

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF

NORTH-EAST INDIA



COL VED PRAKASH

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Volume-5



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Nagas: A Brief Historical Perspective

The Nagas have aptly been described “a singular race of people”¹—a vigorous, adventurous and colourful people, prone to violence, with an interesting history.

SOURCES

There is a dearth of material to construct the history of the Nagas. Apart from some obscure references in the ancient Sanskrit and Pali literature, the earliest specific reference to the Naga tribes is in the *Geographica* of Claudius Ptolemaeus, written in the 2nd century AD. Allowing for the error he made in telescoping the Bay of Bengal, Ptolemy depicts the Naga country accurately enough to its present position (*Geographica*, VII, ii, 18). He describes it as “the realm of the naked”; and the survivals down to the thirties, and even forties of the 20th century, suggests that a culture little different from that of the Konyak (naked) Naga tribes once extended from the north-east corner of the present Assam valley to as far south as at least the North Cachar Hills, if not possibly to the Bay of Bengal. For there are certain features of the culture of the Lakher tribe which are very suggestive of the Naga affinities of the overlay of either Kuki-Chin or Arakanese culture under which the whole of the hill area south of Manipur state has been submerged.

No historical material about the Nagas is available prior to their migration to their present habitat except that the Naga tribes have affinities with the tribes of South-East Asian countries. First accurate, if sketchy, historical account of the Nagas can be found in the *Buranjis* of the Ahoms who entered India in 1228, after subduing the stiff and violent resistance by the former.

Recorded history of the Nagas start with the 1832 march of British employees of the East India Company from Manipur to the Assam plains through the Angami area of the Naga Hills. It

involved some skirmishes. It was the beginning of the interaction between the English and Nagas. Then in 1866, the British established a district of Naga Hills under Assam, with its Headquarters at Samaguting, in the foothills—later shifted to Wokha in the heart of the hills in 1876 (For record, the capital was shifted to Kohima in 1978). From then on, the British ruled the Hills till 1947. During these 115 years, the British officials who administered the area, led many punitive expeditions into it, surveyed it with diligence, and settled numerous inter- and intra-village/tribe disputes, produced several authoritative accounts/reports/books on their land and the people (*see* Chapters 2, 5 and 9). It is to note that some of these British officials were turned into anthropologists, sociologists and scholars, and even secured jobs as professors at the acclaimed seats of learning like the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Some of the sources are discussed here.

Archaeological Evidence

It is of limited value and epigraphic and numismatic materials in respect of Nagaland are conspicuous by their absence.

Ruins of Dimapur. It is accepted that Dima-Sa Kacharis (pronounced Kachhari) once ruled Dimapur, presently the largest business centre of Nagaland. Bhima had married the Dimasa Princess, Hirimbha, and the union produced the great Mahabharata warrior, Ghatotkacha. A well-preserved brick Gate exists among the ruins of some ancient boundary walls and fortifications, indicative of an impressive fort and palace of the yore. The area of the gate is known to the locals as Rajbari (=palace of the king). The ruins of the Gate lie on the eastern side of the Palace site. Inside the gateway are found some pierced stones, possibly meant to receive the hinges of the double heavy doors. The gateway is flanked by two octagonal turrets, one on either side. There are some false windows of ornamental moulded brickwork and the entire gate is well ornamented. The gateway is 51 ft long, 15 ft deep, and 15 ft high. There are several remains of pillars, posts and heaps of masonry. Two groups of pillars deserve attention. In first group, 300 ft south-southwest of the Gate, there are 64 pillars in four rows of 16 each. These are in two shapes: round and V-shaped. The round ones are 6–9 ft high, with circumference varying between 5'7" and 17'9". Arm of one of the V-shaped pillars, fallen to the ground, measures 14 ft long, with sides 3'6" by 3'6". It is

rectangular in shape. No two pillars are identical, in shape, size, or decoration. The two pillars are 10-13 ft apart, centre to centre. The second group, 400 ft west of the Gate, has 16 pillars, 5 still standing. There is a lonely pillar, 1,000 ft to the southwest of the Gate, 15 ft high with a circumference 23-25 ft. It is the biggest pillar; and unlike any other, it has a knob on its head. The pillars, with semi-circular tops, bear concentric foliated carvings on the sides. There are representations of elephant, deer, peacock, dog, duck, etc. but no human figure or head. The pillars are of sandstone. Dimapur, in plains, have no such stones. The nearest place where stone is available is Chumukedima (earlier, Nichuguard), 15 KM from the gate.

The Palace compound was surrounded on three sides by brick walls, running into a total length of 5 KM. The fourth, southern, side has the Dhansiri running along it, providing natural defences. The fort was discovered amidst the thick jungle by Grange in 1839. The Kacharis credit the erection of the fort to Chakradhvaj, their fourth king, and ascribe its destruction to Kala Pahar, an iconoclast Muslim. But it needs to be said that their last King, Detsung (1531-36) was defeated/killed by the Ahoms, who also destroyed the capital Dimapur (The Kacharis established their new capital at Maibong).

The Palace/Fort and monolithic pillars could have been erected during the 14th/15th centuries. But it is fairly certain that the Ahoms and Nagas had nothing to do with this Fort.

Longtorok. There is a group of six stones, called Longtorok (long = stone; torok = six), at village Chungliyimiti (Sangtam area), 20 KM by road from Mokokchung. The Aos believe they have originated from these stones. Presently, due to ageing, weathering, and natural breaking, these stones have increased in number, and are located in two groups. In one group, there are two big stones (one being flat, 175×75×30 cm, with an oval hole in the middle, 20×50 cm, suggesting the female organ) and 10 smaller ones (one resembling a phallus, 12×20 cm, other a human foot, and third a human head). The second group has four big stones (similar in shape, size, and each measures about 175×75×30 cm) and a few smaller ones.

Khezakenoma cave. Some major Naga tribes like Ao, Tenyima, Lotha, Sema, as per their traditional stories, claim to have come

from Burma and gathered at Khezakenoma, whence they dispersed to their present areas. A variant claims they have emerged from a cave at Khezakenoma, a place in the Chakhesang area in the mid-south of Nagaland bordering Manipur. It also says they were one people and divided into different tribes only after their settlement in different habitats. Incidentally, Tenyima includes Angami, Zeliangrong (conglomerate of three tribes), Mao (in Manipur), Rengma and Chakhesang (again, a combine of three tribes) tribes. This is an important archeological site/evidence.

Naginimora

Towards the end of 17th century, because of internal troubles, the Ahom Prince Gadadhar Singha² took refuge in Naga Hills (Konyak area). During this stay, he married a Konyak girl, Watlong. When normalcy returned, Gadadhar went back to Assam with Watlong. The latter fell sick and during her journey to the Hills, she died at a place, which later came to be known as Naginimora (Nagini = Naga woman; more = mara = died), situated in plains area of north-west Nagaland bordering Sibsagar plains, in the present Mon district. The actual site of her death is 4 KM up in the foothills, where a stone is preserved to commemorate her death.

