palace Revolution of 1890-91. Moreover, in 1886, the Political Agent, James Johnstone retired from office and new several officers could not handle the prevailing political situation like him. Not only that, but also the British authority were also divided in opinion as regard to the restoration of new Maharaja to be the heir apparent to the throne. The British Govt. of India supported the Ex-Maharaja, Surachandra's Camp. But the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the Political Agent were supporters of Kulachandra and Tikendrajit. Meanwhile, some British Officials were killed during the troubled and confused situation. So, then the British Govt. of India sent British Forces in three columns against Manipur and subdued it in 1891. Finally the favour went to Kulachandra after annexation with three conditions laid down by the British, namely (1) to administer the country (Manipur) according to the choice of the Political Agent; (2) to deport Tikendrajit from Manipur, and (3) to

allow the Political Agent to keep 3,000 soldiers in the Residence of the Political Agent. Since then the British assumed the role of 'Raj makers' and the fate of Manipur fell upon them. And thus after a long debate, in British Parliament, Manipur was annexed, but with the mercy of the Queen Empress of India, Manipur was restored to the status of "Native Rule" with a minor Raja (not Maharaja) Churachand suggested by Maxwell under certain strict conditions realising the Manipur's loyalty to Britain.

The Administration during the Regency (1891-1907) was carried on by the British Officers under the Superintendship of Major Maxwell, as Political Agent. During this period, numerous reforms were carried out, especially the administration of the Hill-Tribes. During the period the First Women's Resistance Movement (Nupi Lal) took place in 1904. In 1907, the charge of the State was handed over to the new Raja, Churachand and he was to rule the State within the strict given set-of Rules by the British Government. And thus various portfolios were empowered accordingly in the areas of Plains and Hills. During the First World War, the Nagas volunteered for Labour Corps in France and Kukis revolted against it, but it was later on suppressed by the British.

In 1919, the Hill areas were divided into 4 divisions with Headquarters at Imphal, and 3 at Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Churachandpur respectively. This division was mainly for

the convenience of Hill administration apart from Imphal which lies in the valley and the valley administration was carried on only at Imphal.

Another rebellion, namely the Kabui Rebellion took place in the 1930s with a new cult led by Jadonang against the British Rule and for revenge against the Kukis, but his movement was suppressed and he was hanged by the British. Afterwards, Rani Gaidiliu, a disciple of Jadonang took charge of freeing the Kabui Nagas from the British rule but she was arrested and imprisoned for life but she was released after India's Independence.

In the 1930s, Irabot, a progressive Meitei of Manipur, joined the National Movement for Freedom and following the policies of the Indian National Congress with certain modifications for Manipur to suit the local conditions. The All Hindu Manipuri Conference which was renamed in 1938 as Manipuri Mahasabha, joined the Manipur Congress after India's Independence in 1947.

With the sudden outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the federated administration in Manipur for the Hills and Plains could not implement. Also the Second Women's Resistance Movement took place due to severe famine in the State and the Political Agent pacified them by using certain drastic measures. During this period the Congress Ministries had resigned all over India and the deadlock which had led

to the Quit-India Movement of 1942 had already begun. During the Second World War, Manipur was one of the serious/ fierce battle grounds between the Japanese and the British troops. With all these historical and political consequences, Manipur joined in Indian Union on 15th October 1949, after the Merger Agreement was signed.

Judicial System: For the proper administration and the British colonial attitude of the system of indirect rule generally emphasised the Judicial aspect of Native authority and the British therefore, re-established the Native Courts of Manipur, namely, the Chirap Court (Civil), Town Panchayat Court, Muhamedan Court and Rural Panchayat Court. The State Darbar being the Supreme Court of appeal in Manipur. Military Court (Guard) was meant only for the Army personnel. The valley, Imphal, was divided into eleven circles for the purpose of administration and each of them had a Panchayat Court. However, the British and the European Foreigners were solely under the very jurisdiction of the Political Agent's court. The Court of Appeal for the Hillmen was concerned by the Vice-President of the Darbar. After 1917, the President of the State Darbar was assumed by a British Officer.

