

THE NAGAS

in the

Nineteenth Century

Edited with an Introduction by

VERRIER ELWIN

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MONOGRAPHS

- † The Baiga (Murray, 1939)
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- † The Muria and their Ghotul (OUP, 1947)
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- † Myths of the North-East Frontier of India (NEFA Administration, 1958)
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 - Nagaland (Adviser's Secretariat, Shillong, 1961)
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 - Elwin Kanta Pashankuti Makkal* (Bookventure, 1967)
 - Verrier Elwinnara Girijana Prapancha* (Janapada Sahitya Academy, 1967)

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- † A Cloud that's Dragonish (Murray, 1938)

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- † Songs of the Forest (Allen & Unwin, 1935)
- † Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills (OUP, 1944)

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FOREWORD

THE TYPESCRIPT OF THIS ANTHOLOGY was almost in final shape at the time of Verrier Elwin's death, and, as I had been associated to some extent with the early stages of the work, I was happy to accept Mrs Elwin's and the Oxford University Press's request to tie up the loose ends and prepare it for publication—which meant little more than crossing the t's, dotting the i's, rummaging for suitable illustrations and, where the text was obscure, exploring the original sources. It has been, in every sense, a labour of love, as Verrier Elwin and I had been close colleagues over a number of years, and particularly so during my terms of office as Adviser to the Governor of Assam, when our work kept us in intimate and practically daily touch with each other. Although Dr Elwin never functioned as an executive—for this he had neither the inclination nor the temperament—he exerted nonetheless a powerful influence on our executive officers, and through them, over the entire field of the administration. He was friend, philosopher and guide to the Government and to the tribal people, and his deep understanding, sensitiveness and humanity were variously reflected in the policies of Government.

Verrier Elwin had shown me, and we had often discussed, the manuscript of this anthology while it was under preparation. It was only with the greatest diffidence, however, that I would venture to advise him in his own field of literature and scholarship. Re-reading the anthology has taken me back to old friends—to Dalton, the Butlers, Mrs Grimwood and the indomitable General Johnstone, among particular favourites, and I have felt very much the better—and the wiser—for treading again the passages of the past. The days of the scholar-administrator are, alas, over, but it is good to be able to savour, if only for a brief, golden interlude, the taste of a former age, when there was time, and also a sense of pride and an urge, for presenting an official report not as a mere compilation of facts and figures but as an essay of literary endeavour.

As in Verrier Elwin's companion volume on the North-East Frontier, the original spelling and punctuation have generally been retained in these extracts, except in the case of very obvious

printer's errors. The absence of punctuation marks in some of the tour notes conveys a sense of urgency and raciness (also, be you warned, confusion!) and has not therefore been 'corrected'. Mr Jagadish Saha of the National Library, Calcutta, and Mr Bibhas Bhattacharjee, my private secretary, took great pains in tracing for me the original sources and I gratefully acknowledge their assistance.

It has been a privilege and a joy to have been associated with Verrier Elwin, albeit remotely, in the editing of this anthology. And I like to think of my small contribution as an act of respectful homage to the memory of a very dear friend and colleague.

N. K. RUSTOMJI

Shillong

March 1968

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Map showing India's North-East Frontier in 1884 *facing p. 80*

The line-drawings which appear in the text are reproduced from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. I, 1872 and Vol. XI, 1882.

INTRODUCTION

A FEW YEARS AGO I made an anthology of extracts from the nineteenth century books and articles, now rare and only available in the larger libraries, about the North-East Frontier of India. This book, which was published by the Oxford University Press in 1959, was unexpectedly successful and a new impression was issued in 1962.

At the time when I made this anthology I thought that I might do similar books for other tribal areas in India and the present work represents the first fruit of this idea. Here I have extracted passages about the Naga people on a broad geographical basis from printed books and articles covering the period 1827 to 1896. As in the earlier book I have concentrated on passages which illustrate the history, ethnography and problems of the people. My main interest, as it always has been, was in people, but inter-village feuds and punitive expeditions are inextricably mixed up with the story of Naga life.

This record is not presented as a correct picture but to illustrate how outsiders looked at the Nagas at the time. There are certainly many mistakes of fact, misunderstanding of customs and institutions; almost everything is very different now; some passages reveal a condescending and a hostile or resentful attitude on the part of the writers. I have left most of these in, for they are part of history and the Nagas themselves, who have a great sense of humour, are not likely to resent them.

The men who wrote these extracts found it difficult to get information. The Naga languages in those days, before English or even Assamese had become popular, were some of the most complex and difficult in the world. Visitors to the Naga Hills nearly always had to go under escort and Dr J. H. Hutton points out how difficult this made inquiries even in his own case as late as 1923. He and his party could go nowhere, he says, during a tour in what is now called Tuensang 'without armed sentries standing over us like warders guarding a recaptured convict'. Captain W. B. Shakespear, he notes, who commanded his escort and who should at least have

had a sort of 'family feeling for ethnology',¹ was sympathetic but took no risks. In addition to this supervision in what was then very wild territory, much time was inevitably taken up with 'transitory matters of politics, supplies or transport arrangements' and on the top of it there was constant bad weather. 'A succession of very rainy days not only dilutes enthusiasm, but very much limits opportunities' for obtaining information.

Moreover, none of the writers represented here were professional anthropologists, though some of them wrote better anthropology than many of the supposedly 'trained' young men of the present day. Most of them were soldiers. Dalton belonged to the Bengal Staff Corps. Johnstone began his career in the 'Bengal Army'. Woodthorpe was commissioned in the Royal Engineers. Godwin-Austen was educated at Sandhurst and commissioned in the old 24th Foot, afterwards the South Wales Borderers, and the same may be said of several others. Mackenzie and Damant were members of the Indian Civil Service and some of the officers of the Topographical Survey were civilians, but the soldiers predominated.

A last and unexpected problem arose in the fact that in those turbulent days precious notes and documents were lost. Many of Dalton's manuscripts were 'lost to him during the mutinies' with the result that his notes on some of the Assam tribes were 'not as full as he should have liked to have made them'. Damant's invaluable Manipur Dictionary and a paper on the Angami Nagas were destroyed by the Nagas in the Kohima stockade. In fact, far from criticizing the nineteenth century men for their defects we should be astonished that, under the circumstances, they collected so much information and wrote as well as they did.

It has been impossible to avoid references to head-hunting and war for, as H. G. Wells said of the Europe of 1918, war was 'an atmosphere, a habit of life, a social order'. Some of the comments on Naga methods of war by these writers are very severe. But we should remember that in the nineteenth century, when they wrote, war was still comparatively a gentlemanly affair. I doubt whether officers who had had experience of the methods of Commandos or of Resistance Movements in modern Europe would have found anything very astonishing in what some of the Nagas used to do.

¹ For his father, Colonel Shakespear, see Bibliography.

I found work on this book fascinating and it would have been possible to spend another two years editing it with appropriate footnotes and comments. It is, I think, the small details which are particularly delightful—General Johnstone's cat carrying off his breakfast at Samagudting; the bathing-drawers presented by Mrs Grimwood to her nine *malis*; Lieutenant Browne-Wood digging up surface coal with a Naga spear, the only implement he had with him. Then there is the delightful incident on Christmas Day, 1844, when Major Butler's surveyor came into camp completely exhausted after a long march. He was, Butler tells us, 'a very abstemious man and was always boasting of the inexpressible delight he experienced in satisfying his thirst from every limpid stream and eating sweet biscuits'. But in view of his condition that day Butler gave him a pint of warm porter whereon he rallied instantly, and with a dish of 'hermetically sealed soup' and a slice of ham soon got over his fatigue, and in later years found a glass of brandy more refreshing than the waters of a stream. Another day we see a party of surveyors buying a large basket of rice for one rupee paid in four-anna pieces, with which the Nagas immediately bought a worn spike of a spear, iron being more valuable to them than silver.

And there was the old lady with a very large goitre whose house Dr Brown approached when he visited her village. 'Standing at her hut-door she seemed enraged at our appearance and kept muttering as we passed. Occasionally she clutched her throat and made a motion of throwing her goitre at us, doubtless cursing volubly the while. We smiled benignly on the hag and passed on.'

The death of Captain Butler's Madrassi cook on tour was a serious loss for, says the narrator, 'a good cook is required to vary the monotony of camp diet by ingenious little culinary arts'. Perhaps the most sensational event in all John Butler's camps was the arrival in the evening of January the 5th, 1873, of a dak runner, staggering under the weight of Dalton's great book on the *Ethnology of Bengal* and the young Captain reading far into the night and eagerly spotting its few mistakes.

I am greatly indebted to Mr N. K. Rustomji for reading the manuscript of this book with his customary thoroughness and care and for his many suggestions, as well as to Dr J. H. Hutton who directed me to many documents about the Nagas which escaped the attention even of the late Mr J. P. Mills in his Bibliography. I owe

much to Mr B. S. Kesavan, Mr Sourindranath Roy, Mr J. M. Chowdhury, the Librarian of the State Library of Assam and the Librarian of the Anthropological Survey of India. Mr Kesavan and his staff in the National Library in Calcutta gave me every possible assistance while I was preparing this book and their courtesy and friendliness will always remain with me as a very happy incident in my literary endeavours. Mr Chowdhury, most obliging of men, did much to discover for me the books available in Shillong.

Although at no time did I hold an official position in the Naga areas, my knowledge of the Nagas is not confined to books. My first long tour in the Ao and Konyak areas (with a visit to Kohima thrown in) was in June and July 1947, when I had to walk from Nakachari to Mokokchang. At the beginning of 1954 I did a seven weeks' tour on foot in what is now the Tuensang District, and later I paid a number of visits to Nagaland.

V. E.

Shillong

2 October 1962

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE NAGAS

I BEGIN WITH SOME EXTRACTS about the beautiful and sometimes awe-inspiring country where the Nagas live, as well as notes on its climate, botany and geology. In the latter part of the chapter I give contemporary accounts of Dimapur at the foot of Naga Hills; of Samagudting, the first administrative headquarters which was established in 1848 ;¹ and of Kohima, to which the seat of Government was moved in 1877.

Among the authors represented in this chapter is the tragic figure of Mrs St Clair Grimwood, the widow of the Political Agent at Manipur from 1889 to 1891. Her portrait as frontispiece to her book, *My Three Years in Manipur*, shows her beautiful and dignified with large tragic eyes.

Mrs Grimwood's book with its gentle humour and quiet heroism is in its own field one of the best of all those written about this part of the world during the last century. It describes the happy early months in Silchar, Gauhati, Shillong and Imphal which were followed all too soon by worsening conditions in Manipur, the outbreak of the rebellion, her own daring escape, the death of her husband, her return to England and her audience with Queen Victoria. It is a heart-broken book but its observations of the people and particularly of the Nagas and their country are always sympathetic and affectionate.

Another author represented here is Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen, explorer and geologist, who receives extensive notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His life was a long and varied one and I can only briefly summarize it. At Sandhurst he was a friend of Earl Roberts and became an expert in topographical drawing. He went first to Burma where he explored the navigable waterways of the Irrawaddy delta but towards the end of 1856 he was attached, at the special request of the Surveyor-General, to the Trigonometrical Survey of India to assist in the first survey of

¹ The outpost at Samagudting was withdrawn about 1852, reoccupied in 1865 and finally abandoned in 1877.

Kashmir. It was now that he first surveyed the great Karakoram glaciers together with the giant mountains that enclose them. As the discoverer of this great glacier system it was proposed to name Mountain K2 after him but Government did not agree, on the general principle that personal names were unsuitable for the summits of the Himalayas. Godwin-Austen was a daring climber, for he made several ascents of about 20,000 feet without any of the modern equipment that is now regarded as essential. In 1862 he mapped the northern border of the Pangong District on the western edge of the Tibetan plateau, and the following year went on a political mission to Bhutan, whence he proceeded to the area between Sikkim and Punakha; his maps of Bhutan and neighbouring regions remained the only ones available for over thirty years.

Godwin-Austen next went to Assam. He commanded the party engaged in the survey of the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills and some parts of the Brahmaputra Valley. He was detained for a week in the Jaintia Hills 'in a most vexatious unnecessary manner' owing to 'the want of attention paid by the native officials' to the requirements of his party. It is worth noting that the cost of the Khasi and Garo Hills Survey came to over Rs 45,000—a large sum for 1869–70. In 1870 Godwin-Austen worked with the famous Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills, Lieutenant Williamson, after which he obtained two years' leave in Europe which was, reported his superior officers, 'exceedingly inconvenient and detrimental to the work in hand, as no officer was so well suited for conducting difficult operations and making rapid reconnaissances of a country both physically and politically opposed to such operations'.

To the relief of his Department Godwin-Austen returned to India in 1872 and was appointed Deputy Superintendent to survey the Naga Hills and Manipur boundary and explore the Patkoi Range. He accompanied Captain John Butler on some of his visits and produced a number of invaluable reports, in which he gives a considerable amount of information about the Nagas he met on his way. In 1875 he accompanied the first Dafla Expedition, surveying 1,700 square miles of country, and in the intervals, engaged himself in geological investigations of considerable importance.

Godwin-Austen suffered badly from fever and had to retire prematurely in 1877. Back in England he continued to study natural science in all its branches and in 1880 was elected a Fellow of the

Royal Society. Even when he was nearly ninety years of age he was still obtaining specimens from young officers surveying in India and examining them under the microscope.

Another remarkable man represented in this as well as in later chapters is Sir James Johnstone, who lived from 1841 to 1895. Entering the Bengal Army at the age of seventeen, he became a Major-General on his retirement a year before his death. He took part in the Bhutan campaign of 1864-6 and for several years was in charge of the Elephant Kheddas in Orissa. He received his initiation into tribal problems in Keonjhar State during a rebellion and as Political Agent for three years. In 1877 he went as Political Agent to Manipur, relieved Kohima the following year, was present at the assault and capture of Khonoma, was appointed to settle disputes on the Burmese frontier and was created a K.C.S.I. in 1887.