Longchum Stone. A Stone Pillar near Longchum village is called so and was erected by the Burmese Army during their march through the area during their invasion (1820-26) of Assam. The site is in Bhandari Range, near the plains. It is likely that the Konyaks, Aos, Lothas, Rengmas were affected by the Burmese invasion.

Relics at Kohima. In 1833, Lt Gordon led an expedition, as mentioned above, from Manipur to the Assam plains through Kohima/Naga Hills, with the help and support of Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur. It reached Assam successfully, overcoming the tough resistance put up by the Nagas. To commemorate the event, the Manipuris sculptured the print of both the feet of their Raja on a flat stone, which was placed in a park at Kohima for public display. Post-1947, it was shifted to the state Museum. Kohima also boasts of some other monuments like the War Cemetery, minor stone erections with epigraphic records, etc.

Foreign Sources

These authors are included in the bibliography. The more prominent ones are Hutton, Mills, Smith, Haimendorf Furer,

Bomer, Robinson, etc. Some administrators, visitors, even missionaries wrote extensively on the land and the people in their notes, personal letters; and Government documents like District Gazetteers, Linguistic and Census surveys. Some prestigious journals were thrown open to them to write about their experiences in these Hills, and on its tribes and their cultures; namely JASB, J(R)AI, JRIA, JRSA, JBORS, Man in India, etc. Prominent writers from this genre are Butlers (Senior and Junior), Brown, Woodthorpe, Grange, Bigge, Brodie, Davis, Dalton, Mackenzie, Grierson, etc.

Indian Sources

Ahom Buranjis have some—minimal—references to Nagas. The two most important authors in this category are Verrier Elvin (domiciled Englishman) and Alemchiba.

Periodisation

For a convenient study of the Nagas, its history can be divided into three periods:

1. *Ancient Period*: From their Pre-India hoary past to their settlement in their present habitats, say in the 13th century.
2. *Mediaeval Period*: From their migration into India till 1866 when the Naga Hills district was created in Assam.
3. *Modern Period*: 1866 to 1947.

ANCIENT PERIOD

This period of the Naga history, from their hoary past till their migration and settlement in their present areas, is rather obscure—practically nothing being known about it. Because of certain affinities and cultural traits, scholars agree that they have come from South-East Asian countries.

Their origin as such, and migration into India's North-East will be discussed in Chapter 51.

The Hindu Kings ruled Kamarupa (Assam) during 4th-12th centuries. The Mahabharata has reference to the Kingdom, but not much is said about the Nagas.

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

It spans the period since the time various Naga tribes settled in this land till 1866 when Naga Hills was created a district under Assam. This period may be conveniently discussed under topics like

Ahom-Naga relations, Naga-Kachari relations, Ahom-Kachari relations, British forays into the Naga Hills, establishment of the district.

Ahom-Naga Relations

The Naga tribes living on the western side of the Naga Hills, such as Konyak, Ao, Lotha, Angami and Zeliangrong, came to their present habitat in the border probably between the 12th and 14th centuries. Since they were occupying areas on the western border of the Ahoms, it is but natural that they developed contacts/relations with the latter at very early times. When the Ahoms entered Assam (1215-28), their Buranjis have reference to the Nagas and Naga settlements. The Nagas had their own villages, but the Ahoms gave their own names to them. In these early days, the Nagas were usually named after the passage or *duar* through which they came. In fact at that time, their tribe-names were not in use, and in most cases they had not yet developed these names.

So in the early Ahom periods, they have adjectival names for Naga villages—Aitaniya, Tanyachu, Tablungiya, Jabokya, Abbypuria, Banfera, Banchungia, Namchungya or Jaipuria, Barduwariya, Matiguria, Dayangia, Khamtongiya, Hatiguria and Malanthupia.³ The Ahoms used to call these people as Nagas, prefixing the name of the village or *duar* they passed through; eg Aitaniya Naga, Jabokiya Naga, Hatiguriya Naga, etc. It is not possible today to identify these villages, but it can be safely presumed that those are the villages of the Konyaks and Aos of the Nagaland, and Noctes, Wanchos and Singphos (they were considered 'Nagas' at that time) of Tirap district of Arunachal. But at a later time, they used some names which are identified and used even today by the Assamese; eg Bora Haimong (Yimchenkimong), Deka Haimong (Molungyimchen) and Nowgang (Merangkong), all in Ao area; Naginimora and Borjan in Konyak area; Merapani and Bhandari in Lhota area; and Nagarjan and Nichuguard in Angami area.⁴

First Ahom King, Sukapha, committed horrendous atrocities on the Nagas who resisted his advance into India.⁵ From 1268 to 1439, Nagas find no mention in the Buranjis. Susenpha (1439-88) led a punitive expedition against the Tangsu Nagas to avenge their raid on the Ahoms but lost 140 men in the fight. When a Naga Chief Karengpa came to pay his tribute to Supimpha, he was

entertained in the palace. Impressed with his personality, a queen cast constant glances at the Naga Chief, and was even indiscreet enough to praise him to the King's face. Enraged, the king made her over to Karengpa. (Details in Chapter 6)

Suhungmung (1497-1539), also called Dihingia Raja because he moved his capital to Bakata on the Dihing River and settled many Ahoms there, sent an expedition under Bar Gohain and Burha Gohain in 1504 to suppress a revolt by Aitonia Nagas. Defeated, the Nagas sent Chief's daughter and four elephants to the King as peace offering, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of axes, gongs and amber.

Suhungmung had to send an expedition to suppress the rebellious Khamjang, Tablung and Namsang Nagas in 1535. In 1549, Banpara Nagas sought the help of Suklenmung (1539-52) against the Banchang Nagas. The Banchangas were defeated and considerable booty came to the Ahoms. During his reign, Suklenmung had constructed a road called Naga-Ali which runs from Bar Ali to Naga Hills via Gadhuli Bazar. Some other actions against the Nagas, mostly in response to a raid, by various Ahom Kings are listed here:

<i>King</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Naga identity</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Sukhampha (1552-1603)	1555	Aitonias, Papuks & Khamtengs	Ahoms ambuscaded on their return journey
	1573	Aitonias	Large booty
Peace for 77 years on Ahom-Naga Front			
Jayadhvaj Singh (1648-1663)	1650	Lakmas	Their village burnt. Daffa archers fought for the Ahoms. Houses and granaries of Lakmas destroyed.
Chakradhvaj (1663-69)	1654-56	Lakmas	
	1665	Proceeded against Banchangs, on the request of Banpara	Ahoms used cannons to defeat Banchangs. Their houses and granaries were destroyed.
Gadadhar Singh (1681-86)	1685	Nagas raid in Doyang valley Namsangs raid plains	Many Nagas captured and beheaded including some chiefs.