Revenue System: Manipur practised feudal system enjoyed by the King. The revenue was paid in kind and labour (Lallup). Forced Labour (Lallup) and slavery systems were later on abolished by Major Maxwell. The main sources of revenue were, land, Hill House tax, fisheries, Foreigners' Tax, Ferry,

salt tax, forest, sea-seeds, law and justice, jail, excise, Kabou valley compensation, income tax and other Miscellaneous taxes etc. Manipur paid annual tribute to British a sum of Rs. 50,000/- but it was reduced to Rs. 5,000/- in 1921 per year which continued till 1947. The reason for reduction of tribute was that Manipur raised War Fund and war loan and sending Labour Force to France in the First World War. No Bill on the Treasury could be enhanced without the signature of the Vice-President of the State Darbar (who was a British Official).

Industrially, Manipur was very backward even before 1880 or so. There were very minor and small scale cottage industries like Salt, both in the Hills and Plains of Manipur. In fact, the British administration period (1891-1947) of indirect rule in Manipur was characterised by administrative divisions in the Plains, isolation of the Hill peoples and crippling of big Industry-entrepreneurship. But commercially, the State was not much exploited. However, small scale industries such as Silk, developed but proved to be a failure later on. Tea industry could not develop although it was raised by Johnstone. Though Silk Industry venture proved a failure yet the Manipur Forest resources paid a dividend in collaboration with the Bombay Trading Corporation of Rangoon. The State monopoly of Forests prohibiting the Hill people from clearing them for cultivation created constant clashes

of economic interests between the Hill people and the British. Weaving Industry prospered rapidly with the result handloom products were even exported outside India.

The role of the Military was very essential for the Imperial/Colonial Britain which was no exception to Manipur. And her Cavalry displayed excellent Military role in Burmese wars and other neighbouring countries for defense and offense of British colonial interests. There were also Police departments (till 1945) namely, Military Police, Naga Police, Civil Police, Village Police, for the proper administration of the State, having their respective jurisdiction. A strong and effective Military Force was a prime requisite for maintaining the Imperial power and its expansionist policy as Manipur is placed in a supreme strategic importance in the North East of India. It was because of the British advent in the State that the Military organisation was founded on Western model which greatly helped in running the affairs of the State effectively. The British policy of Divide and Rule, followed by the Missionaries and the Political Agents of the State enhanced the efficient administration both in the Hills and the Plains of Manipur particularly the Hill peoples could open their eyes to the outside world inspite of their control by sheer force of arms and conversion to Christianity. Hill administration was carried out separately with the consent of the Political Agent of Manipur.

Emergence of Education in the State:

As mentioned earlier in the foregoing chapters, the emergence and development of Education in Manipur, there is no exception with the rest of British India, in its historical perspectives in which the roles of the Christian Missionaries, British Government and progressive Indians, should never be forgotten inspite of the fact that initially the East India Company came to India for Trade and Commerce alone.

Modern system of education developed lately in Manipur. The grandeur of Manipur before the British advent of Modern Education system lay in the Manipuri Cavalry and heroism of the past.

The Hill Tribal Education was aimed directly at preparation for life at the very early age, by imparting practical participation and the child's involvement in actual learning process, within the four seasons of the year.

In 1872, Vernacular school was established - but the State Darbar was not interested in Education inspite of certain defects, James Johnstone established a Middle English School at Imphal (which even stands today) which marked the beginning of general education in Manipur. Since then, Christian Missionaries took active interest especially the Hill-Tribal education. The adoption of Bengali script in Manipuri language took a striking turn in the State education both in the Hills and the Plains of Manipur. Thus education

grew rapidly after the British conquest in 1891.) Schools like Pathshalas, Madrassas, Sanskrit Tois, Girls' Schools and even numerous private schools were opened up both in the Hills and the Plains of Manipur. Women's Education was not encouraged with the rumour that they will be shipped off to England if they were educated. However, primary and middle schools increased considerably since 1906 till 1947, inspite of the fact that tremendous destruction took place during the Second World War in Manipur where both the Japanese and the British troops fought fiercely.

