

CHAPTER III

STATE OF AFFAIRS FROM 1910-1933

Introduction:

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

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

TRANS-FRONTIER VILLAGES IN THE NAGA HILLS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁵ Ibid., 109.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁰ Op.cid., 109.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

¹⁰³ Ibid., 2.

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



Morung in Wakching



Morung carvings.



Ang house



carvings

on Ang's hut.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 6-7.



Log Drum or War

Drum.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.,7-9.



Human Skulls trophy.

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

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

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

EARLY RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH:

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

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

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 10-11

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

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

THE CHINGLONG EXPEDITION:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TOTOK PUNITIVE EXPEDITION:

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

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

¹¹⁷ Ibid.,470.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁴ Ibid Sl. No. 470

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁶ Ibid., Sl. No.469.15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁸ Ibid., Sl. No 469.

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

THE SUBSEQUENT TOUR:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

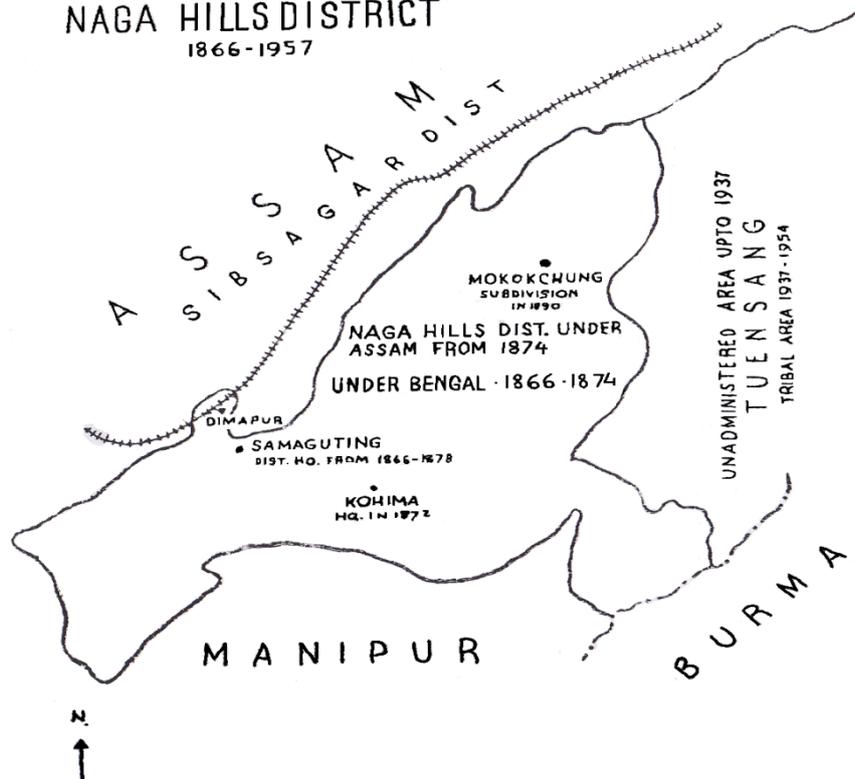
¹³² Ibid Sl. No. 469. 17-18.

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

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

¹³³¹³³ Ibid Sl. No. 469. 19.

SKETCH MAP OF
NAGA HILLS DISTRICT
1866-1957



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

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

FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE NAGA CLUB:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Mr. Senkalemba.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1919:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our country is poor and it does not pay for its administration. Therefore, if it is continued to be under the Reformed Scheme, we are afraid that new and heavy taxes will have to be imposed on us, and when we cannot pay, than all lands will have to be sold and in the long run we shall have no share in the land of our birth and life will not be worth living then. Though our land at present is within the British territory, Government have always recognised our private rights on it, but if we are forced to enter the council, all these rights maybe extinguished by an unsympathetic Council the majority of whose members are sure to belong to our districts. We also much fear the introduction of foreign laws to supersede our own customary laws, which we now enjoy. For the above reason we pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachments from other people who are more advanced than us by withdrawing our country from the reformed Scheme and placing it directly under its own protection. If the British Government, however want to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have concurred us themselves, and to whom we were never subjected, but to leave us alone to determine ourselves as in ancient times. We, the members of the Naga Club, claimed to represent all tribes those to which we belong¹³⁸. This memorandum was signed by twenty Nagas of the Naga Club. They are: Nihu Angami (Head Interpreter); Hisalie Angami (Beshkar); Nisier Angami (Master); Gebo Kacha Naga (Interpreter); Vibunyu Angami (Potter); Goyiepra Angami (Treasurer); Khosa Angami (Doctor); Ruzhukhrie Angami (Master); Dikhrie Angami (Sub-overseer); Zhapuzulie Angami (Master); Zapulie Angami (Interpreter); Katsumo Angami (Interpreter); Nuolhoukielie Angami (Clerk);

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

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

THE CONSTITUTION ACT OF 1935:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE NAGA ZELIANG UPRISING:



Rani Gaidinliu (1915)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 39- 71.

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 170.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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