Burmese Invasion (1819-24) and Nagas

The Naga Hills, particularly the Konyak, Ao and Lotha areas remained disturbed as Burmese soldiers harshly suppressed them. The peace returned only in 1837 when the Singphos, who had sided with the invaders, were finally subdued.

The Ahoms, fleeing from the advancing Burmese, were given shelters by the Konyaks in their villages like Wakching, Wanching, Namsang and Kongon. One group took shelter in Merangkong in Ao area, staying there for 3-4 years and the place is still known as Ahomlar Imkong (Ahom habitat). On their return, they used to send many basketfuls of paddy and other gifts for several years as a token of gratitude. The Ahom refugees even reached Ungma, lying in the mid-south of the present Mokokchung district—predominant Ao area. They were even given land to till. It is here that the Aos picked up terrace cultivation from their guests. The Burmese also plundered the Lotha villages on the border, leaving them desolate in the Prussian Way.⁶ The Burmese planted a stone pillar near Longchum village in Bhandari Range, which is highly revered till date.

Ahom-Naga Equation: A look at

The Nagas not only resisted the entry of the Ahoms into India, but subsequently continued to raid the Ahom subjects in the plains neighbouring their Hills. The latter invited punitive expeditions from the Ahoms. Sometimes, the Naga lust for head-hunting also invited military action. The presence of brine wells was also source of conflict. The Ahom never tried to subjugate or bring the Nagas under them permanently. Peace generally prevailed between them interceded by spurts of occasional violence. The Ahoms appointed Khamjang Gohain to maintain peace with Khamjang Nagas. Same job was entrusted to *katakis*, *vis-à-vis* the Nagas in general.

The Nagas came to plains to obtain their needs of salt, dried fish, rice, and iron implements, in exchange of their products like chilli, ginger, cotton etc. It was usually barter deal. The facilities for weekly markets were created in the plains for the barter trade. The Nagas paid tribute, and some presents like elephant tusks to the Ahom kings and in return were rewarded with the grant of arable lands, called Naga *khats*, which were highly valued. These grants were made to submissive/friendly Nagas, called *bori* Nagas, but not to the hostile (*abori*) Nagas. The *khat* system gradually fell in disuse after 1947, and stands nearly abolished in the recent years. Table below has details of the Naga *khats*:

Statement showing the number of *Katakis*, remission for *Kataki* lands
and Naga *Khats* in the district of Sibsagar

No.	Names of Dwar	No. of <i>Katakis</i>	Remission for <i>Kataki</i> lands	Remission for Naga <i>Khats</i>	Total amount Remission
1.	Mohong Bor Dwariya	2	6-0-0	0-0-0	6-0-0
3.	Namsang	3	9-0-0	0-0-0	9-0-0
4.	Moothoon	2	6-0-0	0-0-0	6-0-0
7.	Bheetur Namsang	3	9-0-0	16-6-8	25-6-8
8.	Teeree	3	9-0-0	15-13-7	24-13-7
14.	Dobdhor	7	21-0-0	16-0-0	36-0-0
15.	Austringiya	2	6-0-0	35-5-9	41-5-9
16.	Hatteeghur	2	6-0-0	24-6-10	30-6-10
	Dyung Dwar				
17.	Chareegaih	2	6-0-0	10-0-0	16-0-0
19.	Jungpang	3	9-0-0	24-2-0	35-2-0
22.	Lakoteeah	8	24-0-0	45-12-2	69-12-2
23.	Saneegaon and Kergaon	2	6-0-0	23-13-4	29-13-4
24.	Borgaon	3	9-0-0	34-8-7	43-8-7
25.	Hilleegaon	3	9-0-0	40-7-10	49-7-10
28.	Nowgong	2	6-0-0	26-8-0	32-8-0
31.	Akook	3	9-0-0	20-11-3	29-11-3
32.	Oorboong	0	0-0-0	12-0-0	12-0-0
	Total	88	264.0-0	533.4-0	797.4-9

Source: FC, 19 October 1844, No. 124.

The salt was much-sought after item, and hence the importance of brine wells, mostly located in the plains/foothills under Ahom control (total 85). Mahang Nagas had several brine wells in their area, and that explained Ahom desire for good relations with them. Nocte Nagas of Namchang area and Barduwariya Nagas had good number of wells which made their chiefs very rich and influential. As Ahoms too used these wells, there was increased interaction with Nagas, who adopted the Ahom ways. Till date, the women of Namchang and Jaipur dress like the Assamese.

To the Ahoms goes the credit of introducing a lingua franca for various Naga tribes, popularly called Nagamese (Naga+Assamese).

Naga-Kachari Relations

Bodos, the autochthons, ruled all over Assam and names of rivers and places in the Brahmaputra Valley are given by them (their *di* = river or water): Dibru, Dikhu, Dihong, Disang and Diphang (all rivers) and Dibrugarh, Digboi, Dimapur and Diphu (all places). These people are Bodo or Boda fisa (=son of Bodo) in the Valley; Mech in North Bengal and Goalpara; and Kachari in Kachar district.

The Kacharis ruled at Dimapur for long (before the advent of the Ahoms). The legend of Princess Hiramba has already been mentioned. Cachar was known as late as the British rule by the name Hirimba (or Hiramba), appearing as such in one of the seals of the British Superintendent in 1835. Since Dimapur is only 15 KM from the foothills, it is quite likely that it was a plains market for the Angamis and Rengmas, soon after their settlement in the Hills. A record of AD 1875, the earliest on the subject, says that "some 500 years ago (say in the 14th century), the Khasis came in contact with the Kacharis of Dimapur and the Angamis in the Hills". The story says Sajar Nangli, brother of the Khasi ruler, eloped with the latter's daughter to Dimapur, and then into the Hills.

Rengma tradition says some of their people were living in the suburbs of Dimapur when Kacharis ruled there. A Rengma Chief, Dimak, ruled over the Rengma colony of Dimapur and the Doyang Valley. Next to the Rengmas, Angamis were closest to the Kacharis. The Angamis raided North Cachar areas and Cachar more often than Dimapur plains. It is said the name 'Angami' has originated from 'Hangami' (=trouble creator).⁷

Explorations and Expeditions

With the February 1826 Yandabo Treaty, the entire Assam passed into the hands of the Company and became part of the Province of Bengal; and Manipur became a 'Protectorate' of the British. Cachar came under the British on 14 August 1832 when its Raja died without a heir.

Naga Hills in the south borders not only Manipur but also North Cacharis. The Angamis, inhabiting south Naga Hills, and Zeliangrongs from its south-west, used to go to the markets in the plains of North Cachar for trading—reaching as far as Nowgong.