Johnstone is remembered today largely as a result of his lively, amusing and informative work, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills* which was published a year after his death, with a brief introductory memoir. Johnstone was a very typical Englishman of his day. 'I am one of those old-fashioned Anglo-Indians,' he says, 'who still believe in personal government, a system by which we gained India, solidified our rule, and made ourselves fairly acceptable to the people whom we govern.' He believed that the 'machine-like system' which the House of Commons (which has 'to answer for much', for 'no Indian administration is safe from the interference of theorists') had introduced, was blighting in its effect on Oriental races. 'I have always striven to be a reformer, but a reformer building on the solid foundations that we already find everywhere in India.' He strove hard, as he says, for years to 'hold the floods back from the little State of Manipur' and preserve it intact, while doing all he could to introduce reforms. 'Now the floods have overwhelmed it, and if it rises again above them it will not be the Manipur that I knew and loved.'

It is usually said that British administrators were mainly concerned to isolate the tribal areas of India and were totally uninterested in schemes of development. That this is not entirely true is seen in the lives of Francis Jenkins, Moffatt Mills and Johnstone himself. In Keonjhar, Johnstone formed a valuable herd of sixty cows and several young bulls. He made experiments in rice and flax cultivation. He 'clothed two thousand naked savages'. He was very successful

in establishing schools, where 900 children received a rudimentary education. Later, when he was on leave in England, he sent directions that the increase of his herd of cattle should be distributed gratis among the people. Further, as his biographer observed, 'he was too good a classic not to remember the Roman method of conquering and subduing a province' and as far as funds would permit he opened up roads and cleared away jungle. 'Manipur, to which Colonel Johnstone was appointed in 1877, was called by one of the Indian secretaries the Cinderella among political agencies. "They'll never," he said, "get a good man to take it." "Well," was the reply, "a good man has taken it now."'

DARK-COLOURED MOUNTAIN SCENERY

H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on Survey Operations*, 1872-3, p. 82)

NO PART OF THE BURRAIL is more beautiful than that between Kigwema and Sopvomah, looking up the lateral glacial gorges with their frowning, steep sides, running up to the crest of the Burrail, which is for the greater part a wall of grey rock and precipice. Dense forest covers the slopes, but from their steepness many parts are bare, breaking the usual monotony of the dark-coloured mountain scenery. Where the steep rise in the slope commences, the spurs are at once more level, and are terraced for rice cultivation; not a square yard of available land has been left, and the system of irrigation canals is well laid out. I have never, even in the better-cultivated parts of the Himalayas, seen terrace cultivation carried to such perfection, and it gives a peculiarly civilized appearance to the country. The rice raised is exceedingly fine and very nourishing, containing much sugar and gluten; it appears coarse when compared with the table rice of Assam and Manipur, but we always preferred it to the latter, and it can be cleaned to boil quite white. While on the subject of rice, I may mention that the kind grown by the Kukis is remarkably fine and nutritious, no doubt due to their system of joom cultivation, the crop being taken year after year off virgin soil. The Naga rice owes its fineness to the natural richness of the decomposed clay shales, but they also manure at the time of breaking up the soil and before the first water is let in upon the fields. The rice is sown in nurseries and planted out just before the rains. In April these nurseries were just up, and the water was being run into the terraces. A great deal of other cultivation is carried on upon the hill slopes, dependent on the natural rain-fall, and jooming is also adopted; this is the sole method practised by the Nagas living on the outermost slopes upon the north.

VERY WILD AND BEAUTIFUL

(Mrs E. S. Grimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur*, 1891, pp. 89-92)

THE SCENERY ON THE ROAD between Kohima and Manipur is magnificent. Some of the hills run as high as nine thousand feet, and yet until you are within three days' journey of Kohima the road is almost level, winding in and out along a narrow valley. Forests of oak abound the whole way, and in the cold weather the trees lose their foliage, making it look very English-like and wintry.

Sometimes you find yourself riding along a narrow path which skirts round the side of a steep hill, while below you is the river, clear and blue and deep, with an occasional rapid disturbing the calm serenity of its flow. The hills around are studded with villages, and peopled by various tribes. The Nagas in the immediate vicinity of Kohima are perhaps a finer race than any hillmen to be found in Assam. They are called Ungamis, and are very fine men, most of them six feet high at least, broad shouldered, and powerfully built. Their dress is curious, and quite different to any of the Nagas about Manipur. It consists of a kind of very short kilt made of coarse black cloth, trimmed with three or four rows of shells like cowries. In old days, before Kohima was as settled and quiet as it is in these days, these rows of shells are said to have borne a meaning—a man who had never taken a human head was not allowed to sew them on to his kilt. For every head taken they affixed so many cowries, five or six at a time, as the case might be, and a warrior with three rows on his kilt was considered a great gun indeed.

The Mao Nagas were Ungamis, and used to be rather a handful for the Manipuris to manage. They were always getting up feuds with the villagers over the border, and the Manipuris were very often afraid of hauling them over the coals for it, for fear of getting the worst of the fray. We stayed two days at Kohima on our way to Jorehat, and travelled after leaving there through the Namba forest to the next station, called Golaghat. We took eight days to do this bit of our journey, as the weather was delicious, and we wanted to make the most of our time on the road, being in no hurry to arrive

at our destination. This Namba forest covers an enormous area. It extends hundreds of miles each side of the road, which is constructed right through the middle of it. The scenery is wonderful. High forest jungle rises each side of you as you ride along. Here and there you come across a river, whose sandy banks show the footprints of many a wild beast. Bears, tigers, leopards, and elephants swarm in the jungle around, but one seldom sees anything more exciting than a harmless deer browsing by the wayside, or a troop of long-tailed monkeys crossing the road. It is all very wild and beautiful, and when we eventually came to the end of our eight days' march through the Namba, and reached cultivated regions once more, we were quite sorry.

3

WEATHER IN THE NAGA HILLS

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur during the Field Season, 1872-3*, p. 75)

AFTER A HEAVY FALL OF SLEET AND SNOW on the night of the 9th January, there was a sign of a break in the weather, and it was clearing fast, when early next morning I reached the summit. By working very hard, the Khasis and Goorkha Kalasis cleared the way to Paona through the forest, and that station could be well seen by the evening. Mr Ogle's marks were also up. The fine peak we had just seen the apex of from Kadinba H. S. came into view the last thing about sunset, then a fine snow-capped cone (since found to be 12,600 feet high), the highest yet observed south of the Brahmaputra. It was too late that day to commence observing, but much work was done on plane-table. On the 10th January, all the angles, vertical and horizontal, were observed; it was punishing work, for the wind blew very cold, and at times my hands were powerless to clamp or unclamp the instrument. During the previous bad weather, the moisture-laden clouds meeting the cold air of the ridge, precipitated their moisture in hoar frost on the trees, which were covered with ice spicules two inches in length having a beautiful effect; when a

gleam of sunshine broke out, and as the clouds now and then cleared, the whole range appeared as if covered with snow. True flakes of snow seldom fell, but heavy falls of sleet occurred several times, leaving the ground quite white.

The view from Japvo was superb, one of the finest I have ever seen. On the north, over the valley of the Brahmaputra, covered with a pall of white sea-like fog, out of which at 100 miles distant rose the snowy peaks of the Western Bhutan Himalaya. East, over the gradually ascending main range, beautifully broken into well-marked peaks, all over 11,000. The main ridges trending to the north, and ending in the low intricate hills, upon the plain of Assam near Nazirah. To the south, a low depression in the mass of the hills allowed a portion of the valley of Manipur to be seen with the higher hills beyond in the Kamhow Kuki country. On the south-east, the peak of Japvo falls almost perpendicularly into the valley below 4,000 feet, and the eye follows this lateral valley to its junction with the Zullo, the large Naga villages showing clear on all the commanding points of the many spurs thrown off from the Burreil.

4

A BOTANIST'S VISIT IN 1844

(J. W. Masters,¹ 'Botanical Observations made . . . while passing over the portion of the first ranges of the Naga Hills, lying between the Dikho and Dhunsiri Rivers', *J.A.S.B.*, 1844, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 707-10)

THE FLORA OF THIS PORTION OF THE HILLS resembles, in a great measure, that of the more elevated parts of the plains, especially, as along the uncultivated banks of rivers, and by the numerous little streamlets that wind through the forests, we find forms similar to those found in the ravines between the hills, while on the little hillocks near the foot of the first range, and on the broken ground

¹ Masters was at one time 'Head Gardener' of the Hon'ble Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta.

called *khorkunee*, we meet with many plants that are common to the slopes. Still I met with many plants which I have never seen in the plains and some of those which I have seen down here, are evidently not at home.

The Naga Bhe, *Gordonia integrefolia*, Roxb., is often seen in the plains, but on the hills it is much more common, and grows to a larger tree. I met with it in abundance on every hill.

The little ornamental flowering shrubs called by the natives *Photiki* and *Phootkola*, (different species of *Melastomae*,) in the deep ravines with hills of 3,000 feet of elevation on each side, assume the character of small trees, with stems from eight to twelve feet high, and three or four inches in diameter. As our route lay for the most part through ground which had lately been under cultivation I did not meet with so large a number of species as I had previously calculated upon. Could I remain with safety on these hills for three or four years, I doubt not but I should reap a good harvest, but hurrying over them in the manner we were compelled to do, very little could be done in examining the Flora. I presume it would occupy an experienced Botanist 10 years to explore the whole of the Naga Hills, from the Booreedihing to the Dhunsiri, in a satisfactory manner; none of them having been hitherto visited by any Botanist.

Leaving the banks of the Dikho on the 27th of January at the spot where in 1840 I collected some of the Namsang coal, and where Mr Landers subsequently collected a larger quantity on the part of Government, we ascended the hills, passing over undulated ground and low hills of various elevations. Arriving in the neighbourhood of the coal measures, we passed up the bed of a very rugged water-course, which though nearly dry now, must in the rains pour down its torrents with a frightful velocity. Passing on to near the summit of the hill, we encamped in a forest of bamboos, a little below the village of Namsang.

While rising the hill, I observed the following plants: *Mesua ferrea*, *Careya arborea*, *Ficus elastica*, *F. Scabrella*, *F. species?* *Dillenia speciosa*, *Chaulmoogra odorata*, *Emblica officinalis*, *Artocarpus integrifolius*, *A. Chaplasha*, *Xanthochymus pictorius*, *Liristoma assamica*, *Guarea binectarifera*, *Calumus hostilis*, *Goldfussia* two species, *Pladera*, a most delicate interesting species; and in the village, on the very summit of the sandstone rock, 2,153 feet above the level of the sea, *Baumontia grandiflora*, and the common

dwarf elder. All the Naga villages are built on the very summit of the particular hills on which they are situated, and this village of Namsang is situated on the highest point of the Namsang Purbut; it is thickly studded with houses and crowded with inhabitants, having pigs and fowls in abundance. The men appeared remarkably active and healthy, but the women and children (especially those who are necessarily more confined to the crowded village), appear pale and sickly.

In the villages and the inhabitants, I observed comparatively but little difference, save that from Namsang to Samsa, the houses are all large, high pitched, and more or less supported by bamboo frame-work; while from Mickelai to Nowgong, the sites of the villages not being so rocky, the houses are all low pitched, and seldom supported by bamboo frame-work. All the houses are roomy, strongly built, well, and often very neatly, thatched. The granaries, which are generally situated in a detached part of the village, are all supported by bamboo frame-work.

As the villages are all on the summit of the hills, where the naked rocks frequently rise above the surface, there is very little spare ground for gardens or cultivation of any kind in the villages; but on every little spot on which a few inches of soil is found, attempts are made at gardening. In these we found onions, mustard, tobacco, *sun*, and a few stocks of sugar-cane. I found the mango tree in almost every village, and some immensely large trees, as large as are generally found in Bengal; besides these, a few plants of the guava, peach, and plantain, with *Tagetes patula*, or the French marigold.

The cultivation of rice, millet, *kuchoo*, (arum) pumpkins, ginger, capsicums, cotton and *rom* is carried on at a distance from the village, on the slopes of the hills. It appears to be the practice of the Nagas to cut down heavy tree jungle, burn the trees and scatter the ashes over the ground, to cultivate this ground for two years, and then abandon it for ten years. Often I believe it is under cultivation only one year, and then abandoned for eight or ten, and this method agrees with the habits of the Nagas. With the implements they use, and the nature of the soil, the rapidity with which a body of Nagas will clear a large extent of dense forest is astonishing, and as they use no other implement but the *da*, they are ill prepared for digging. This single implement, the *da*, serves the Nagas to fell

the forest, to dig the ground for his rice, to cut the food for his dinner, and to take off the heads of his enemies. The ground being prepared, the women put the rice and other grain in with a dibble. After the Naga has cultivated a piece of ground two years, and often one year only, he finds it so full of weeds, especially of the *compositae* and *labiatae* families, that it is not worth his while to sow it again and he clears fresh jungle accordingly. The ground which I saw under cultivation two years ago, is now completely overrun with weeds and grass, and fresh jungle has been cleared in the neighbourhood for this year's crop. In the neighbourhood of Nangta, Kangsing and Nowgong, large tracts of ground were cleared ready for cultivation this season; some portions sown.

The village of Kangsing is pleasantly situated on the summit of a rock, at an elevation of 2,568 feet above the level of the sea, and commanding a fine view of the surrounding country. The houses were neatly thatched with different kinds of palm leaves. The leaves most generally used by the Nagas for thatching are *toko pat*, *Levistoniasiamica*; *jengoo-pat*, *Calamus hostilis*; *koosi-pat*, *Melicalatifolia* and Dr Wallich's palm, or *Wallichia caryotoides*; the different kinds are often fancifully intermingled, and bound on with a neat ridge of grass at the top.

At the village of Asimgia is a fine plant of the *sangoch*, or *Caryota urens*, one or two of these are generally met with in each village, as the soft hair in the sheaths of the leaves is used both by Nagas and Assamese for tinder.