Missionary Role:

(At the request of Captain Francis Jenkins, the then Commissioner of Assam, the American Baptist Conference for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) sent two Christian Missionaries (Rev. N. Brown and Rev. Cutter) to North East India. The main spiritual motive was to civilize the Hill-Tribes through the Bible-Gospel and thereby civilize them according to Western model of education and christianity. Later on the Political Agents like James Johnstone and Major Maxwell, indirectly encouraged the Missionary roles in Manipur, with the consent of the State Darbar of Manipur. In following up, the Hill administration policy, the Hill areas of Manipur were almost totally unaware of Western Imperialism/colonialism, and practising animism only and as such Christian Missionaries could easily penetrate in the remote areas and started proselytisation process especially in the Hill areas

of Manipur. Whereas, in the Plain areas, the Vaishnavite Hindus were left undisturbed as objected by the Meitei-Hindus followed by the consent of the Political Agents in the State. Thus, Christianity spread over quickly in the Hill areas inspite of stiff resistance in certain areas by tradition bound animism.) But because of the dynamic Missionary zeal of Rev. Pettigrew along with the Bible-Gospel of Christianity in one hand and the policy of Divide and Rule the work of the Missionaries penetrated and sown the seed of the Gospel in the hearts and minds of the Tribal peoples of Manipur. Thus, (the Missionary work firstly started in Ukhrul, Mao and Kangpokpi in the Naga Hills areas and also at Churachandpur. Rev. William Pettigrew was responsible among the Nagas and Rev. Crozier was responsible for the Kukis. However, Rev. William Pettigrew acted even as Honorary Inspector of Schools of Manipur and visited all the schools, which as a Missionary he could not do so. As a Christian Missionary, he actively cooperated in raising the Labour Corps for France during the First World War. This proved the double role of the Missionaries) under the cover of 'Divide and Rule' policy.

Two Missions - American Baptist Mission and the North East India General Mission in Manipur - worked heart and soul among the Tribals having separate convenient jurisdiction as defined by the Governor of Assam. Rev. Pettigrew and Rev. Crozier worked among the Nagas and the Kukis respectively. They mastered the local dialects in order to understand better

the Tribals initially, thereby imparted Missionary education within the tune of Western-cum-Tribal cultures and what not. To the Missionaries Education and the process of proselytisation go hand in hand, which naturally brought about a uniting force for the Tribals which practised headhunting among themselves. Education was imparted in local dialects, English and Manipuri (Bengali script) which continues even today. Thus, Missionary activities continued both in education and Christianity till World War II, but paralysed due to war and now taken a different turn after India's Independence in 1947, which works within the framework of the Constitution of India, under Democracy, Secularism, Socialism and Equality to all.

(But after the Second World War (1939-45), and with the victory of the Allied Forces in the War and after the achievement of India's Independence in 1947, alongwith the Merger Agreement of Manipur in 1949 with the Union of India, the progress of education in Manipur has taken root and has been increasing with the provision of the Constitution inspite of certain drawbacks (turmoil in the North East) which is nothing but a historical-phenomenon in the emerging world society.)

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Particulars as to the Schools maintained by the Manipur State for the year 1909-10 and 1915-16.

Description of Schools	Number of Schools		Number of pupils on roll on 31st March				Daily Average Attendance		Expenditure			Remarks	
	Past year	Present year	Past Year	Boys	Girls	Present Year	Past year	Present year	High School	Seco-ndary	Primary		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11			
1909-1910													
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls							
A) Valley Schools													
Middle English Schools	2	3	243	1	281	6	188.36	209.43	-	3,988	-		
Lower Primary Schools	55	56	2861	13	3380	11	2116.58	2317.67	-	-	18,806		
B) Tangkhul Naga Schools													
Middle English Schools	1	1	42	-	63	11	41.6	59.99	}	-	-	-	The amount spent on all Hill Schools was Rs. 3,439/-
Lower Primary Schools	8	7	195	-	147	2	174.35	128.44		-	-	-	
1915-1916													
A) Valley Schools													
Middle English Schools	2	2	301	-	303	-	262.75	252.46	-	5,475	-		
Middle Vernacular Schools	1	1	19	-	22	-	16.67	16.79	-	-	-		
Upper Primary Schools	1	1	94	-	92	-	81.55	83.27	}	-	-	-	26,889
Lower Primary Schools	67	67	3069	47	3598	45	2604.22	2900.33		-	-		
B) Tangkhul Naga Schools													
Middle English Schools	1	1	56	-	82	10	52.25	88.86	-	-	-		
Lower Primary Schools	6	-	109	7	-	-	106.72	-	-	-	-		
C) In the Northern Hills													
Lower Primary	4	4	81	-	70	-	50.69	68.46	-	-	-		