But they went beyond pure commerce—occasionally head-hunting, plundering, and taking slaves (a flourishing business in/with Sylhet area). Once the British became ruling power, they had to intervene to prevent these Naga deprivations—either by befriending them or controlling them. On the north western part of the Naga Hills, the Konyaks, Aos, Lothas were also indulging in similar excesses, barring the slave-taking.

Action was mounted from both the sides: from Cachar, Manipur and Samaguting areas and from Sibsagar district of Assam. First decision was to explore route from Manipur to the valley via Naga Hills. Two expeditions were launched from Manipur: First, under Capt Jenkins and Lt Pemberton (January 1832) and second under Gambhir Singh and Lt Gordon (December 1832). To subdue the defiant Nagas, ten punitive expeditions were mounted between January 1839 and December 1850. It was obviously a policy of active interference (*see* Ch. 9). It seemed to be costly, and not succeeding. So troops were withdrawn from the Hills in March 1851. The emboldened Nagas launched 22 raids (mostly in North Cachar) in 1851 in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 carried away into captivity—proving futility of trying to occupy the Hills by force. It was decided to leave the Hillmen to their wild ways, and adopt a policy of non-interference. It too did not seem to be succeeding as the 22 raids of 1851 showed, and further raids continued next year onwards. Effecting a change, an officer was posted in 1854 in Asalu (North Cachar) and a line of frontier posts established. But raids on the plains continued unabated, compelling the authorities at one time to abandon North Cachar itself. Then the colonies of the Kukis were established between the Nagas and plains villages to thwart the Naga forays, but it too did not succeed. On experimental basis the Angamis were recruited into the Military Police to co-opt them into the system. It too failed as the Angamis could not remain under discipline for long; for the 37 Angamis recruited, average service period proved to be of only 8 months.

From 1854 to 1865, there were 19 Angami raids into the plains in which 232 British subjects were killed, wounded, or carried off. 92 of these unfortunate were lost during the three years of 1854-56 when there was a chain of outposts from Borpathar to Asalue which were regularly patrolled. All this compelled a second look on the policy of non-interference.

Forward Policy and Establishment of Naga Hills District

To establish effective control, it was decided to form a district of Naga Hills in Assam with headquarters at Samaguting.⁸ Adequate information on the land and its tribes had been gathered during the 10 expeditions till 1850. Exceptional contribution had been made by Butler Sr. (1844-48) and Vincent (1850-51) in their tour reports. Lt John Gregory was the first Deputy Commissioner (1866-69) and John Butler Jr. second (1869-75). Its area in theory extended from plains of Assam to the Burma border. But in practice, it did not go, at that time, beyond Dikhu River on the east. Gregory engaged himself in consolidating administration in the nearest Zeliangrong and Angami villages. Roads were built, and house-tax was imposed on the Naga villages. By 1874, Capt Butler, Jr, son of Maj Butler, Sr, had completed the survey of Zeliangrong, Angami, Chakhesang, Rengmas and Western Semo areas. Then Butler Jr. in company of Dr Brown, Ridgeway, Woodthorpe and Ogee, set off to survey the neighbouring tribes.

Anglo-Lotha Relations

The Lothas had raided plains villages periodically between 1855 and 1871. By the close of 1874, the survey resumed in the Lotha area. It was opposed more than once. The first violent attack/ambuscade came on 3 January 1875. 3 sepoys were killed. Wokha was burnt down. Meanwhile, a British expedition was attacked at Ninu, a Wancho Naga village in Tirap, modern Arunachal. Lt Holcombe and 80 men were killed. Capt. Butler and Lt Woodthorpe, then leading a punitive force, were directed to Ninu to punish it. Ninu was burnt on 21 March, and the force thus returned to the Ao and Lotha Hills. In a violent ambush at Pangti, a Lotha village, Deputy Commissioner Butler was injured and later died in December 1875, at Golaghat.

The Lotha violence compelled the Government to establish a regular administration in Lotha territory. So Wokha Sub-Division of the Naga Hills district was started in 1976. The same year, Naga Hills District Headquarters was shifted to Wokha from Samaguting. Later on, Wokha Sub-Division was concerned with the dispatch of expeditions to quell inter-tribal feuds in Sema and Ao areas. With the creation of Wokha Sub-Division, we enter the modern period of the Naga Hills district.

MODERN PERIOD

The Naga Hills district was created to ensure safety of the queen's subjects against the Naga raids, particularly. It is interesting to note that of all the border tribes, we do not hear of any raids committed by Aos and Rengmas.

Angami Resistance

When the District Headquarters was moved to Kohima in 1879, the Angamis were resentful and its chief village, Khonoma—known to be recklessly brave—rose in revolt. On a visit to Khonoma, Deputy Commissioner Damant was killed at its entrance gate on 13 October. Thence, the Nagas besieged Kohima which was relieved only when Manipur Force under Col Johnstone reached there. Next, Khonoma was attacked on 22nd November and taken over on 23rd. The Khonoma warriors retreated to the safety of the Barail Range. On the 27th, Jotsoma was attacked, burned and occupied. By then, reinforcements from Shillong too had arrived. During February-March 1880, there were raids on the defiant villages and many skirmishes with the rebels. By the end of it, 43 Assam LI had destroyed Sephama village, and Popolongmai and Chakka Forts were in British hands. The Assam Chief Commissioner visited Cachar, Manipur and Naga Hills (he stayed at Kohima 1-11 March 1880) and meted out harsh punishment to rebel villages, ordering even dispersal of some clans—particularly severe was he on Khonoma. The impositions? The villages were to pay revenue in the shape of one mound of rice and one rupee per house; to provide a given amount of free labour yearly for the purpose of State⁹; and to appoint a headman to carry out Government orders/wishes. With these measures, the Government got a firm grip on the Angami areas. Here is an incident depicting brave men of Khonoma. 55 of them, starting from Popolongmai, went through Manipur territory, marched through the bed of the Barak, and raided *Baladhan* Tea Garden in Cachar, 130 KM away. They retraced those 130 KM to reach home safely, all through moving under the cover of night and hiding in the jungles during daylight hours. Could soldiers today do any better! At the end of it, the manager, Blyth and his 16 coolies lay dead, and the Garden plundered and burnt. Beauty of it all was that the Government forces were unable to intercede them even during the return journey!

Raids and More Raids and Boundary Extension

The period 1881-96 was marked by raids and feuds. When a village cut up neighbouring villagers, the Government had to intervene. The culprits were called to the Deputy Commissioner's office, fined and told to mend their ways. Villages involved in these "activities" were Lakhuti (Lothas), 1881-82; Philimi (Semas), November 1881, Lazema (Semas), 1882; men of Selachu (Sungratsu) and Imchenkimong murdered two men of Molungyimchen¹⁰, December 1883; etc.