5

GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. IV, pp. 329-32)

AS REGARDS THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL ASPECT of the country occupied by the Angamis and their neighbours, I cannot do better than quote from a report from the talented pen of my friend Major Godwin-Austen who states as follows:

'The dead level portion of the Dhansiri valley comes to an end a few miles to the west of Dimapur, and at a very short

distance towards Samaguting. The surface gradually rises over the broad conglomerate deposits, swept down out of the gorges of mountain streams like the Diphu-pani. The first line of hills rises abruptly to 2,000 feet with a strike with the strata north-east and south-west, dipping south-east towards the main range at about 30° on the crest, the dip increasing rapidly northwards until nearly perpendicular at the very base, probably marking a great uninclinal bend in the rocks. These consist of sandstones, very thickly bedded in the upper portion, of red and ochre colour, interstratified with thinner beds of an indurated light coloured clay, nodules of which are very numerous and conspicuous in some of the soft sandstones. In exposed sections, such as that near the new tank at Samaguting, the strata are seen to be closely faulted in direction of the strike, the up-throw never exceeding a few feet. These beds I should refer to the Siwalik series. No mammalian remains have as yet been found in the neighbourhood. Nowhere is a better and more comprehensive view obtained of the broad alluvial valley of the Dhansiri and its great forest than from Samaguting. Mile beyond mile of this dark forest stretches away and is lost in the distant haze. During the cold weather this is, usually in the early morning, covered with a dense woolly fog, which about 10 o'clock begins to roll up from the Brahmaputra against the northern slope of the Barrail, and often hangs over Samaguting and all the outer belt of hills late into the afternoon, when the increasing cold dissipates it. The sandstone ridge, on which Samaguting is situated, runs parallel with the Barrail at a distance of 15 to 16 miles, measured from crest to crest. The Barrail rises very suddenly on its northern face, and the intervening country for a breadth of 8 miles is very low, forming a miniature *dhun*. This intermediate depression continues westward for many miles: the outer range marked by the hills of Phegi and Laikek. It terminates to the eastward on the Kadiuba spur, thrown off from the high north-east extremity of the Barrail, and this spur coincides with the great east upthrow of the Sub-Himalayan rocks composing the highest part of that range, and this I believe is a great north-north-west—south-south-east dislocation in the mountain mass, marked by the course and gorge of the Zubja. This dislocation is, I think, also intimately connected with the change in direction of the main axis of

elevation, which has thrown the line of main water-shed away to the south-east from its normal south-west—north-east direction, which it assumes at Asalu. The dip of these tertiary rocks of the Barrail is steadily to the south-eastward throughout the whole distance, but it gradually changes round to due west, the beds on the highest part, Japvo, turning up at an angle of 35° west. These higher beds are fine slightly micaceous, ochre grey sandstone, very massive and weathering pinkish grey. From this the elevated out-crop of these sandstones tends to south, and is continuous south of the Barak in that direction right away into Manipur, conforming with the change in the strike of all the ridges, the parallelism of which is such a conspicuous feature of the physical geography. To the north-north-west the great change in this mountain system is marked by the broad re-entering arm of the Dhansiri, and the sudden appearance of the granitic series in force in the Mikir and Rengma Naga Hills, seen in the bed of the Nambor, and which becomes the principal feature eastward as far as the Garo Hills. Extensive and thick-bedded deposits of clay and conglomerate and seen in the Samaguting *dhun*, forming broad plateau-capped spurs. I had no time to examine these closely. They appeared to be nearly horizontal, and may belong to the highest beds of the Siwalik formation or the remains of deposits formed prior to the cutting through of the Diphu-pani gorge. Analogous deposits to the last occur in the North-West and Panjab Himalaya. At the base of the Barrail, proceeding to the depression at the sources of the Zullo and Sijjo, the Sub-Himalayan rocks pass downwards into thin-bedded sandy shales, with a steady westerly underlie. Whether the lowest beds represent nummulitic or even cretaceous rocks, it is impossible to say. The thickness is very great, at least 3,000 feet; they rest on an older series of rocks with a totally different lithological aspect. There is unconformability not always apparent, for they partake of a general westerly dip. The strong-bedded younger rocks are but little disturbed, and on the east of the Sijjo come in again at Telligo, nearly horizontal with a slight dip to east on the main ridge towards Kopamedza, marking an anticlinal axis; their horizon is however lower. The older beds on the contrary are much crushed, and change their dip and strike very frequently, the result of prior disturbance. They are composed of clay slates

and very dark blue, friable shales, alternating with others of pale ochrey tint. They are saliferous, and reins of milky quartz are occasionally seen. Several salt springs occur near the bottom of the Zullo valley, under Viswemah, where the Nagas evaporate the water to obtain it. A warm mineral spring also occurs here. Evidence of past glacial action is very marked on the north-east side of the Barrail, where its elevation is close under 10,000 feet. Small moraines project beyond the gorges of the lateral valley. These moraines originally consisted of much earthy matter due to the soft sandstones out of which they are derived. This and long surface weathering has led to their being well cultivated and terraced, but the original lines of larger angular blocks are still apparent. Through these moraines the present streams have cut their channels down to the solid rock, leaving the slopes at an angle of 45° , out of which project great masses of the subangular sandstones. The thickness of the moraine at Kigwema is quite 300 feet at the terminal slope, and the length of the former glacier would have been four miles to the crest of range at Japvo. At the head of the Zullo, traces of this former state of things are shown by the even height at which large transported blocks of the tertiary sandstones lie up against the sides of the ravine, resting on patches of rubble. No part of the Barrail is more beautiful than that between Kigwema and Sopvoma, looking up the lateral glacial gorges, with their frowning steep sides running up to the crest of the Barrail, which is for the greater part a wall of grey rock and precipice. Dense forest covers the slopes, but from their steepness many parts are bare, breaking the monotony of this dark-coloured mountain scenery. Where the steep rise in the slope commences, the spurs are at once more level and are terraced for rice cultivation; not a square yard of available land has been left, and the system of irrigation canals is well laid out. I have never, even in the better cultivated parts of the Himalayas, seen terrace cultivation carried to such perfection, and it gives a peculiarly civilized appearance to the country.'

The Botany of the Naga Hills has still to be described, but this is a speciality only to be undertaken by an expert, to which title, I regret, I am unable to lay any claim whatever. I must therefore content myself with observing that oak, fir, birch, larch, apple, and

apricot, are all to be found here, besides numerous other trees common to Asam. Of orchids there is a very great variety indeed. Indigenous tea is found growing all along the low northern slopes at the foot of the Barrail. Among the jungle products I may mention bees-wax, India-rubber, tea, seed, and several fibres, besides red, yellow, blue, and black dyes.

As with the Botany, so with the Natural History, we require men who have devoted their lives to its study, to do the subject justice. I will therefore not attempt to do more than furnish the following list of some of the chief among the wild animals that I am personally aware are all to be found in the tract in question.

1. Elephant — *Elephas Indicus*. These animals swarm throughout the Dhansiri valley, and are found all along the low ranges of the Barrail, but are rare in the high Angami country.
2. Rhinoceros — *Rhinocerus Indicus*.
3. Wild Buffalo — *Bubalus Arni*.
4. Mithan — *Gaveus frontalis*. These affect the forest-clad shades of the lower hills.
5. Tiger — *Felis Tigris*
6. Leopard — *Pardus*. The black and clouded species of Leopard are also occasionally met with.
7. Hill Black Bear — *Ursus tibetanus*
8. Indian Black Bear — *Ursus labiatus*
9. Badger — *Arctonyx collaris*
10. Wild Boar — *Sus Indicus*
11. Sambar Deer — *Rusa Aristotelis*
12. Barking Deer — *Cervulus Aureus*
13. Gooral — *Nemorhaedus goral*
14. Civet Cat — *Viverra Zibetha*
15. Tiger Cat — *Felis Marmorata*
16. Common Wild Cat — *Felis Chaus*
17. Pangolin — *Manis pentaactyla*
18. Porcupine — *Hystrix leucura*
19. Hoolook — *Hylobates Hoolook*
20. Langur or Hanuman — *Presbytis Schistaceus*
21. Common Monkey — *Innus Rhesus*
22. Otter — *Lutra vulgaris*
23. Bamboo Rat — *Rhizomys badius*
24. Common Brown Rat — *Mus decumanus*
25. Black Rat — *Mus Rattus*
26. Black Hill Squirrel — *Sciurus macruroides*
27. Common Striped Squirrel — *Sciurus palmarum*
28. Grey Flying Squirrel — *Sciuropterus fimbriatus*

29. Brown Flying Squirrel — *Pteromys petaurista*

Among Game Birds I would mention the following:

1. Peacock — *Pavo assamicus* (very rare and only in the plains)
2. Deo Derrick Pheasant — *Polyplectron tibetanum*. Very numerous in the plains, valleys, and low hills, but only where there is dense forest.
3. Derrick Pheasant — *Gallophasis Horsfieldii*
4. Argus Pheasant — *Cerionis Blythii* (very rare and only on the Barrail Mountains at high elevations)
5. Jungle Fowl — *Gallus Bankiva* (?)
6. Hill Partridge — *Arboricola rufogularis*

6

ROUND DIMAPUR

(E. R. Grange, 'Extracts from the Journal of an Expedition into the Naga Hills', *J.A.S.B.*, 1840, Vol. IX, pp. 953-8)

NO GRAIN HAVING ARRIVED TILL THE 13TH, I was unable to move forward; when thirteen maunds having accumulated, I proceeded with half of the Shan Detachment (leaving the remainder to follow when more grain came up, as I expected its arrival every moment) to Dhemapore Nugger to which place I had requested Tularam Raja to cut a road, having heard of the existence of the ruins of an old Cacharee fort on the Dhunsiri on my return last year, which nobody (with exception perhaps of one or two very old Cacharees belonging to Tularam) had seen. Crossing the Jumonah a mile or two distant from Mohong, we reached the Dhealow river, on which sheds had been erected for us, and were obliged to encamp, as I was told the second sheds were too far for us to reach that day, having started late, from the non-arrival of the coolies. The Dhealow is about ten or fifteen yards broad, and like most hill streams, shallow. The path was excellent, over a slightly undulating country; we passed a few clearances which had been deserted several years back, on account of the Naga feuds; the distance to this is about six miles; the appearance of the country wavy, with small rich alluvial plains at intervals.

14th.—Passed through the same description of country as yesterday, and was obliged to encamp at the second sheds, eight miles distant, on the Pikrong Deesa, the distance including our present march from this to Dhemapore, being too great for the coolies.

15th.—Passing over a small plain and some wavy ground, we found the path excellent till we reached the Looree, a small river, in the bed of which our route lay for three or four miles to within a league of Dhemapore; when we left it, and got upon some high country, which led us to the fine bund road skirting the walls of the ancient city. I was very much astonished to find so fine an old place, totally lost sight of by the Cacharees themselves, an oral tradition of which was merely in existence; but they attribute it to the fear they have always felt of going into these forests, which since the desertion of the place, have been overrun by wild beasts, and frequented only by plundering Nagas.

The remains of Dhemapore Nugger consist of some pillars of various patterns, a gateway, the ruined tower, or palace wall, and a small fort to the north, besides tanks both within and without the walls. The fortification is surrounded on three sides by a dry ditch, of about thirty feet broad, a bund, or camp, and a second ditch. The gateway is in a tolerable state of preservation, but the inner passage, or guard room, has given way, and lies a heap of ruins, on which the Nagaser and other trees grow. The pillars are in three parallel rows, two of which are of a circular form, and one square; there are ten in each row of the former, and twenty in the single row of the latter; many of them have been split asunder by trees falling on them, and shrubs growing from out of them; in one spot a large banyan tree has entwined its roots over a fallen one; some of them have been worn smooth by the wild animals (elephants, rhinoceroses, hogs, &c.) rubbing themselves against them. One of the pillars appears as if it had been an instrument for the punishment of criminals. It resembles two long square pillars joined at the base, and gradually increasing in distance from each other, from two inches at the bottom, to several feet at the top. The form of the town, or palace enclosure, is an oblong square, lengthways facing the river, which is about 200 yards off. It was built by Chokradoz, 4th Rajah of Cachar, but long subsequent to the erection of Ghergong in the Jorhat district, the first residence of the Cachar Rajahs. It is stated that after being driven from Ghergong by the Assamese,

Chokradoz settled on the Dhunsiri river, and built Dhemapore, but hearing of the approach of a famous Hindoostanee warrior, called Kala Par, who had been converted from the Brahmin caste to the Mahomedan faith, and had become a great destroyer of Hindoo images, he fled with the image of the tutelar god of the house of Cachar to Myhong, in the hills, where he built a fort. Kala Par not finding his foe, pillaged the place, and withdrew to his country. On his retirement the Ahoms, or Assamese, came to take possession of Dhemapore, but Chokradoz not fearing his new enemy came down from his retreat in the hills, and meeting an Ahom Phokun, inquired of him the reason of the Ahomean invasion, to which the Phokun replied, that they had merely come to look at the country, and that the army had withdrawn, which answer satisfied the Rajah; when however, in fancied security he and his people laid aside their arms and proceeded to encamp and cook, they were attacked by the Assamese who had been laying in ambush, and not being ready to receive their treacherous foe, were put to immediate flight. The Rajah, with the remainder of his men, succeeded in effecting his escape to Myhong, where he remained, and Dhemapore was deserted. He died at Myhong, as did several of his successors, and the court was afterwards removed to Kaspore in the plains. The country round Dhemapore has all the appearance of having been at a prior period well populated. On the right bank of the river are three large tanks, two of which were excavated by the Rajah and Ranee; they are twenty cubits deep, and with the exception of a break in one or two places in their banks, are quite perfect, and hardly a weed is to be seen on their surfaces; they abound with fish. The banks are heavily wooded, and I found several kinds of citron growing on them. The wild elephants and rhinoceroses had taken up their abode upon them, and use the tanks as their baths. The whole country in the vicinity is covered with forest, containing very fine timber of the following descriptions—Cham, Tetachapa, Ghunsiri, Rata, Toon, Awal, Hullok, and Nagaser. I am informed by Tularam and others, that the Nagas west of the Doyang river derive their origin from an union of the Cacharee and Naga tribes, and that in former days the Nagas were far away beyond the Doyang river. The Nagas themselves acknowledge an origin from the Cacharee tribe, and on that account they used not to decapitate the Cacharee prisoners they made, to obtain ransom which they

invariably did with the Nagas that fell into their hands. Their unusual custom of not acknowledging any regular chief amongst themselves, tends greatly to confirm that statement, as the Lotah, Nimsang, and other Nagas on the east of the Doyang river, I am informed, have regular chiefs, besides a chief over a number of villages. The scantiness of the present Cacharee population may therefore be accounted for by their having been partly absorbed in the surrounding tribes, and their emigrations to all parts of Assam.