I. C. Gimpon, I.C.S.: Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1919-20 (Appendix XXV, p.35), Imphal, 1920
 II. C.G. Crawford : : " " " " " " " " " " 1925-26 (Appendix XXV), Imphal, 1926.

Particulars as to the Schools maintained by the Manipur State for the year 1919-20 and 1925-26.

Description of Schools	Number of Schools		Number of pupils on roll on 31st March				Daily Average Attendance		Expenditure (in Rs.)			Remarks			
	Past year	Present year	Past Year	Boys	Girls	Present Year	Boys	Girls	High School	Seco-ndary	Primary				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
I. 1919-20															
A) Valley Schools															
M.E. Schools	2	2	233	-	244	-	172.18	194.38	-	7,577	-	Out of this, Rs.5220/- was paid by the State			
M.V. Schools	1	1	-	14	-	22	10.48	16.31	-	450	-				
U.P. Schools	3	3	217	-	249	-	173.63	185.71	}	30,792	}	Including expenses of Inspection.			
L.P. Schools	71	72	4922	41	5092	39	3574.58	376.26							
B) Tangkhul Naga Schools															
M.E. Schools	1	1	76	12	100	13	88.66	100.78	}		}	The amount spent on all Hill Schools was Rs. 5,595/-.			
C) In the Northern Hills															
Lower Primary	2	2	78	63	-	-	46.69	42.76							
D) In the Southern Hills															
Lower Primary	1	1	16	-	16	-	-	-							
II. 1925-26															
Valley Schools															
High School	1	1	260	-	266	-	211.22	246.5	13,889	-	-	The State contributed Rs. 7,080 towards this expenditure Ditto Rs. 720			
M.E. School	1	1	136	-	121	-	104.00	95.0	-	2,978	-				
M.V. School	1	1	-	25	-	29	19.57	20.05	-	436	-				
U.P. Schools	3	3	374	-	352	-	211.05	260.44	}	27,741	}	Including expenses of Inspection.			
L.P. Schools	74	75	5457	19	5666	20	4067.40	4371.83							
Hill Schools															
Ukhrul Mission School	1	1	79	18	65	16	88.06	76.47	}		}	The amount spent on all Hill Schools was Rs. 10,330/-.			
Kangpokpi Mission School	1	1	64	26	102	53	93.77	143.90							
L.P. Schools	23	23	553	2	747	2	380.75	579.65							

T.A. Sharpe: Administration Report of the Manipur State for the year 1940-41 (Appendix-XLVII).

Statistical Return of Primary Schools for the Year 1940-41.

IV

Kinds of Schools	No. of Schools	Number of pupils on the Rolls on the 30th June 1941				Classification of pupils on the basis of the language they study				Classification of pupils on the basis of religion					No. of Teachers
		Boys	Girls	Average monthly attendance	Average daily attendance	English	Hindi/Sanskrit/Bengali	Arabic/persian & Urdu	Mani-puri	Hindu	Maham-fore-igners	Madans	Mani-puri Hindu	Naga	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A) Valley Schools															
U.P. Schools*	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L.P. Schools	83	4250	117	3861.08	3331.13	504	-	624	4204	-	532	3819	2	14	94
Girls Schools**	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B) Sadar Subdivision															
U.P. & L.P. Mixed Schools	1	137	5	164.33	115.16	75	-	-	142	-	-	5	137	-	-
L.P. Schools	22	919	13	855.28	711.23	87	-	-	932	-	-	12	920	-	-
C) Ukhrul Subdivision															
L.P. Schools	4	194	15	187.52	173.59	32	-	-	209	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vill. Schools	15	467	7	448.09	353.15	-	-	-	474	-	-	-	-	-	-
D) Tamenglong Subdivision															
U.P. School	1	27	-	29.16	25.99	27	-	-	27	-	-	-	13	14	-
L.P. Schools	2	188	28	227.64	118.49	42	-	-	216	-	-	-	64	152	-
Vill. Schools	17	344	8	338.91	239.69	-	-	-	352	-	-	-	139	213	-

Remarks: * No report submitted (Records mission)

** No report submitted.

T.A. Sharpe: Administration Report of the Manipur State for the Year 1940-41 (Appendix XLVII)
 Statistical Returns of High Schools and Middle Schools for the year 1940-41.