In 1883-84, some Lotha villages with 6,306 houses, yielding a house tax of Re. 1 per house came under the administration and only a few villages were left out. Both the Lothas and Rengmas paid a house tax of Re. 1 per house but the Zeliangrongs and Angamis returned the double the amount. The first Angami village had started to pay a house tax in 1867. Lotha headmen in 1883-84 received Rs. 1,261 as commission. The Inner Line was also enforced.

Parties were sent out to acquire vital knowledge of the areas inhabited by the Semas and Aos who bordered on the newly carved Wokha Sub-Division (1884). The Naga Hills Deputy Commissioner McCabe, with 150 Frontier Police, set off to explore the land and assess the conditions in the hills lying beyond Lakhuti towards Imchenkimong, and to submit a proposal on re-drawing the boundary. He was also "to determine a point on Dibuia-Waromong Range that would be limit of the Naga Hills district in the direction of the border of Sibsagar". It was proposed (and Governor General-in-Council concurred with it in 1884) that as far as the Jhansi (Milak) River or as far as Imchenkimong, the Naga villages be put under the Naga Hills district, while the areas further west should remain in the Lakhimpur district.

In 1885, McCabe, who had marched from Kohima to Wokha, with the Frontier Police under Capt Plowden, Dr S. Bohra, Civil Surgeon and with 100 sepoy, learnt at villages of Koio and Seluko that some men from Nungtang (modern Litami), a Sangtam village owing allegiance to Lophemi, had carried off a woman and child from the Lotha village of Are. So they marched to Lophemi, where the Sangtams were prepared to meet the challenge. At the entrance, a Havildar with some men were injured when their feet were torn by spikes they fell on. But later, the two sides concluded a truce

which was executed in the Naga way! McCabe marched unarmed 100 yds forward to meet the Naga emissary, who, unarmed and unattended, also marched 100 yds forward—the two reaching at an armistice. McCabe was told that the village was of course raided but that was to avenge the murder of the son of their headman by that village!

The McCabe expedition party under Lt Brodrick made it back to Wokha on 5 February 1886 after traversing the Ao villages like Dubia, Mongchem and Cholemsen, and Lotha villages like Mekukla, Akuk, Lakhuti and Sanigaon.

Two Angamis from Khonoma were murdered in October 1884 in Manipur by its Muram Nagas. That Maharaja did not punish the culprits adequately rankled the Khonomans. When 3 Khonomans who had gone to Manipur on trading mission in February 1886 were murdered near Shipvomi village, Khonomans were determined on a revenge this time. 1500 men from Khonoma and nearby villages marched during nights, reached Shipvomi and burnt it down. 13 enemy lay dead. The booty-laden party returned home safely, with the Frontier Police Force tasked to interrupt it failing to do so. The ring leaders, mostly from Khonoma, were arrested on 20 May 1886: 3 of them got 7 years RI, 24 got 2 years, and a fine Rs. 1670 was imposed on Khonoma. Other guilty villages too were fined: Viswema Rs. 1845, Mima Rs. 805, Kedima Rs. 700, Kigwema Rs. 1000, Zakhama Rs. 890 and Kikrema Rs. 1650.

In the meantime, Col W.S. Clarke, Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar set off from Amguri for Milak-Tiru (Tsurang) confluence. McCabe, leading his own expedition, was also in the area. The two met at Imchenkimong on 30 December 1886. The following feuds/quarrels were sorted out during the promenade: Lasso-Chungtya and Imchenkimong; Imchengimong and Waromong, both Ao villages; Merangkong and Molungyimchen, quarrel about fishing rights on the Milak (the Ao name for the Jhansi) River etc. The Expedition Report had valuable information on Aos and their land: (1) Big villages had monopoly on the salt trade, (2) Important trade routes were Ungma-Chuchuy-Impang-Molungyimchen; Langkum-Dibua; and Chuchuilong-Amguri.

The Expedition was tasked to finish its work in the land of Aos, to continue exploration of border on the other side of Naga Hills via Kamsing, Jaboka, Banfera and Muton in Wancho Naga area in

Tirap where Holocomb was murdered in 1878, and then to proceed to Jaypur where they would meet the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur. The Expedition had far-reaching gains: (1) The Government had shown its strength in the hitherto unexplored lands. (2) Its ability to mediate the inter-village/tribe quarrels. (3) Promotion of trade between different tribes.¹¹

It was decided to extend Naga Hills district into the Ao areas, as also the nature of annual visits of such promenades. On the recommendations of McCabe, Government policy on trans-border tribes was enunciated: (1) All punishments should in the first instance be by fine. (2) In default, its equivalent in grains or cattle to be seized. (3) If that is not possible, village access to plains markets to be barred. (4) In no case other than murder should the Deputy Commissioner intervene to settle inter-tribal disputes.

It was decided that the new boundary of Naga Hills district was to comprise the head waters of the Milak down the Waromong Range to Assiringia Range¹² but the tea gardens were excluded, and assigned to Sibsagar district. The boundary of Naga Hills included the Konyak village of Borjan, the Phom village of Munching, the Ao villages of Chungliyimsen and of Dubia, and it joined Mokurta (present Mekokla), Akuk and Lakhuti in the Naga Hills. Except Longma and Chungliyimit, all the Ao villages west of Dikhu, along with the Sema villages of Rotami and Philimi, were incorporated. Outposts from Sibsagar border were transferred to the interior of the hills.

Merangkong-Molungyimchen War (1984-86)

The two Ao villages had a quarrel in 1884 which was mediated by Rev E.W. Clark and Mr Godhula. As a result, peace prevailed for a year. But in April 1886, Merangkong raided Molungyimchen at night, killed 5, and burnt it. The victims fled for shelter to Molungkong, and when they later returned and built their houses, they were again attacked and their village razed to the ground. The panic spread to the neighbouring villages on the northern side of the Milak. Merangkong had also refused to obey when its headman was summoned to Wokha by the SDO which invited a punitive expedition of 40 Frontier Police under Greer. Merangkong was burnt, and Greer also sacked its crops.¹³ Long last ring leaders gave in. The victims returned to Molungyimchen. The expedition returned via the Sibsagar plains to avoid the leach infested jungles traversed on the outward march.

The Ao country was notorious for its extensive slavery system. Greer's proposal to abolish it was rejected by Chief Commissioner of Assam as that would be against the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the tribes.

An expedition led by Lt Macintyre, Commandant of Naga Hills Frontier Police had to be launched in March-April 1887 against a Sema Chief, Sakhai, who had killed 80 persons including 26 women in three years. The Force: 40 rifles of 42 Gorkha LI under Lt Robin and 80 rifles of Frontier Police. But before the village was reached, Sakhai came out and paid a fine of Rs. 844, saving his village from destruction. His victims were the Chakhesang villages of Sulhami, Phuima, Chipoketimi etc.