The Cacharees attribute the desolation of their country to (what they call) their innocence and simplicity of character, and the superior cunning of the Ahoms, of whose magic powers they have many traditional stories; certain it is, that Dhemapore must have been the seat of a considerable population in former days.

The appearance of the lands about are of the richest description, and they have been much extolled by all persons who have seen them. The country is high, and not liable to be inundated by any rise of the river, with undulations and small hillocks at different places; there are a few marshes and low lands on the banks of the river, which are very rich, and well adapted to low land crops; but the products most likely to be suited to the higher growers are tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, cotton, wheat, &c., and all kinds of vegetables. There are a great number of animals of all descriptions about Dhemapore, and those that came under my observation, were the elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, buffalo, hog, and deer; there is also a great number of birds of many varieties of plumage, and several kinds of lizards.

There is a Mora Dhunsiri a short way to the south-east, along which we discovered by the cut twigs a wild animal's track, used by the Nagas, leading from Sumboogoding towards Tokophen, by which it is evident that they have hitherto been in the habit of communicating with that village, and no doubt have been one of the parties engaged in annoying the Rengma Nagas. The latter complain both of the Lotahs and Dewansas, but more particularly of the former, whom they call Chokannew, and the latter Choquennew. The Dhunsiri river contains gold of a dark colour. I succeeded in procuring a few grains, through means of a gold-washer I took up with me, but the quantity procured held out but little inducement for him to continue washing on his own account. The depth of the river was not sufficient in the cold season to admit of canoes reaching

Dhemapore, though no doubt they can do so at other seasons of the year. The breadth of the river within its banks up there is 160 feet. There are many deep holes in different parts of it, which contain many descriptions of very fine fish, and the Cacharees kill great numbers of them with a poisoning creeper they call 'Deo Bih', which they bruise and wash in the waters.

7

SAMAGUDTING¹

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, pp. 12-21)

MY FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF SAMAGUDTING, were anything but favourable. It was eminently a 'make-shift place'. It had been occupied by us as a small outpost, from time to time, between 1846 and 1851, but it was never fit for a permanent post of more than twenty-five men, as the water supply was bad, there being no springs, and only a few water holes which were entirely dependent on the uncertain rainfall. A small tank had been constructed, but it was 500 feet below the summit, so that water was sold at an almost prohibitive rate. All articles of food were scarce, dear and bad, wood was enormously dear, and to crown all, the place was unhealthy and constantly enveloped in fog.

Samagudting ought never to have been occupied, and would not have been, had the Government taken ordinary precautions to verify the too roseate reports of an officer who wished to see it adopted as the headquarters of a new district, as a speedy road to promotion, and subsequent transfer to a more favoured appointment. The report in question which, among other things, mentioned the existence of springs of water, that existed only in imagination, having once been accepted by the authorities, and a large expenditure incurred, it became a very invidious task for future Political Agents

¹ Samagudting was the headquarters of Government in the Naga Hills from 1848 to 1877, when it was transferred to Kohima.

to unmask the affair, and proclaim the extreme unsuitability of Samagudting for a station.

Many other good and healthy sites were available, and I believe that our dealings with the Nagas were greatly retarded, by the adoption of such an unsuitable post. As it was, having made our road over the hill, it was necessary to climb an ascent of over two thousand feet, and an equal descent, before entering the really important portion of the Angami Naga country. I at once saw that the right entrance lay by the Diphoo Panee Gorge, and I recommended its adoption. I began to make this road during the Naga Hills Campaign of 1879-80, and it has since been regularly used.

Having said all that there was to say against Samagudting, it is only fair to mention its good points. First, though never so cold in the winter, as the plains, the temperature was never so high in the hot and rainy seasons; and when the weather was fine, it was very enjoyable. The views from the hill were magnificent. To the south, the Burrail range, from which a broad and undulating valley divided us. To the west, a long stretch of hills and forests. To the east, the valley of the Dunseree, bordered by the Rengma and Lotah Naga hills, a vast forest, stretching as far as the eye could reach, with here and there a large patch of high grass land, one of which many miles in extent, was the Rengma Putha, a grand elephant catching ground in old times, where many a noble elephant became a victim to the untiring energy of the Bengali elephant phandaites or noosers, from the Morung. To the north, the view extended over a pathless forest, the first break being the Doboka Hills. Behind these, a long bank of mist showed the line of the Burrhampooter, while on clear days in the cold weather, we might see the dark line of the Bhootan Hills, with the snowy peaks of the Himalayas towering above them. Altogether, it was a sight once seen, never to be forgotten.

There was a footpath all round the hill, which, after a little alteration of level here and there, and a little repairing, where landslips had made it unsafe, was delightful for a morning or evening walk or ride. As my wife was fond of botany, she found a subject of never-ending interest in the many wild flowers, ferns, and climbing plants, and soon grew accustomed to riding along the edge of a dizzy precipice.

Our private establishment consisted of ten or twelve servants in all, including a girl of the Kuki tribe, named Bykoout, who assisted

the ayah; a very small establishment for India. Servants in Assam are bad and difficult to keep. Most of mine were imported, but, with the exception of my two faithful Bhooyas, Seewa and Keptie, and a *syce* (groom), by name Peewa, they were all soon corrupted, though some had been with me for years. Seewa once said to me, 'The influence here is so bad, that we too shall be corrupted if we stay long'. Seewa was quite a character. One day I got a letter from one of his relations, asking me to tell him that his wife was dead. I remembered her well; it was a love match, and she had run away with him. I feared it would be such a blow, that I felt quite nervous about telling him, and put it off till the evening, when, with a faltering voice, I broke the news as gently as I could. Instead of the outburst of grief I had looked for, he quietly asked, 'What did she die of?' I said, 'Fever.' He replied, 'Oh, yes, I thought it must be that. Will you write and see that all her property is made over to my brother, otherwise some of her people may steal it?'

The state of things at Samagudting was very discouraging. I resented seeing the Government and the establishment being charged famine prices for everything, by the Nagas and Khyahs; also the general squalor which prevailed, and which I felt need not exist. It was the inheritance of the hand-to-mouth system in which everything had been commenced in early days. However, my wife set me an example of cheerfulness, and I made up my mind to remedy all the evils I could. First, the supply system was attacked, and I made arrangements with some old Khyah friends at Golaghat, to send up large supplies of rice and other kinds of food, and as the season advanced, I encouraged such of the military police as could be spared to take up land at Dimapur, and cultivate. For ourselves, I bought two cows at Borpathar, and established them at Nichu Guard, whence my gardener brought up the milk every day. In a short time we were more comfortable than could have been expected, and there was the additional satisfaction of seeing that the arrangements for cheaper food for the establishment proved successful. Water was the standing difficulty; we had to depend upon the caprice of the Naga water-carriers, and frequently my wife's bath, filled ready for the next morning, had to be emptied in the evening to provide water for cooking our evening meal! Sometimes I got clean water for drinking from the Diphoo Panee, otherwise what we had was as if it had been taken from a dirty puddle. The want

of water prevented our having a garden near our house; we had a few hardy flowers, including the shoe-flower—a kind of hibiscus—roses, and passion-flower. Such vegetable-garden as we had was at Nichu Guard, where the soil was good, and water plentiful.

Our house was watertight, and that was the best that could be said for it. It was thatched, with walls of split bamboos and strengthened by wooden posts; there were no glass windows, and the doors and shutters were of split bamboo tied together; the mud floor was also covered with thin split bamboos, and had to be swept constantly, as the dust worked through. We had one sitting-room, a bed-room, bath-room, pantry, and store-room, the latter full of rats. Snakes occasionally visited us, and a day or two after we had settled in, a cat rushed in while we were at breakfast, jumped on my knee and took away the meat from my plate, and bit and scratched me when I tried to catch her. My dressing-room was the shade of a tree outside, where I bathed Anglo-Indian camp fashion, substituting a large hollow bamboo for the usual *mussuk*, or skin of water.

We arrived at Samagudting on January 23rd, 1874, and by the beginning of February felt quite old residents; hill-walking no longer tired me, and we had made acquaintance with all the Nagas of the village, and of many others, and were on quite friendly terms with 'Jatsole', the chief of Samagudting a shrewd far-seeing man, with great force of character.

I have mentioned the Burrail range, and the valley separating us. Besides Samagudting there were two other villages on our side, Sitekima, on the opposite bank of the Diphoo Panee Gorge, and Tesephima, on outlying spurs of Samagudting. I say Samagudting, as it has become the common appellation, but correctly speaking it should be Chumookodima.

On the side of the Burrail facing us, were villages belonging to a tribe we call Kutcha Nagas, a race inferior in fighting power to the Angamis, but not unlike them in appearance, though of inferior physique. These villages were formerly inhabited by Cacharees.

On February 4th, I had a letter from Captain Butler, saying that he would be at Kohima in a day or two, and asking me to meet him there. He said that three of the police would be a sufficient escort. I accordingly took three men, and started on the 6th, marching to Piphima twenty-one miles, and the next morning another twenty-one

into Kohima, two very hard marches. I was glad to renew my acquaintance with Butler, whom I had known when he first landed in India in 1861, and I was in Fort William, studying for my Hindustani examination. He was a fine manly fellow, admirably fitted to conduct an expedition, where pluck and perseverance were required. Here I also met Dr Brown, Political Agent of Manipur, and Captain (now Colonel) Badgley and Lieutenant (now Colonel C. B.) Woodthorpe, R.E., of the survey, also Lieutenant (now Major V. C.) Ridgeway, 44th N.I. I spent a pleasant evening, discussing various subjects with Captain Butler, and early on the 8th started on my return journey.

Captain Butler had done the whole forty-two miles into Samagudting in one day, and I determined to attempt it, and succeeded, though the last 2,000 feet of ascent to my house was rather hard, tired as I was. My wife did not expect me, but I had arranged to fire three shots from my rifle as a signal, if I arrived at any time by night; this I did about 500 feet below my house, and I at once saw lanterns appear far above me, and in a quarter of an hour, or twenty minutes, I was at my door. The sound of firing at 9 P.M. created quite a sensation among the weak-nerved ones on the hill, but it was good practice for the sentries to be kept on the alert. Ever after, three shots from a rifle or a revolver, were always my signal when I neared home, and often in after years were they heard in the dead of night, when I was thought to be miles away. My wife used to say that it kept the people in good order, never knowing when to expect me. I think it did.

Life was never monotonous. I took long walks, after our morning walk round the hill, to inspect roads and bridges—a very important work. Then I attended Cutcherry (the court of justice) and heard cases, often with a loaded revolver in my hand, in case of any wild savage attempting to dispute my authority; then I finished off revenue work, of which there was little, and went home, had a cup of tea, visited hospitals and gaol, if I had not already done so; and afterwards went for an evening walk with my wife, round the hill or through the village.

Sometimes duty took me to the plains, and we had a most delightful march to the Nambor hot springs, when I arranged to have a rest house built at Nowkatta, between Dimapur and Hurreo Jan. We reached the last place, just after a dreadful catastrophe had

occurred. The rest house was raised on posts, six feet above the ground. One night when the man carrying the dak (post) had arrived from Borpathar, he hung up the letter bag *under the house* on a peg, and having had his evening meal, retired to rest in the house with one or two other travellers. Suddenly a huge tiger rushed up the steps, sprang through the open door, and seizing one of the sleepers, bounded off into the forest with him. One of my police who was there snatched up his rifle, pursued the tiger and fired, making him drop the man, but life was extinct, and when we arrived, there was a huge bloodstain on the floor, at least a yard long. Strange to say, the letter bag was on one occasion carried off by a tiger, but afterwards recovered, uninjured save by tooth marks. The policeman was promoted for his gallantry.

The day after leaving Hurreo Jan, we met a party of Rengma Nagas coming to see me, with some little presents. They were the men who helped to kill the panther, that wounded me in 1862, and they brought with them the son of one of their number, who was killed by the infuriated beast, a fine lad of fifteen; needless to say, that I rewarded these friendly people, whom I had not seen for twelve years. We halted a day or two at the springs, as I had to visit Golaghat on business, and unfortunately missed seeing a herd of wild elephants caught, a sight I had wished my wife to see. She did see the stockade, but the elephants had been already taken out.

I do not know a more agreeable place to halt at than the hot springs in former days. In cold weather before the mosquitoes had arrived it was perfect rest. A little opening in the tall dark forest, in the centre some scrub jungle, including fragrant wild lemons and citrons, with the pool in the midst; a babbling stream flowed all round the opening, on the other side of which was a high bank. The bathing was delightful, and could be made quite private for ladies, by means of a cloth enclosure, well known to the Assamese by the name of 'Ar Kapôr'. Then the occasional weird cry of the hoocook ape, and the gambols of numerous monkeys in the tall trees on the high bank, gave plenty of interest to the scene, had the general aspect of the place failed in its attractions.

Soon after our return to headquarters, the survey party arrived from the interior of the hills, and after a few days' rest, departed for their summer quarters. Captain Butler then started for England, and Mr Needham came in to Samagudting.

Thus left in charge for a considerable period, I felt justified in doing more than I should have done, had my stay only been of a temporary nature, and I went most thoroughly into all questions connected with the hills and their administration. My long experience in charge of a native state full of wild hill tribes, and my personal knowledge of many of the Naga and other wild tribes of Assam (a knowledge that went back as far as 1860), were a great help to me, as I was consequently not new to the work. The eastern frontier had always been to my mind the most interesting field of work in India, and now it was for me to learn all I could.