V

Name of School	Number of Masters	Number of Graduates	Number of Pupils	Average Attendance	No. taking School Exam	No. Passing	No. taking Matric Exam	Number of Passing			Remarks
								1st Div.	2nd Div.	3rd Div.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Johnstone High School	16	10	-	-	-	-	-	6	11	8	
Churachand High School	14	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	
Nambol Middle English School	5	1	48	39	-	89.4	-	-	-	-	
Faizia Middle English Madrassa	5	-	91	84.5	82	74	-	-	-	-	

Statistical Returns of Primary and Village School for the year 1944-45.

Kinds of Schools	No. of Schools	Number of pupils on the Rolls on the 30th June '45		Average Agerage		Classification of pupils on the basis of the language they study				Classification of pupils on the basis of religion					No. of Teachers
		Boys	Girls	monthly atten- dance	daily atten- dance	English	Hindi/ Bengali	Sanskrit/ Persian	Arabic & Urdu	Mani- puri	Hindu fore- igners	Maham- madans	Mani- puri Hindu	Naga	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
A) Valley															
U.P. Schools	3	463	5	309.99	256.76	468	-	-	468	-	-	466	2	-	10
L.P. Schools	69	6701	20	5255.05	4209.27	850	-	-	6721	-	31	6683	7	-	132
Girls Schools	4	-	265	225.80	197.43	38	-	-	265	-	-	265	-	-	8
B) Sadar															
U.P. Schools*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
L.P. Schools	7	434	20	366.94	409.41	42	-	-	454	-	-	-	475	-	13
Vill. Schools	4	236	23	193.83	162.58	-	-	-	259	-	-	-	259	-	4
C) Ukhrul															
U.P. Schools	1	117	12	129.80	118.70	50	-	-	130	-	-	50	50	80	4
L.P. Schools	3	102	16	118.08	109.32	16	-	-	117	-	-	-	30	87	6
Vill. Schools	13	349	3	352.76	313.19	-	-	-	353	-	-	-	200	153	14
D) Tamenglong															
U.P. Schools**	1	13	2	72.54	9.40	15	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	15	2
L.P. Schools	1	71	9	70.90	47.89	20	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	80	2
Vill. Schools	14	257	2	220.18	161.46	-	-	-	259	-	-	-	80	257	14

Remarks: * Closed.

** Upper Primary and Lower Primary Schools are mixed ones.

F.F. Pearson: Administration Report of the Manipur State for the Year 1944-45 (Appendix XLVIII), Imphal, 1946.

Statistical Returns of High and Middle Schools for the year 1944-45.

VII

Name of School	Number of Masters	Number of Graduates	Number of pupils	Average Attendance	No. taking School Exam.	No. Passing	No. taking Matrix Exam.	Number of Passing			Remarks
								1st Div.	2nd Div.	3rd Div.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Johnstone High School	9	5	210	88.65	198	161	11	2	3	3	
Churachand H.S.	12	4	267	66.6	248	241	6	-	-	6	
Wombisana H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-) Closed since the first bomb- ing of Imphal.
Tamphasana Girls H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Faizia Middle English Madrassa	2	-	45	80.0	12	12	-	-	-	-	
Nambol M.E.S.	4	-	96	76.0	73	63	-	-	-	-	The schools were reopened during the 1st week of March 1945 after Japanese incursion.
Kanchipur Poly-technic School	8	-	382	73.3	161	-	-	-	-	-	
Ukhrul Middle English School	11	-	308	209.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Tamenglong Middle English School	8	-	195	247.83	-	-	-	-	-	-	