Though by this time (mid-1887) majority of the Lotha and Ao villages and some Sema villages, all in the mid-Naga Hills, and the Angamis and Zeliangrongs in the south, came under administration, some trans-frontier Sema, Lotha and Ao villages were causing trouble in the Cis-frontier villages. So the Naga Hills Deputy Commissioner proposed that the Lotha villages of Are, Yanthamo, Okotso and Pangti; Ao villages of Nankum and Mangmetung, and Sema villages of Hangrung, Nangtung and Phinking be brought under administration, and a police post be set up at Nankum to protect them. But Chief Commissioner Ward rejected it. But it was an eminently wise suggestion based on practical considerations. If a Naga village within the Naga Hills district raided one across the Frontier—then defined by the Dikhu on the east—it could be punished but it was not so if a trans-Frontier village attacked one on its western side because it was not the policy of Government to extend control beyond the Frontier.

Initial Expeditions into Tuensang Area

In 1887, men from villages of Tablung and Lakhtung (present name of this Konyak village is Wanching) crossed the Dikhu and reached Kamching; simultaneously warriors from Namsing village poured into Singkong village. Investigations revealed that Kamching had become a bone of contention between Namsing and Sangtang villages (Tablung, Lakhtung, Tambu and Oking). The incident marked the first British contact with the Konyaks, becoming an important reason for constitution of Mokokchung Sub-Division in 1888-89.

In March 1888, McCabe and SDO Wokha led an expedition to Konyak and Phom villages like Tamlu, Kangtsung, Kongan, Yachem. By May, it was back at Kohima. Some tribesmen near Frontier wanted to be included into the administered area. McCabe left the district, but no solutions was found. In June, 1888, two major tribes, Chang and Sangtam, made raids, recording the loss of 173 lives at Monsenyimti and 44 in Lungkong, both Ao villages. The aggressors came from 8 trans-Dikhu villages, viz Noksan, Longtang, Yali, Longla, Koksang, Litam, Santak and Tuensang.¹⁴ Being beyond the Frontier, the district was unable to send a punitive force immediately. As a preliminary measure to punish the aggression from trans-Dikhu tribes, an outpost manned by 50 Sepoys was set up at Mongsenyimate. Sanctioned by Calcutta, the Expedition under Porteous reached Mongsenyimti on 31 December 1888. Being the leader, Tuensang was the first target. On 12 January 1889, half a mile from the village, Porteous offered negotiations, holding a green bough, the traditional Naga sign of truce. The reply was NO, on the ground that once blood has been shed, they cannot think of peace. So the Party marched up and reached Tuensang at 2.30 PM. It was found deserted. By the 14th, it was all over. The Expedition, 12 days march inside the independent Naga territory, had cost Rs. 1500 in those days. Though culprits had fled, but the show of force had awed several villages into submission.

Consolidation of Southern Nagaland

The process of consolidation of administration in Naga Hills district was gradual. It started in 1866 but was completed only in 1923, that too in respect of former Naga Hills excluding the present Tuensang and Mon districts. It was as early as 1873 when Butler, after his tour, had suggested to extend the administrative control in the tract of land lying between Kapamazou and Saramari Ranges and the head waters of Lania and Dikhu. But the proposal materialised only in 1885 when the present Chakhesang area and some Sema villages of that tract were included in the district. In 1882, the eastern frontier of the district had almost touched the Longitude 94° 30' E. Even though McCabe toured this area in 1886-87, the real exploration of Meluri in Eastern Chakhesang area began only in 1902 when an outpost was established there to protect it against the Kuki ravages. Hence followed the extension of a measure of loose political control over the Tizu Valley, Meluri

and Eastern Rangma area. In 1911, Meluri became a base of operations against Chingmei village on the border which conducted several raids in this side of the Frontier.

It was only by 1923 that villages of Karami, Yisi, Purr and Lophuri as well as Primi and Meluri were brought under the district, through a gradual process by Hutton, Deputy Commissioner (1917-35). The house tax was assessed at Rs. 2 per house at par with rate else in the district.

Mokokchung Sub-Division is Created

When the District Headquarters was shifted from Wokha to Kohima in 1878, the district had only two Sub-Divisions: Kohima Sadar and Wokha. When more and more Ao villages came under the district, the authorities decided to shift the Sub-Divisional Headquarters from Wokha to Mokokchung in 1889, as it was easier to reach the trans-frontier tribes from the latter. In the subsequent years, Mokokchung played an important part in dealing with the tribes on the eastern side. So creation of Mokokchung Sub-Division, rather shifting of Sub-Divisional Headquarters from Wokha to Mokokchung, is a landmark in the history of the district, later Nagaland. At its inception, Mokokchung¹⁵ Sub-Division had 47 Ao villages, 4 Lotha, 3 Sema and 2 Konyak villages. A fort was completed at Mokokchung, Wokha-Mokokchung Road completed by end 1889, and Mokokchung-Amguri Road by June 1890. The garrison strength at Mokokchung was 1 Subedar, 2 Jemadars, 150 Sepoys; the post at Wokha being reduced to 1 Jemadar and 45 men. Three other posts were opened at Tamlu, Mongsenyinti, and Lophemi (it was to keep vigil over the Sema Community). Total tax collection from the Sub-Division during 1889-90 was Rs. 14,008. Chiefs and men came to Mokokchung, presented the SDO fish and fowls, and in return received *Bakshish* to buy salt from Kaia's (Marwari) shop.

Some Sema villages acted defiant. The last of Ao villages to be included in the district was Longsa, in 1892. Since the Sub-Division was established, the administration became settled in the Ao, Lotha and Sema (administered area) areas.

Expeditions Again

A punitive expedition, led by Deputy Commissioner Capt Woods and Lt LW Shakespeare with Naga Hills Military Police,

was mounted against Yimchunger Nagas of Yachumi village to avenge their 1899 raids in political control area. "When attacked by the villagers," troops opened fire, killing 45 Nagas. Yachumi was burnt on 8 February 1900. The Chief Commissioner expressed his unhappiness at this action taken against a village far beyond the political control area which was likely to lead to the gradual extension of the area under direct administration in the Naga Hills and to political and financial responsibilities of a serious nature.

The turbulent and large Sema village of Seromi was included into the district, and political control was extended in the east by taking the eastern, instead of western, source of Dikhu River, as the eastern boundary of administration. There was some modification effected to the Naga Hills-Sibsagar districts in 1901.