8

KOHIMA IN 1874

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 27-9)

FROM 2nd to 7th February (1874), it rained nearly every day, and the wind was occasionally very high,—altogether very disagreeable weather and very cold. On the 1st instant, a break having occurred in the bad weather, advantage was taken of the opportunity to try and affix a mark which was wanted on the Peak Jaffoo, about 10,000 feet high, the highest peak of the Burrail range. For this purpose a classie¹ of the survey and some Nagas were sent off; but returned on the 4th, having found it impossible to get near the summit on account of deep snowdrifts. This is the second unsuccessful attempt at scaling this height this season, and both from the same cause—snow. A letter was at once sent off to Captain Badgley apprising him of the failure, as he was waiting for the mark to be put up.

I had several opportunities during Captain Butler's absence of looking through the village of Kohima, which is a large one, and may be taken as typical of an Angami village. Kohima is situated on the summit of a ridge, about 5,200 feet above the sea, and is of

¹ Presumably *khalasi*, i.e. a manual labourer.—N.K.R.



1. The Fort at Dheemahpoor, Assam

(From John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam during a Residence of Fourteen Years, 1855*)



2. Squared stone pillars at Dhemahpoo

(From John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam during a Residence of Fourteen Years, 1855*)



3. Naga mode of disposing of the dead on a bier or platform

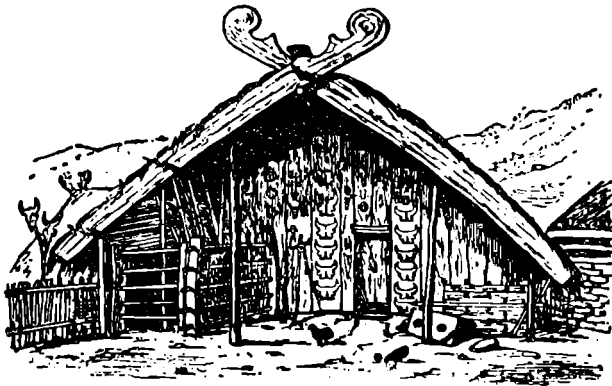
(From John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847)



4. Tangkhul Nagas

(From *J.A.I.*, Vol. XVI, 1887)

considerable size, containing upwards of 900 houses. These are closely packed together, allowing communication, however, in all parts by numerous lanes, which traverse the village in all directions. On account, probably, of its great size, it is not carefully defended, having nothing to fear from its weaker neighbours. Although one connected village, its small communities and family clans are numerous, many of them being by no means friendly with each other. How these minute sub-divisions come about among these Naga tribes I have never found out; but most likely marriage alliances have most to do with them. As an instance of the possible result of this division against itself which may occur in a village community, I may mention that Captain Butler and myself, on the occasion of a visit paid some years ago to the village of Paplongmai, in the Naga Hills, found it in the following condition:—One part of the village was in a state of watchfulness and defence, expecting an attack from outside friends of another portion of the village which they had burned. This portion of the village was destroyed and deserted, and the remainder were quite neutral, and had nothing whatever to do with the quarrel of their immediate neighbours.



House of the Angami Nagas

The houses of the Angamies are large and well built, gable-ended, with a verandah in front, in which a good many of the household duties are performed by the women—spinning, weaving, pounding rice, &c. The inside is dark and dirty, divided into a larger and a smaller room; the inner room is the smallest, being the family room, and usually full of children, fowls, dogs, and pigs; the larger room is furnished with long benches of planks, cut out of the single tree. The cows are generally accommodated either inside the house

or in a small fenced-off portion of the verandah. A detailed account of the tribe, their habits, &c., need not however be given here, as they have often been described. A custom which prevails amongst them was brought to my notice on this occasion, which I was not acquainted with before. It appears that, on account of a certain laxity of morals which prevails among them, young unmarried women not unfrequently have children before they are married: the invariable rule is to destroy these infants. When the time of birth approaches, the mother is sent into the jungle by herself, to be delivered alone. As soon as the child is born, the mother strangles it with her own hands: it is afterwards buried where it was killed. This custom also obtains amongst the Maow tribes.

I passed by a barber's shop in the village one morning. He seemed to have plenty of clients—all young men, it is presumed, careful of their appearance. The barbers have razors of a sort, but no scissors; hair-cutting is therefore with them rather a primitive operation,—a block of wood being placed underneath the hair, which is chopped off with a dao. Mr Needham saw one of them being thus operated on; but instead of the dao a common field kodali was the cutting-instrument used: this party was probably an amateur, operating on some friend of his own.

The Nagas are now commencing to till their terrace fields under the village; and I have been interested to see at least three blind men, two of them I am certain totally blind, going regularly to the nearest fields in the morning to cultivate, and returning in the evening quite unattended, save one, who has a little boy with him, walking in front but not leading him in any way. It is quite surprising how quickly and safely these poor men pick their way, stepping out in quite a confident manner. They have no stick and seem to trust entirely to the feeling of their feet. In all probability their confidence and skill may lie in the fact that during all their lives they have most likely trodden but the one path, and each step has thus become assured to them. That this is the correct explanation, I satisfied myself, on seeing one of the above men making his way to the cook-house a few yards from the path. As soon as he left it his steps became faltering, and he moved with extreme caution and hesitancy, feeling each step carefully.

Our camp being pitched close to one of their principal paths leading to the village, numerous villagers were constantly passing

to and fro, and we always had in the evening large audiences of the loafers and youngsters of the village, who never seemed tired of staring at us. A little knoll above the huts was the favourite halting-place for the women returning from the fields: in nine cases out of ten opportunity was here taken to micturate, an operation which they perform standing.

Chapter II

THE NAGAS : A GENERAL VIEW

BEFORE DESCRIBING the individual Naga tribes I quote a number of extracts which give some sort of account of the Nagas as a whole. In the very early days visitors to the Naga Hills often did not distinguish the tribes from one another and it is also not easy, owing to the confusion about the names of villages, to be quite sure what area they are talking about.

My first extract is from R. B. Pemberton who went with Francis Jenkins right across the Naga Hills from Manipur to Assam and had to meet strong opposition on the way. His account, published as an appendix to H. H. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War*, is—apart from brief references—the first extended description of the Nagas in the English language. He also wrote a 360-page *Memoirs and Journals of Surveys in Manipur*, which I have not seen, and an important Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India.

Another very early writer on the Nagas was William Robinson, an educationalist of the Gauhati Government Seminary, who published his first work on Assam in 1841.¹ In the fashion of the day it had a long and sonorous title: *Descriptive Account of Asam: with a sketch of the Local Geography, and a concise History of the Tea-Plant of Asam: to which is added, a Short Account of the Neighbouring Tribes, exhibiting their History, Manners and Customs*. Robinson was very interested in philology, and during the next fifteen years he published, on each occasion in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, a series of articles on the Abor, Khampti, north-eastern Naga, Singpho, Dafla and Mishmi languages.

Robinson's literary objective was not merely to bring 'this highly valuable province into more general notice'. Should his book 'even in the most distant manner lead to an improvement in the moral, as well as the temporal condition of the people, he will consider the labour bestowed on it, more than repaid'. The *Descriptive Account* is, in fact, one of the first of the gazetteers; it devotes chapters to climate and to the effect of climate on man, to geology, botany and

¹ This account is condensed from my *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (Bombay, 1959).

zoology, to historical and political geography, to productive industry and to the civil and social state of the Assamese. The hill tribes are discussed in a separate and final section.

Robinson's information on the Nagas was not first-hand, but his remarks on them are useful as indicating the state of general knowledge of them at this time.

S. E. Peal wrote voluminously on the people and institutions of south-eastern India and it may be said that he had more pretensions to be an anthropologist than many of his contemporaries. He was interested in language and wrote on the Banfera dialect, compared the peculiarities of the names of rivers in Assam with those of some adjoining countries, and prepared comparative vocabularies. He contributed notes on platform-dwellings in Assam, the Morungs, and the 'Communal Barracks' of primitive races to various learned journals, compared Dyak customs with those of the people around Assam and made a study of the pre-Aryan races of India, Assam and Burma. Mills calls him 'the best authority on the area about which he wrote'.

Pride of place, however, must be given to R. G. Woodthorpe's two lectures given in 1882 before the Royal Anthropological Institute in London which summarize almost all that was known about the Nagas at that date. Woodthorpe drew heavily in his first lecture on Captain Butler's earlier notes and writings and I have omitted a number of long passages which he quotes verbatim and which will be found in my extracts from Butler's own 'Rough Notes'.

Woodthorpe, commissioned in the Royal Engineers, began his survey work as an Assistant Superintendent and accompanied Captain W. F. Badgley on the Lushai expedition in search of geographical knowledge of this hitherto largely unknown territory in 1871-2. To his 'indefatigable zeal and energy', it has been said, 'we owe much of our knowledge of the country to the south and south-east of Cachar'. In 1872-3 we find him in the Garo Hills. His notes are unusually good and contain much information of human and anthropological value. He points out characteristically that he had expected to have trouble with the Garos but had met nothing more formidable than some fine peafowl, several of whom died a violent death. He then went to the Naga Hills where he became a close friend of Captain John Butler with whom he left Samagutting on Christmas Day, 1874 for the Lhota Hills. Here he met hostility

but continued his work, touring throughout the entire area. He was with Butler at the end of 1875 when this officer was mortally wounded in a Lhota ambush near Pangti, which Woodthorpe at once attacked and burnt.

Woodthorpe ended his career as a General. He contributed to the general reports on the Topographical Survey many valuable notes on the Aos, Konyaks, Semas and other tribes. He was an excellent artist and illustrated some of his own writings. In 1885 he made a journey from Assam to the Bor Khampti country in the company of Major C. R. Macgregor.

Hutton observes that Woodthorpe's printed lectures contain some excellent drawings and the letter-press is valuable in so far as it is a résumé of Captain Butler's *Rough Notes* quoted in Chapter V,¹ and elsewhere Hutton also refers to the 'dangerous distinction' between the Kilted and the non-Kilted tribes (which does not appear in Captain Butler's notes).² He feels that this distinction is not sound. 'Differences of dress between different tribes are not confined to a broad line between Kilts and Lengtas' and he points out that 'the date is probably not really very far distant when the majority of Nagas were naked and no doubt those living nearer to the more fully dressed people adopted a fuller form of loin-cloth than the more remote tribes'.

¹ *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 333. This is not altogether fair: Woodthorpe was very good in his own right.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 333.

A SINGULAR RACE OF PEOPLE

(R. B. Pemberton in H. H. Wilson, *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, 1827*, Appendix, pp. xvii-ix)

THE NAGAS.—The expedition to Manipore, on which Lieutenant R. B. Pemberton accompanied Gumbeer Sing last June, and which terminated in the recovery of that province from the Burmese, has added considerably to our geographical knowledge of that part of the eastern world. We have before us an interesting narrative of the journey between Banskandee and Manipore. The longitude of the former place is marked down at 93°8', and that of the latter at 94°15' east of Greenwich. From this narrative, furnished by Lieutenant Pemberton, the following account of the Nagas is derived:

This singular race of people, says Lieutenant Pemberton, extending from the north-western extremity of Kachar to the frontiers of Chittagong, from their poverty and peculiar situation, have escaped the sufferings inflicted by a powerful enemy on the more wealthy occupiers of the plains below them. With a sagacity which has at once insured them both health and security, they have in every instance established themselves upon the most inaccessible peaks of the mountainous belt they inhabit, and from these elevated positions can see and guard against approaching danger long before it is sufficiently near to be felt. Various attempts, in the days of their prosperity and power, were made by the Rajahs of Manipore, Kachar, and Tipperah, to reduce these savages to a state of vassalage, but uniformly without success—they steadily refused to acknowledge allegiance to either power, and policy restrained the two first from using coercive measures, where success was, at least, doubtful, and failure would effectually have closed against them the only direct communications between their respective countries.

The Naga villages are built with little regularity on the summits and crests of the different hills. The houses consist of an extensive thatch, from thirty to fifty feet in length, almost resting on the

ground, with a ridge pole of about eighteen feet high; the whole constructed in the most solid and compact manner—In every house there are two apartments, the largest of which is public, and the other appropriated to the females of the family, who are allowed unreserved intercourse with all visitors, whether male or female. In addition to duties that may be considered strictly domestic, the Naga woman has many others to perform daily, which renders her life one of continued activity. In the morning she proceeds to the depot of grain, stored in huts raised upon a platform about four feet from the ground, of which the people of two or more houses are generally the joint proprietors, though the more industrious are sometimes possessed of the whole contents of one granary—After filling her conical basket with grain, sufficient for the supply of the day, she returns home, and is employed for some hours in clearing it from the husk by pounding it in large wooden mortars. This task accomplished, it becomes necessary to carry a number of hollow bamboo tubes to some distant spring, where they are filled and re-conveyed home by the industrious female—She then prepares food for her husband, and a numerous family of young children, and when not employed in these indispensable duties, is generally engaged in the manufacture of a coarse cloth, called Khes, or clearing the rice-fields of weeds. Idleness, the bane of more civilized life, is thus tolerably well guarded against, and as the violation of conjugal duty is invariably attended by death, or expulsion from the village, infidelity is a vice which appears to be scarcely known.

The youth who wishes to espouse a girl, if accepted, agrees to serve her father for a term of years, generally limited to the period at which she may be considered marriageable. At the end of his servitude, a house is constructed for the young couple by their parents, who also supply them with a small stock of pigs, fowls, and rice—A long previous training has fully qualified the young bride to enter upon the duties of her new station, and the value of her services is generally so well appreciated, that lightning is not more prompt than the vengeance of a Naga for any insult offered to his laborious partner. His spear gives the ready reply to any remark derogatory to her honour, and on one occasion, great difficulty was experienced in saving an offender from its effects. Justice is administered by a council, formed of the oldest and most respectable men of the village—they summon the culprit

—hear the charge—adjudge the sentence, and its execution is immediate.