The houses of Pelasi Khel of Tuensang were burnt down on 16 January 1905 and a wanton killing of buffaloes, mithuns, cows and pigs was made at the village. "The sepoy enjoyed an enormous quantity of meat of the butchered animals and many suffered stomach troubles later." (It needs to be noted that the British officials always blamed some action of the tribals for launching a punitive expedition or destroying their houses and crops. The authors obviously have the advantage of giving their version of the stories. It is not that tribal villages did not have their reasons. After all their villages and lands had been taken over by the British Government and those still left beyond the "frontier" feared the similar fate. Hence their occasional violence, which was seized upon by the Government to inflict much higher level of violence on them, after all the spears had no chance against the rifles! It surely cannot be always true that the tribals were inviting self-destruction for fun of it or out of compulsive love for the gore!)

In 1906, Government declared Tizu as the eastern boundary by which the Sema villages on the western bank came to be included in the administration. It was anomalous, as it cut the Sema areas into two parts. Some villages on either side had their lands on the other. Worse anomaly was noted by the Secretary to the Government of East Bengal and Assam in 1908: "When the trans-border Semas came and complained to the Deputy Commissioner against Semas. In the control area, he would proceed against the latter. But he was helpless if the case was other way around."

Since the formation of Mokokchung Sub-Division, several alterations to the District boundary were made. When Ao country was brought under the political control (1886-88), a good deal of the area on the plains (conforming to the present Barpathar Sub-Division, Dhansiri Valley, and contiguous Mikir area) on the west was transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts, on the plea that the area lost was replaceable by the addition of Ao political control area. The system of transfer was continued so that in 1905 the district was totally deprived of its portions in Mikir Hills (then Range Hills) which had formed parts of the district after its inception in 1866.¹⁶ In 1908, fresh addition of Konyak villages was made in the Sub-Division.

In 1906-7, the hitherto unadministered Konyak territory above the foothills lying between the Dikhu and Safrai Rivers was consolidated and included in the Naga Hills district, that is, Mokokchung Sub-Division; and with that Mon and Chui areas were also brought under this Sub-Division.

In 1908, confederacy of Yongia, Tangsa, Niang, Kamalu, Yazim and Yaong sought to ravage Yangpi in a raid mounted by Yazim. But Yangpi was alert; got 36 heads—34 of Yazim and 2 of Yaong; and captured 10 of the enemy's 15 guns.¹⁷

Yet another punitive expedition was led by Deputy Commissioner Reid, to Yachumi (Yimchunger tribe) in 1906, the first one of their land was led by his predecessor, Capt Woods, in 1900. And in 1907, another expedition under Dundas was conducted to punish Kehomi with Yachumi, Kisa and Kukyomi which constituted the principal Yimchunger villages.

In January 1908, a large band of Chang raiders (from Lungra, Nokchho, Litam, Nosa, Yali and Hak villages) raided Alisuba, leaving 6 dead. The raid turned out to be a failure, as alerted by the village watchman who sounded the alarm having sighted the enemy, the Alisuba fighters rushed to the gate, defended the village, repulsed the enemy, and captured 3 heads. During these years, the Changs had made incursions against the Yimchunger and Sangtam groups of tribes. Obviously, the location/presence of Sub-Divisional Headquarters among them had done nothing to subdue their aggression. Moreover, until 1908, Mozungjami had not cleared the fine imposed on them way back in 1905. For these reasons, another expedition led by Woods, with 100 rifles of Naga Hills Military

Police under Maj Bliss (with Needham, SDO Mokokchung, Lt Mac Kennedy, Int Officer and Hayden, Spdt, GS) left for Mozungjami (Tuensang) on 22 December 1909. On the 24th they reached Tuensang, were received cordially by the Khel elders, from Pelasi. They delivered a fine of 25 mithuns and assured to keep the frontier peaceful. The deputation from neighbouring villages also promised cooperation. The Chang elders accompanied the Expedition up to the Frontier. The Changs made periodic visits to Mokokchung, offered presents to the SDO, and received in turn clothes, cigarettes, and red shawls as token of friendship.

Chinglong (a Konyak village) is subdued. The delineation between administered and independent territories brought in 1909 was found defective, causing border and ethnic troubles, mainly because the same tribe found itself divided amongst *Sircar's* subjects and non-*Sircar* subjects. It caused some skirmishes which led to battle with Chinglong, a Konyak village, as turbulent as the Chang village of Mozungjami. For its raid in 1910 in Konyak area itself, it invited a punitive Expedition in 1911 which failed to make it mend its way. So in November 1912, another Expedition (led by Deputy Commissioner Webb and force enlisted from Dacca Military Police, Naga Hills Military Police and Lushai Battalion (all under Col GH Loch) left for Chinglong. Prior to it, Chinglong and Chongir had made a treaty that whoever of them defeated the *Sircar* would receive the tribute from other. Chinglong was well prepared to face the *Sircar*. The Expedition was ambuscaded/harassed on the way, and attacked by the allies of Chinglong. Finally the troops reached the village on 5 February 1913 and burnt a part to it, but victory was nowhere in sight. It was only when reinforcements, Gurkha companies led by Maj Wilson, arrived that Chinglong was defeated on 10th March 1913. It had taken over four months. Three Tantok villages,¹⁸ allies of Chinglong, were then destroyed. War ended with penalties on the insurrectionist villages. A post was established at Wangching in 1913.¹⁹

In 1925, the controlled territory had extended to Zungki River, and consequently groups of tribes like Kalyokenya, Phom, Chang and Yimchunger. For this reason, the 1931 Census Report reflected an increase of 13,000 people.

Administering Tuensang

A Special Order of Governor General's Council in 1902 laid down that the Tuensang would continue to be administered by the

Governor Assam as the Agent of the Governor General. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, this area continued to be governed as Tribal Tract discernable from Independent Area. But this frontier policy could hardly be strictly enforced/ followed due to the Division between controlled and non-controlled areas.

The "troublesome" village of Pangsa was taken into the administration in 1938. On being implored by a conference of Konyak Chieftains held at Wakching in 1939 and presided over by Governor of Assam, the villages of Ampao, Longmiar, Chingna, Longha, Chui and Totak delivered 300 guns they had seized from the Assam Rifles Station. The Non-intervention policy was enunciated in the disputes between the tribes within the control area and those outside it.

Nagas Face the Japanese: World War II

Parts of present Chakhesang and Angami areas fell under the Japanese Forces briefly during the April-June 1944 period. Imphal and Kohima were besieged but the defenders held on bravely. Americans were fighting the Japanese in Tirap and area to its east while the British-Indian troops did so in the south, including Kohima and Imphal. The tide turned June 1944 onwards. Mokokchung was not affected except that the Japanese approached Zunheboto but were repelled by the Royal Scots. The Nagas helped the Allies, but Phizo and some of his followers allegedly sided with Japanese. In spite of the tumult of the war, the head-hunting went on in the independent Naga area. In November 1942, Khuzheuka and his 35 men of Khushepu cut up the Chief of Ngoromi on British soil. He was sentenced to 5 years RI by Pawsey, the Deputy Commissioner. The 35 men were punished by enlisting them to 6 months compulsory service in the Labour Corporation. Kitanggre, another warrior, had taken two heads, and he was conscripted to service in the same Corporation. Pawsey had recommended the annexation of Sangtam village area where the American Air Force and Wireless Stations were operating, fearing that head-hunting propensities could create international complications.