Whenever a hill is to be cleared, preparatory to bringing it into cultivation, intimation is given, by the persons principally concerned, to the heads of the different families in the village; a member is then deputed from every house, and they proceed to the performance of the task; when completed, they are entertained by the person for whose benefit the land was cleared, with an abundance of boiled rice, fowls, a liquor procured, by fermentation, from rice, of which they drink large quantities, and any other savage luxury that may be procurable. When the crops, consisting principally of rice and cotton, become ripe, all participate in the labour of cutting and transporting the produce to the granaries already mentioned. Some differences are perceptible between the Nagas of these hills, and the Koochung tribes, scattered among the ranges south of the Barak. The latter are of smaller stature, darker complexions, and more unfavourable countenances; their thirst for blood, and avidity after plunder, have depopulated the hills which were inhabited by less warlike tribes; and they are known to make predatory excursions to the foot of the hills at the southern extremity of Cachar. Among the tribes in the vicinity of Kala Naga, the term Koochung is always associated with ideas of rapine and plunder, and the narrow gateways which protect the only entrances to their villages, are said to have been rendered originally necessary by the nocturnal attacks of those enterprising marauders. The safety of the village is entrusted to a number of youths, selected for their superior strength and activity, who are distinguished by a blue mantle of the Khes cloth, tastefully studded with cowries, and garters of red thread bound round the calf of the leg. It is difficult to conceive a more pleasing union of manliness, grace, and activity, than is exhibited by one of these safeguards, when seen standing on the very verge of some projecting rock with all the ease of conscious security. . . .

The complexion [of the northern Nagas] is of a light copper colour, and their hair, which is cut close round the forehead, is of remarkable inflexibility. They are distinguished by a restlessness strongly characteristic of their usual habits of life, and the muscular strength displayed in the swelling outline of their well-formed limbs, evinces men capable, from long habit, of performing journeys, which by the less practised inhabitant of the plain, would prove

impossible. They never travel but in parties, each man carrying a conical-shaped basket on his back, secured by two straps, one of which embraces the chest, and the other passes round the forehead—the right hand grasps a spear, shod at the lower extremity with a pointed ferule, serving the double purpose of a defensive weapon and friendly support. In their mercantile trips to the Banskandee and Munipore bazars, they usually exchange their superfluous cotton for fowls, salt, dried fish, tobacco, and cloth—and are almost always accompanied by some of their indefatigable females, whose muscular power appears but little inferior to that of the men, while the superior delicacy of their sex is only discernible in faces rather less bronzed, and hair of greater length than that of their nominal defenders. Their food consists of rice, fowls, pigs, and kids—of the two last they are particularly fond—but they are rarely killed except on particular occasions; milk they never touch, and, in this respect, resemble the Garrows, who are said, by way of execration, to term it ‘diseased matter’.

During our stay at Moonjeronkoonao, a female died, and previous to the interment of the body, in compliance with universal custom, it was necessary to entertain the friends of the deceased. A pig was brought forth for this purpose, its legs tied, and the animal conveyed to a spot near the door of the hut which had been previously chosen as the place of interment, where it was beaten to death with large bamboos, and, without any other preparation, was conveyed to a large fire, roasted and devoured: the grave was then dug, and the body committed to the dust. It is customary to strew over the grave such articles belonging to the deceased as were of little value, and these fragments are frequently the only memorials that testify the vicinity of a grave. Their warriors are treated with greater deference; the grave of him who has fallen in action is, invariably, fenced round with bamboos, and any allusion to him is always accompanied by some expression of regard or mark of respect.

MEETINGS OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

(*J.A.I.*, 1881, Vol. XI, pp. 52-73 & pp. 196-214)

MARCH 8th, 1881

F. W. RUDLER, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Professor George Dancer Thane was announced.

A number of rubbings taken from door-posts and window frames in New Zealand were exhibited, and a letter on the subject from Professor Max Müller was read, upon which the Chairman and Mr A. L. Lewis made some remarks.

The following paper was read by the author, and illustrated by the exhibition of a large number of objects of ethnological interest brought by Colonel Woodthorpe from the Naga Hills:

Notes on the Wild Tribes Inhabiting The So-Called Naga Hills, on our North-East Frontier of India.

By Lieutenant-Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E.

PART I

In the limits of the necessarily short paper which I have the honour of reading to you to-night, it will be impossible to do much more than allude in the briefest way to the distinguishing and peculiar characteristics of the very many diverse tribes who inhabit the so-called Naga Hills on our north-east frontier of India. I do not intend to theorize to any great extent concerning the origin of these tribes. I leave this to abler and better-informed men than I am, my object being simply to assist them in forming their conclusions by stating what I know to be facts concerning the Nagas.

In the very interesting field of research afforded by the Naga Hills, I followed in the footsteps of Colonel Godwin-Austen, and I am fully sensible of the loss which science sustained by that officer's retirement from the field, and cannot but feel how much more

valuable would have been the results of our operations in those hills had Colonel Godwin-Austen remained to conduct them to the end.

The Naga tribes inhabit the hills south-east of Assam, dividing that province from the north-west portion of the Burmese territory. . . . Various derivations have been given for the name Naga, some supposing it to come from the Bengali word *Nangta*, in Hindustani 'Nanga' = 'naked'. Others think that the *Kachari* word *Naga* = a young man = a warrior, supplies the name; while others again derive it from '*Nag*' = 'a snake'. Not one of these derivations is satisfactory, nor does it really concern us much to know more about it, seeing that the name is quite foreign to and unrecognized by the *Nagas* themselves. They have no generic term for the whole race, nor even for each of the various tribes constituting this race. A Naga when asked who he is, generally replies that he is of such and such a village, though sometimes a specific name is given to a group of villages. In the old maps of Assam the Naga Hills immediately bordering the plains are shown as divided into districts, the names of which as given on the maps were supposed to be the tribal names of the inhabitants of those districts. Such is, however, not the case. When the Assam Rajahs held sway over these hills, they exacted tribute from the Nagas, and for convenience in collecting this, the villages were divided into districts, or in the vernacular 'Duars', and names were arbitrarily given to these districts by the Rajahs; hence we find such names on the maps, unknown by the Nagas generally, as '*Dup-duar-ias*', '*Pani-duar-ias*', '*Hatigorias*',¹ &c. Assamese names were also given to each village. The men who go down into the plains and come much into contact with the Assamese are aware of these names, and answer to them, and even describe themselves by these Assamese names to a foreigner visiting them, but that is only because they think he will thereby understand better all about them. In the Burmese invasions of the Naga Hills many villages were looted and burned. These have been since rebuilt, and new names given to them, the old ones also being frequently retained.

It will be unnecessary to refer at any length to the history of our relations with the Nagas, extending now over 50 years, which have been 'one long sickening story of open insults and defiance, bold outrages and cold-blooded murders on the one side, and long

¹ Hatigoria is the former Assamese equivalent for Ao.

suffering forbearance, forgiveness, concession, and unlooked for favours on the other', as the late Captain John Butler, Political Agent in the Naga Hills remarks in his able and interesting paper on the Angami Nagas, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part 1, 1875. Suffice it to say that in consequence of the raids continually made by the Nagas on our territory, it was found necessary to locate a Political Officer at a place called Samaguting, just in the hills, and when Captain Butler succeeded to this appointment, being of active and energetic habits of mind and body, and not content to know his district from hearsay only, he organized a series of expeditions, commencing in the cold weather of 1870-1, and carrying them on till his death in 1876. That these expeditions should be made as useful as possible he applied for and obtained the services of a survey party to accompany him, and to his efforts to assist us, and to his own researches, we owe a great deal of our information, geographical, ethnological, &c.

Although the home of so many diverse tribes, the character of the country is much the same throughout, and it may be described as a succession of long parallel ridges, the general direction being north-east and south-west, divided from each other by streams or rivers of greater or less importance, the hill ranges increasing in height from the low ranges bordering the plains, above which they do not rise much more than 2,000 feet, till we reach the lofty chain of peaks overlooking Burma, which at Saramethi and other points attains a height of nearly 13,000 feet above the sea. All these ranges are very narrow along the ridges, with steep well-wooded slopes, the lower hills being covered with long grass jungle. The valleys of the rivers near the plains in the Sibsagor district are low, flat, and densely covered with large forest trees, among which the mighty rubber is conspicuous.

In former times these rivers were worked for gold by the Assamese, but the precious metal was not found in sufficient quantities to pay for the working. In the interior the valleys get narrower, and in many cases the rivers flow through deep gorges. The country is densely populated and a very large portion of the hill sides is under cultivation, till we approach the Singphu territory, on the extreme south-east limit of the Assam plains, when the villages become fewer and fewer and the hills present a more unbroken mass of dark green. From the higher peaks in the Angami country as many as seventy

large villages can be counted at a time lying dotted about on the ranges of hills below, and magnificent panoramic views are to be obtained.

Speaking generally, the Nagas may be divided into two great sections, viz.: (1) the kilted, (2) the non-kilted. The first class embraces all the so-called Angamis, eastern and western. The second class includes all the other tribes, for though all these latter differ from each other in many minor particulars, yet there is a very general resemblance, but the Angami differs most markedly from all the other tribes in every way, appearance, dress, architecture, mode of cultivating, &c., and in nothing is the difference so marked as in the waist cloth, which I shall describe further on. This marks the Angami off from all the other tribes on either side of the Brahmaputra, and I am inclined to think that, whatever the origin of the other Naga tribes, whether they are aborigines or immigrants from elsewhere, they are older settlers than the Angamis, whose origin, however, has yet to be satisfactorily settled.

The average height of the Angamis is 5 feet 9 inches (some attaining a height of 6 feet) and they are well and powerfully built, the leg muscles being especially well developed. Their features are small and cheek bones high. Their complexion comprises various shades of rich brown, but is seldom very dark. Their hair is cut short or shaved (with the exception of one long tuft from the crown) in youth or before marriage; in adolescence it is left about 3 inches long and brushed down all round, resembling the fashion in the middle ages. The long tuft is left at the back, and is generally worn tied in a knot (a chignon) bound round with long rolls of snow-white cotton wool. When a man marries it is the custom in some villages for him to part his hair in the middle and brush it up in front. This is not an invariable custom, but every village almost differs from its neighbours in some slight detail of dress or decoration.

The kilt, the principal distinguishing article of dress of the Angamis, is a strip of dark blue or black cotton cloth from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and 18 inches wide. It passes round the hips overlapping in front, and is usually fastened on the left side: the lower inner corner is drawn tightly between the legs by means of a string which passes up behind and hangs over the waistbelt. An occasional hitch is given to the string when the garment appears to be coming loose, and every requirement of decency is satisfied. When a man becomes

a warrior and has taken heads, he acquires the right to decorate his kilt with three rows of cowries; and in the case of a very distinguished warrior, with four rows. The men of the Mao group of villages towards Manipur, however, wear cowries irrespective of any deeds of valour. Thrown loosely over the shoulder are worn from two to three cotton or bark homespun cloths, of dark blue, with a double border of bright scarlet and yellow stripes, or white with a border of blue and red stripes. On the war-path, these cloths are worn, one across the breast and knotted over the shoulders, the other bound round the waist: the folds of the latter they use as pockets. When going out to fight, the warriors often wear a large wreath or coronet of long bears' hair, which gives them a very formidable appearance, and from the back of this, or inserted in their chignons, spring three or five tall feathers, rising from small wooden stems covered with red hair, in which they fit so loosely that the feathers revolve with any movement or breath of air. For very conspicuous bravery the right is conferred to wear in their headdress the long tail feathers, white with a broad band of black, of one of the many kinds of the large birds called hornbills, that inhabit the dense forest of the Buraill Mountains.

The chief ornament for the ear is a very handsome one. It consists of a rosette or flower about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the centre being a couple of emerald beetle's wings surrounded with a circle of long shiny white seeds, the whole enclosed in a fringe of short red hair. The flower is formed on a cup and stem of wood, and from the cup a long streamer of red hair falls to the shoulders. The stem passes through the lobe of the ear into a boar's tusk ornamented with red and yellow cane work. The ear is also pierced in several places to receive huge bunches of cotton wool or brass rings. Bunches of blue jay feathers form another very pretty ear ornament. Necklaces of cornelian (long hexagonal shaped pieces) and coloured glass beads, and a peculiar dull yellow stone, decorate their throats; and in the nape of the neck is invariably worn a large white conch shell, shaped so as to lie flat, and suspended by a thick collar of dark-blue cotton threads. Another ornament worn sometimes as a necklace, and sometimes as a scarf, is formed of an oblong piece of wood 8 inches by 4, covered with alternate rows of white seeds and black and red hair, and fringed all round with long red hair; this is suspended from the shoulder by a cotton rope ornamented with cowries and

long tufts of black and red hair. In most Naga ornaments the black hair is human hair taken from scalps of foes, and the scarlet is goats' hair dyed.

Armllets made of single slices of elephants' tusks, 2 inches wide, and small bands of coloured cane work, are frequently worn above the elbow. I need hardly remark that all Nagas' personal decorations have a defensive purpose in view, like our old military stocks and epaulettes, and are planned to ward off the spear or axe, while the long hair which is so profusely used, waving about with every movement of the wearer, distracts the eye of the foe levelling his spear at him, and disturbs the aim.

Leggings are made of red and yellow cane work, and follow somewhat the shape of the leg, fitting tightly at the ankle and below the knee, and swelling into a globe at the calf. These are frequently worked on the leg, and are left there till they wear out, which is generally in about three months. Some are made with a slit at the side which enables them to be removed at pleasure. When these leggings are not worn, bands of finely-cut cane, dyed black, are twisted tightly round the leg just below the knee.

The women, like the men, are on the average taller than the women of most hill races, and are comparatively fair, with a ruddy glow of health in their cheeks. They are well made and active, and frequently very pretty when young, but their hard life soon proves fatal to good looks. They do not go in quite so much as the male sex for personal adornment. As Captain Butler remarks: 'This is a noticeable instance of the female withdrawing from the contests wherever she finds a male rival in the same field of indulgence in and love of personal decoration,' which with them shows itself chiefly in a large number of necklaces of all sorts and sizes, from large pieces of shell (three or four to a necklace) to those of the smallest glass beads. One or two large brass rings hang from their ears. When very young and unmarried, the girls' heads are shaved entirely; when married, the hair grows long and is braided and tied in a knot at the back, or is allowed to fall in waves all round, confined only by a small fillet of cane.

The women's dress consists of a small blue or black petticoat, a strip of cloth about 2 feet in breadth, passing round the hips and overlapping about 6 inches. The next most important article of clothing is a broadcloth, whose opposite corners are taken up and

knotted over the shoulders, covering the back and bosom (as with the Khasia women), another large cloth being worn shawlwise. This latter is usually dispensed with or wrapped round the hips when at work. In cold weather an extra cloth is added, and in warm weather, when at work in the fields, they strip to the waist. All the weaving, a good deal of the work in the field, such as preparing the soil, &c., carrying wood, and pounding rice, is done by the women. In fact, women's rights are fully recognized, the men doing very little besides drinking and fighting.

The Nagas generally breed cows, pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls, for purposes of food as well as for sale and barter.

Roast dog is considered a great delicacy. Indeed, Nagas will eat anything, not excepting an elephant which had been three days buried. Notwithstanding this, they do not drink milk, holding it in great abhorrence, and tinned lobster they said smelt too much.

The Angami villages are almost always large ones, Kohimah, the largest, containing 900 houses. Many streets contain 400 or 500 houses, smaller villages being generally young offshoots from the others. The villages are all built on commanding positions, and owing to the almost constant state of war, most of them are very strongly fortified. Stiff stockades, deep ditches, bristling with panjies, and massive stone walls often loopholed for musketry, are their usual defences. In war time the hill sides are scarped and thickly studded over with panjies. These panjies vary in length from 6 inches to 3 or 4 feet, and give very nasty wounds. Deep pit-falls, artfully concealed by a light layer of earth and leaves, line the path by which the enemy is expected. The entrances to the villages are through long narrow tortuous lanes, with high banks of stone and earth on either side, tangled creepers and small trees meeting overhead, preventing an escalade, and admitting only of the passage of one man at a time. These lanes lead up to gates, or rather doorways closed by strong, thick, and heavy wooden doors made out of one piece of wood. The doors are fastened from the inside, and admit of being easily barricaded. These doors are protected very often by raised look-outs on which, whenever the clan is at feud, a watch is kept up day and night. The approach to these look-outs is a notched pole from 15 to 20 feet high. Deep lanes and stone breast-works

divide off the clans, of which there are frequently from two to eight in a village; small bridges of planks and logs of wood keeping open communications in times of peace, and being withdrawn on declaration of war. When an attack is imminent the roads are often planted thickly with tall strong pegs, which are easily threaded when walking quietly, but are an effectual protection against a sudden rush.

The roads in the higher hills are constructed with considerable skill, the more precipitous slopes being turned with easy gradients, instead of the road or path being taken up and down the faces of the slopes, no matter how steep, as is the case with many of the hill tribes.

Inside the villages, and also lining the approaches to them, are the *graves* of departed families—large platforms of earth and stones, the latter being used for retaining walls and squared with great accuracy. These tombs vary in size, and may be either square or round; above these are erected carved wooden effigies of the deceased. Sometimes these are executed with much skill; two we



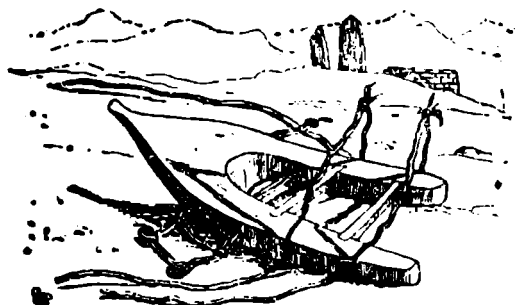
Sepulchral effigy of the
Angami Nagas

saw at Kohimah, having the wrists and elbow-joints indicated, with emerald beetle's wings as eyes, and a row of white seeds for teeth. They were clad in all the garments of the deceased with their shields fixed on the left side, two imitation bamboo spears standing on the right, as it is not safe to leave the real spears there. In some cases the image consists simply of a wooden post with a rudely carved bust of the deceased at the top, two or three rows of heads in slight relief beneath, proclaiming the number of foemen slaughtered in life. A curious circumstance connected with these figures is that, though in life the large conch shell is always worn on the back, in these effigies it is as invariably carved on

the breast. No reason could be assigned by the Nagas for this.

Very noticeable objects among these hills are the long rows of huge *monoliths*, which are either monumental or simply commemorative

of some big feast given by a rich man: these stones are often of great size, and are dragged up into place on wooden sledges shaped like the prow of a boat, the keel curving upwards. On to this sledge the stone is levered, and carefully lashed with canes and creepers, and to this the men, sometimes to the number of several hundreds, attach themselves in a long line, and putting rollers beneath the sledge, they pull it along until it has been brought to the spot where the stone is to be erected. Here a small hole is dug,



Sledge of the Angami Nagas

and the sledge being tilted up on end, the lashings are cut adrift, and the stone slides into position: some leaves are then placed on the top, and some liquor poured on them; this done, a general feast follows, and the ceremony is complete.

These remarks on the Western Angamis apply to their brethren of the higher hills,

known as Eastern Angamis. The latter are, as a rule, a finer race of men, and of fairer complexion, pink cheeks being very frequently seen among the youth of both sexes. The men keep their hair cut quite short and square over the brows, a long thin tuft being left behind. They wear the kilt and a rather pretty waistbelt, formed of from six to eight ropes of white cotton, all connected at the back with some black and red binding, but tied separately in front, the ends being decorated with some black and scarlet binding.

The houses of these people are rather larger than those of the more western villages, and more decorated with external carvings. The construction is, however, exactly similar. The front boards are ornamented with various devices in black, maroon and white, concentric circles being the favourite design.

At Razami, Thetcholumi, &c., the fronts of the houses are almost covered with a number of dolls about a foot long, of wood or clay dressed as Angami men and women, and suspended by the armpits. Imitation spears and shields, corresponding to the size of the dolls, are interspersed among them, and also rows of small clay cows.

At Razami the houses are many of them roofed with shingles, often of a very large size.

The Eastern Angami dao is of peculiar shape; it has a large square blade, and is double edged, the handle being attached to the centre of the blade.

At one village called Ungomah we came across some men who, though apparently Angamis in feature, build, architecture, and mode of cultivating, yet wore the dress of, and spoke a dialect identical with the Sehmahs, a neighbouring non-kilted tribe.

The heads of enemies taken in battle or murder are fixed by spikes to the tops of long poles planted in rows along the pathway just outside the village.

The Angamis struck us as a very cheerful, frank, hospitable, brave race, and for hill people wonderfully clean. When we arrived in camp, near a village (I speak of 1873-5), the men all turned out at once to build our huts, clear spaces for our tents, &c., and in the evening, as the setting sun was gilding the hill tops and the highest houses in the village, we sitting round our camp fire in the open fields, on the hill side below, looking across a deep valley, in which the purple gloom of evening was gathering, would hear the hum of many voices above us, and looking up would see the men of the village in long unbroken line descending the hill side path, bringing rice, wood, &c., and shouting in wonderful unison their peculiar 'hau hau', a cry with which they invariably accompany labour or exertion of any kind. At intervals the men are hidden, and all sound subdued, as they descend into a ravine, or pass through a small belt of jungle: now they emerge again with a fresh swell of what is almost music, and at length leaving the jungle, they enter the camp and come on without halt or break in the procession, each man throwing his load down before us in one spot, and passing on till a large circle is formed around us, and every man has rid him of his burden, the cries being kept up the whole time. Then the circle revolves rapidly around us, the best *pas de seul* dancers quitting it in turn to perform a small war dance: the pace and the cries quicken rapidly, till at length the circle suddenly stops, and the whole give vent to a prolonged deep organ-like note gradually dying away, to be succeeded by another rather lower, at the end of which, without further word of command, they all turn and disappear towards the village.

Bloodthirsty, treacherous, and revengeful all Nagas, even the best are, and the Angami, though in many ways perhaps the finest and

best of these tribes, is no exception: with them as with the others it is an article of faith that blood once shed can never be expiated, except by the death of the murderer or some of his near relatives, and though years may pass away vengeance will assuredly be taken some day. One marked peculiarity in their intestine feuds is that we so often find a village divided against itself, one clan being at deadly feud with another, whilst a third lives between them in a state of neutrality, and at perfect peace with both. Once, in passing from one village to another at war with it, a young man came as guide. I asked him if he was not afraid to go to the hostile village, but he said he was originally a native of that village, but had married a girl in the one we had just left, and lived there, and in consequence he was a neutral, and could pass backwards and forwards between the two belligerent villages without harm from either. 'The blood feud of the Naga, as with the Corsican "vendetta", is a thing to be handed down from generation to generation, an everlasting and baneful heirloom involving in its relentless course the brutal murders of helpless old men and women, innocent young girls and children, until, as often happens, mere family quarrels, generally about land or water, being taken up by their respective clansmen, break out into bitter civil wars which devastate whole villages.'—(Captain Butler.) I remember once, on our return to camp after a long day's work on the neighbouring hills, a young man, who was our guide, as we approached his village half hidden in the dusk and mist, began to dance and shout and level his spear at every bush, with yells of defiance. On my asking the meaning of this strange conduct, he explained that he knew that a man from another village was on his trail to kill him for some injury, and it was more than possible that he might be behind any of these bushes. My guide, therefore, thought it a wise precaution to take it for granted that his enemy was there, and by shouts and a defiant attitude to intimidate him. My friend added, 'Seeing that I am prepared for him, and that I know all about it, he will slink away in the dark.'

The Angamis, as indeed the Nagas in general, have no settled form of government. They are nominally under the orders of the headmen of their respective villages, who are chosen for their wealth, bravery, skill in diplomacy, powers of oratory, &c., but virtually every man does that which is right in his own eyes, and is a law unto himself, 'a form of democracy' which, as Captain Butler

remarks, 'it is difficult to conceive as existing for a single day, and yet that it does exist here is an undeniable fact. The orders of the headmen are obeyed so far only as they may happen to be in accord with the wishes of the community at large, and even then the minority will not hold themselves bound in any way by the wishes and acts of the majority. The Naga headman is simply *primus inter pares*, and often that only *pro tem*.' Theoretically, with the Angami every man is his own master, and avenges his own quarrel. . . .

The Nagas in general have very vague ideas of religion or of a future state. Many never think at all about either; probably others again among the Angamis believe that if they have acted up to their received standard of a good life, and have abstained from eating flesh, after death their spirits would fly away into the realms above, and become stars. Others among the non-kilted tribes, Lieutenant Holcombe tells us, 'believe that in heaven they will have cultivation, houses, and work; the poor will be better off they think: a rajah will remain as such in a future state, and although they have a name for God, they do not seem to worship a supreme being.' The custom, the universal custom, of decorating graves or tombs with the deceased's wearing apparel and weapons, also with drinking vessels, &c., would seem to prove that there is among all the tribes an underlying current of conscious or unconscious belief in a future state. Certain it is that their belief in the existence after death of the freed spirit is not uncommon, if not general. Captain Butler mentions seeing a grave by the roadside several miles away from any village, and on inquiry found that it had been purposely placed there half-way between the village in which the deceased had been born and that in which he had passed the latter portion of his life, and where he had died. This was done to enable his spirit to revisit either.

Whatever may be their belief in a god or a future state, it is certain that they believe in an infinity of evil spirits or demons. Each disease is supposed to be in the immediate keeping of some particular demon, who travels about dealing out sickness and death at his caprice, and to propitiate these many demons is their care. They seem to have no good or beneficent spirits. A custom arising from this belief in demons is analogous to the ceremony of striking the lintel and door-posts with blood observed by the Children of Israel. Passing through some villages which had never before been visited by Europeans

nor, indeed, by any but born Nagas, I noticed in the lintel of the door of each house a small bunch of withered leaves, and was told that they had been placed there as soon as the villagers had tidings of our approach, the object of these leaves being to prevent any demons of evil who might accompany the strangers from entering the doors so protected.

The Nagas would frequently try to mislead us as to our road, by planting small branches in the path by which they did not wish us to travel, hoping that we should think that it was a disused one. Captain Butler told me one day that he had seen a few twigs and leaves stuck here and there along a path leading to a village. He asked the meaning of it, and was told that the demon of small-pox had visited another village near, and might wish to go to that village also, but if he came upon the twigs he would say, 'Dear me! I thought there was a village path here, but this is all jungle, I must try for another road.' The Nagas never gave us credit for an intelligence superior to that of their devils. Captain Butler also tells of a chief whose favourite son died of a fever contracted while on a shooting excursion. This chief, in full war costume, rushed out to the spot, commenced his war cry, and hurled defiance at the deity who had struck down his son, bidding him come out and show himself, imperiously cursing him for not replying to the challenge. Omens are consulted on all occasions of importance, and determine the cause of conduct of the inquirers.

I remember once, just after Captain Butler's death, when we were again advancing into the hills, coming across the evidences of an intended ambushade; little spaces had been cleared in the tall grass on either side of the path, sufficient to allow of a man crouching in each of them, and each was provided with a small heap of stones. Here the oracle had been consulted by cutting little chips from a piece of wood and noticing how they fell. On that occasion the oracles were not favourable to hostilities, and we were unmolested.

On another occasion we had gone about three miles from a village which had received us as we passed in an apparently friendly spirit, when our rear guard was suddenly attacked by a large number of Nagas who had come up from the village through the jungly ravines behind us. I had on looking back seen them descending from the village, but as they had concealed their arms under their clothes, I thought they were going into their fields. They had probably hoped

to have cut off the coolies, but the latter were going well, and the Nagas having a steep climb through the tangled grass, only managed to come up with the rear guard. To have allowed this to pass would have been to raise the whole country against us, so (as I had succeeded to the chief political charge on Captain Butler's death, and had the advantage of his experience and example on several similar occasions) I requested Colonel Tulloch, who commanded my escort, to leave a large guard with our coolies to form camp in a convenient spot, while we pursued the Nagas back to their village. As they had no firearms we only took 20 men with us, and the Nagas making a very slight show of resistance when they found the tables turned on them, we were soon in possession of their village. At various parts of the road, outside their gates, where we had noticed some Nagas very busy as soon as they saw we were making for the village, we found portions of a puppy which had been killed, cut up, and buried. This ceremony was supposed to give them immunity from our bullets, and secure their village from destruction. Among other means I may mention that one is to throttle a fowl, and observe how its legs lie when dead; if the right lies over the left, the omen is favourable, and the reverse if otherwise. Certain birds' songs when heard on the right of a path are lucky; unlucky when heard on the left of the path. They have several ways of taking an oath. The commonest and most sacred is for the two parties to the oath to lay hold of a dog or fowl, one by its head the other by its tail or feet, whilst the animal or bird is cut in two with a dao, emblematic of the perjurer's fate. A ceremony of submission after defeat, and offer of peace, is to take a handful of earth and grass, and after placing it on the head to put it on the edge of a dao, and chew it between the lips, 'one of the most literal and disagreeable renderings of the metaphorical term "eating dirt"'.