Creation of Tuensang Sub-Division and District

Because of policy of Non-interference followed by Delhi (and earlier Calcutta) and Rangoon, vast area between India and Burma inhabited by the Nagas, remained unadministered. On the Indian

side, the area was represented by the present Tuensang district and major part of present Mon district. Reasons cited for not extending administration into this vast area, generally called Tuensang area, were lack of sufficient men and money. However, the British India agreed in 1902 to extend its influence to the then Tuensang area, calling it the Tribal Area and to be administered by the Governor General who could apply British Indian law there. Thus from 1902, Tuensang area came under the nominal control of the British but not under any effective administration. This situation prevailed till 1948, when a separate Tuensang Administrative Circle was constituted as an outpost of Mokokchung Sub-Division, with its headquarters at Tuensang—Mozungjami to the Aos.

The same year (1948), an expedition had to be led to Chen village which had taken 212 heads in its raid on Choknyu. Chen was burnt down yet again, but Totok took away 100 heads of Langliem village when the latter were fishing in a river. Consequently, an outpost was established at Totok in 1948.²⁰ Consequent to a feud between Yachum-Kamahu and Orangkon-Phomching in 1949, the outposts had to be set up at Kiphire, Noklak and Mon in 1950-51. Long last in 1951, a separate Sub-Division of Tuensang was constituted under Naga Hills district, with an Assistant Political Officer in-charge. In 1952, when NEFA was organised into five Frontier Divisions (FD), Tuensang Sub-Division of Naga Hills district was transferred to it as its 6th FD. In 1957, Tuensang was transferred back to Naga Hills to form NHTA, with Tuensang becoming a district. The erstwhile Naga Hills district was divided into two districts—Kohima and Mokokchung. The NHTA became Nagaland in 1961, attaining statehood in 1963. In 1973, Tuensang district was split into two districts of Tuensang and Mon—Nagaland becoming a 4-district state.

Zemi Trouble: Jadunang and Gaidenliu

Jadunang, a Zemi of village Nungkao of Tamonglong area, Manipur, was a priest and had a local following. He was said to have four pythons whom he fed with human blood to ensure the prosperity of his people, reportedly a Khasi belief. In any case, he had become a kind of mystic. It so happened that four Manipur traders passing through Zemi area get lost in 1930, and were suspected to have been killed by Jadunang for his pythons. Jadunang went missing, was declared an absconder, finally arrested

in Kambiron in February 1932 by Higgs, Political Agent of Manipur, tried and executed. When Jadunang was avoiding arrest, his disciple and consort, Gaidenliu, in her teens, had taken over the leadership of his flock and was also declared "wanted". In 1930s, while touring the area, Nehru proclaimed her to be "the Queen (Rani) of the Nagas and a freedom fighter". Arrested in October 1932 in Pulomi by Capt N Macdonald, she was tried and imprisoned for life. Released in 1948, the Rani stayed at her village ever since.

In 1960s, her religious movement, based on human sacrifice which would ensure perpetual prosperity of the tribe, got vigorously revived and Rani Gaidenliu again went underground. Meanwhile, the Phizo-led Nagas too were fighting from underground but Rani was against this fight, hence hostility between the two undergrounds. In 1966, Deputy Commissioner, Kohima district (S.C. Dev) met her in her hide-out and persuaded her to come overground. Since then, she lived at Kohima in a fine house, with a jeep, a telephone and some attendants/guards, all provided by the Government of Nagaland. Though there was criticism by the ruling party members in the State Assembly in 1978 of her "luxurious" living, she continued enjoying it till her death, and she certainly remained a much respected Naga leader all the while.

Deputy Commissioner: Naga Hills

John Gregory First Deputy Commissioner	1866-69
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Political Officers of Naga Hills

Capt John Butler (Junior)	1869-75
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S.H. Damant	1875-79
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Deputy Commissioners: Naga Hills

T. Mitchell	1879-81
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R. McCabe	1881-87
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Alexander Porteous	1887-89
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R. McCabe	1889-94
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Capt AE Woods, ICS	1894-99
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W.J. Reid, ICS	1900-07
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A.W. Davis, ICS	1907-08
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Lt Col AE Woods, ICS	1908-12
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J.E. Webster, ICS	1912-13
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H.C. Berners, ICS	1913-17
Dr J.H. Hutton, CIE, ICS	1917-35
J.P. Mills, CIE, ICS	1935-37
C.R. Pawsey, ME, CSI, CIE, ICS	1937-47

NOTES

1. R.B. Pemberton in H.H. Wilson, *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, 1827*, Appx., pp. XVII-XIX.
2. Gadadhar Singha is commonly mispronounced in Naga dialect as *Kadathar* Hingha, as in that dialect 'K' and 'G' are almost synonymous; and 'S' is mispronounced in Assamese as 'H'. To the Lothas, he is '*Kadapani*'.
3. Alemchiba (1970), p. 29.
4. Ghosh (1982), p. 62.
5. See Ch 6.
6. Mills, 1922.
7. Ghosh, 1982, p. 79.
8. It has been variously spelt by different authors as Samaguding, Samagoodting, Samagooting and Samaguting; and now it is Chumukedima, an Angami name.
9. The free labour system continued till 1957 when the NHTA was formed as forerunner of the Nagaland State.
10. Molungyimchen (or Molungyimsen) had acquired importance since the first American Baptist Mission in Naga Hills was set up there.
11. Ghosh, 1982, p. 113.
12. Other Ao groups were Dubuaria, Paniduaria and Hatiguria.
13. Foreign Proceeding 1886. At Molungting, a guard of 20 sepoy of Sibsagar Frontier Police was stationed to protect the Molungyimchen refugees for sometime.
14. To the Aos, Tuensang was "Mazing-Jami".
15. The old name of Mokokchung (Mokok = unconquerable; Chung = shield) was Sangtumla Kimong. After Wokha, first choice was Ungma, but final choice fell on Mokokchung (altitude 4,644 ft).
16. This only shows that present Assam-Nagaland border dispute is rooted in history.
17. Foreign Department, Extl-A.
18. These three villages were Tangtok or Tingnui (Chinghui), Tanton or Tenha (Chingha), and Tangkong or Tinghot (Chinghot).
19. Reid (1943), p. 160.
20. Ghosh, B.B. (1982), pp. 143-44.