Among the Angamis a description of 'Tabu' is very much in vogue. It is declared on every occasion; on the birth of a child, or death of one of a family, the house is tabued for five days, and no one is allowed to go in or out, except the inmates of the house. An accidental death or fire in a village places the whole village under the tabu. Before commencing agricultural operations an universal tabu is gone through, and on many other similar occasions the tabu is declared.

Captain Butler mentions the following instances of their expressive manner of emphasizing messages. I quote his words: 'I remember

a challenge being conveyed by means of a piece of charred wood, a chilli, and a bullet tied together. This declaration of war was handed on from village to village, until it reached the one for which it was intended, where it was no sooner read than it was at once despatched to me by a special messenger, who in turn brought with him a spear, a cloth, a fowl, and some eggs, the latter articles signifying their subordination and friendship to me, at whose hands they now begged for protection. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary for me to explain that the piece of burnt wood signified the nature of the punishment threatened (i.e., a village consigned to flames), the bullet descriptive of the kind of weapon with which the foe was coming armed, and the chilli the smarting, stinging, and general painful nature of the punishment. And one day a piece of wood, with a twisted bark collar at one end and a rope at the other, used for tying up dogs on the line of march, was brought to me with another prayer for protection. The explanation in this case is of course obvious, viz.: that a dog's treatment was in store for the unfortunate recipients of this truculent message. Two sticks, cross-wise, a fresh cut bough, or a handful of grass across a path, declares it to be closed.'

I may add that these customs are not confined to the Angamis or, indeed, to the Nagas generally, but are common among all the tribes on the north-east frontier, of whom I have long experience.

So far, except where I have especially stated that all Nagas were included in the remarks, I have been dealing with the so-called Angamis or kilted Nagas only. The non-kilted Nagas I must deal with in the second part of the paper.

DISCUSSION

COLONEL H. GODWIN-AUSTEN made the following remarks: Colonel Woodthorpe in the opening portion of his paper referred to my services when in charge of the Khasi and Naga Hills survey operations, and I have to thank him for the kind terms in which he alluded to my services in those hills. I must say that I left the survey with great regret, and only wish that I could have done more; but that jungle country is not one where a European can work for many years with impunity, and after seven years of jungle work on that frontier, I considered it best to leave before my health, which

suffered much, was entirely undermined. There is no country more interesting to work in than the Naga Hills, of which Colonel Woodthorpe has given us so interesting an account this evening; the scenery is most beautiful under the Burrail range, and the people are the most interesting on the Indian frontier. Colonel Woodthorpe saw more of them and the country than any other officer, and I can testify to the accuracy of his observations. With regard to the burial customs of the people, about which Miss Buckland has asked a question, I only once had an opportunity of seeing any part of such ceremonies. In passing through a Naga village near Asalu, I saw the grave of a man being made close to the door of a house, and the wife of the deceased was standing in it, and digging the same, and at intervals singing in a loud mournful way. It is the common custom to bury in the village street, and I have often seen the neatly-made fresh-raised graves covered over with an open work of interlaced split bamboos. On the occasion above mentioned, a 'Mittun' of the domestic breed had been sacrificed for the funeral feast, and it lay close by, having been speared through the heart, and the tail had also been cut off at the same time. Those who die of small-pox, which is a terrible scourge at times, are not buried in the villages.

MR KEANE regarded Col. Woodthorpe's able and richly illustrated paper as perhaps the most valuable contribution yet made towards the study of the so-called Naga tribes. Many statements, such especially as those relating to their agricultural practices, and the remarkable skill displayed by them in the irrigation of their upland valleys, would be received with surprise by those who had hitherto looked on these interesting tribes as occupying a very low position in the social scale. As much uncertainty still prevailed respecting their affinities to the surrounding Aryan and Mongolian races, he would be glad if the author could supply some more definite details as to their physical appearance and the structure of their dialects. The Angami, who differed in so many respects from the other Naga tribes, are said to speak a distinct language quite unintelligible to them, and he would like to know whether this was the case. Information was much needed regarding the peculiar character of all these idioms, and it would be important to ascertain whether they were monosyllabic like the neighbouring Indo-Chinese, or polysyllabic like the Sanskrit vernacular current in the Assam lowlands. With

regard to the physical type, the points to determine were the colour of the hair and complexion, the shape of the eyes and nose, prominence of the cheek bones, form of the head, whether dolichocephalic or brachycephalic, and mean stature. Until such leading features as these had been fixed, the problem of their true relations with the surrounding races could not be settled.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, COL. KEATING, DR WHITE, and the CHAIRMAN also joined in the discussion.

COLONEL WOODTHORPE, replying to Mr Keane, said that the hair of the Angamis is generally straight, but sometimes wavy; never, as far as he knew, 'frizzly' naturally. Captain Butler says they 'frizz' it out occasionally in front, but in this the barber's art is employed. The Angamis differ greatly among themselves in features, some possessing aquiline features, others being flat faced. They all have their eyes set slightly, but very slightly, obliquely. He did not see any funeral ceremonies.



Angami male and female

PART II

In my last paper I dealt only with the Angamis, or kilted Nagas, who, as I then stated, are distinguished from all the other Naga tribes by many striking characteristics. We now turn to the second great section of unkilted Nagas, which includes by far the larger portion of the inhabitants of these hills. It is a great pity that political and other considerations prevented any exploration beyond the great chain of the Saramethi Peaks, which would have enabled us to trace the tribes from the Naga Hills into the Burmese territory, and thus have decided which section, kilted or non-kilted, is more nearly allied to the tribes inhabiting the confines of Burmah. As I have before remarked, all the tribes included in the second section, of whom I treat to-night, diverge from each other considerably in many minor details, but the differences merge into each other a good deal, and the tribes all seem to belong to the same race, whereas time, proximity, intercourse, and the same geographical conditions seem alike unable to modify the sharp differences which divide the kilted from the non-kilted Nagas, or assimilate them to each other.

The tribes commonly known as Rengmahs, Sehmahs, Lhotas &c., immediately adjoining the Angamis, all present the same type. They are shorter than the Angamis, and of square though fairly powerful build; their eyes are small and oblique, faces flat with high cheek-bones, a dirty sallow complexion, a sullen and often repulsive cast of countenance; all this added to their evident distrust of all strangers (so different from the Angamis), combine to make them a very unprepossessing race, and they are often further disfigured by frightful goitres, from which they suffer greatly. These tribes generally wear their hair either shaved off or cut very short, except for a large basin-shaped patch on the crown, where it is kept about 2 or 3 inches long, and combed down all round. Hair-cutting is done in a very primitive manner, the implement used being a dao and a small block of wood. This block is pressed down close on the head underneath the hair, which is then chopped off as close as may be, and it is wonderful how close it can be cropped in this way. In some instances which came under our notice a common field hoe was the cutting tool. Their combs are rather neatly made of bamboo.

Notwithstanding all my previous experience of hill-men, I was quite unprepared to find such a total absence of cleanliness among

these tribes: as Dr Brown remarks 'their bodies are ingrained with the accumulated smoke, mud, and filth of a lifetime', and, with the exception of the Sehmahs, they are perpetually smoking dirty clay or wooden pipes, made on a similar principle to that of a Lushai woman's pipe, i.e., the bowl is fitted with a small bamboo receptacle beneath for the tobacco juice, which is collected, mixed with a little water, and carried about in a small tube from which sips are occasionally taken.

The Rengmahs are particularly noticeable for the peculiar tail which they alone, I believe, of all the tribes wear. It is of wood, about a foot and a half long, curved upwards, broad at the base and tapering to the tip. Rows of white seeds are fastened longitudinally on the tail, and from it hang long tufts of black and scarlet hair. The broad part of the tail is fitted to the small of the back, and is suspended from the shoulders by a broad prettily embroidered belt (white, red, and black); a small cloth tied tightly round the waist further secures the tail. This tail is used in fight to signify defiance; they turn tails towards the enemy, and by hopping rapidly on each leg impart the defiant wag to the tail. 'Turning tail' with them means the reverse of what it does with us. This tribe, as also many others, wears, as a waist cloth only, a small flap of cotton cloth pendant from the waistbelt. Others wear a double flap, the inner end of which is drawn tightly up between the legs and secured at the back to the waistbelt. Some of these flaps are dark blue ornamented with cowries, in stars or stripes, others are white with broad red patches, or white with fine red lines: indeed this small garment varies in size, colour, and ornamentation with almost every village, certainly with every tribe. Some tribes go perfectly naked; one tribe we found close to the Sehmahs, and it is a curious fact that these naked people are not found in a group by themselves, but scattered about among the other tribes; thus we find a village of naked Nagas surrounded by decently clad people, and pass through several villages before coming again upon the naked folk. It is very seldom indeed that any women are seen in a state of complete nudity, and generally they are decently clad, much as the Angami woman already described. Some tribes, as Rengmahs, Lhotas, Hatigorias, &c., supplement their waist cloths by an apron about a foot square, profusely ornamented with cowries; other tribes those in the hills adjoining the districts of Sibsagor and Jaipur, wear a long

bright blue cloth, very much embroidered with red cotton, and decorated with beads, the inevitable cowries, &c. Very few, however, of the non-kilted tribes quite come up to the Angami in general appearance, when fully equipped in his war-paint: no decorations, though frequently more elaborate, seem so clean or handsome.

Among the other tribes the shields are smaller and less decorated than the Angami's, and among the tribes immediately adjoining the Angamis they are made of plaited bamboo, unadorned generally. A curious circumstance came under our notice on one occasion. We had been attacked by night, but had driven off our assailants, and burned their village which was hard by our camp. We remained in that camp for some days, till peace was concluded, but before that occurred we had to repel a second attack, this time by day, and I noticed that most of our assailants had fastened pieces of the stem of the plantain, or banana tree, to the exterior of their shields. A Khasia orderly I had with me explained that this had been done in accordance with an idea prevalent among his own people, and probably among most of the hill tribes ignorant of the exact nature of fire-arms, that a bullet is a piece of fire, whose effect can be counteracted by causing it to pass through a wet substance. Hence these shields of plantain stalks which contain a very large amount of moisture. How fatal this error, several Nagas proved. The spears and daos among the Rengmahs, Sehmahs, &c., are very similar in appearance and size to those of the Angamis, some slight peculiarity in the shape of the spear occasionally indicating the tribe using it. We find among these non-kilted tribes very good bows and cross-bows of bamboo, carrying long iron-headed arrows, which are seldom poisoned. A Naga once told Lieutenant Holcombe that it was not at all the correct thing to use a poisoned arrow, unless, indeed, it was fired at a woman.

A peculiarity among all these non-kilted tribes, which again distinguishes them from the Angami, is the presence in their villages of a conspicuous building called the Bachelor's House (found also among the Garos). In the larger villages we find two or three of these houses in each village. In these live all the young men of the village, from the age of puberty till such time as they marry and set up a house for themselves. Among the Rengmahs, Lhotas, &c., the bachelor's house is not a very imposing-looking building, being only rather longer than the other houses in the village, all of

which are small and poor as compared with those of most other tribes.

A practice common to all, though, as we have seen, not adopted by the Angami, is that of raising the house above the ground on posts or piles of bamboo. The house is divided generally into a front room, the floor of which is the ground itself, and here is the fireplace. Then we come to a room occupying the rest of the house, the floor of which is raised, and beyond the house is a small raised platform, a continuation of the floor, on which many of the household duties are performed, and where vegetables are dried, &c. The walls and floor of the house are of bamboo matting, with thatched roofs. The crops are generally stored in rows of small raised houses just outside the villages. The hills here present long narrow ridges, along which are built the villages, the ridge itself forming the main street, and all the houses built on either side facing inwards. This plan of letting the front of the house rest on the ground, and running it out to the back on piles, does away with the necessity for levelling sites, and renders the houses more airy, though the smoke and dirt which thickly cover the interior of the houses, walls, and roof alike, render them anything but pleasant habitations to anyone more fastidious than a Naga. The fortifications of the Rengmahs, Lhotas, and Sehmahs are not so elaborate as those of the Angami villages, though they are capable at times of making a very good defence. The principal object in the centre of the village is the large sacred tree, on which are placed the heads of enemies taken in battle.

A few words concerning the manner of cultivating will suffice for all these non-kilted tribes, as it differs but slightly among them all. The process commonly known as 'Jooming', from the word 'Joom', a field, a local term, consists in simply cutting down and burning the jungle on a hillside, and then cultivating on the natural slope of the ground thus cleared, instead of terracing as with the Angamis. These fields are of course not irrigated, and the fallen and charred timber is generally allowed to remain in the fields, lying across the slope, and helps to retain the soil which might otherwise be washed away during the rains. This mode of cultivating is common to the Lushais, Garos, all Nagas (except the Angamis) and across the Brahmaputra, the Miris, Mishmis, &c. I have previously referred to the crops raised by the Nagas generally, and also the cattle and domestic animals common to them.

Passing along the hills in a north-easterly direction from the tribes just described, we come next to those known by the Assamese names of Hatigorias, Dupdorias, and Assiringias¹. The principal differences between these three are linguistic, and although all are superior to the Lhotas in physique, manner, bearing, and in the general well-to-do appearance of their villages, yet the Hatigorias bear off the palm in all these characteristics. Both men and women are, next to the Angamis, the best built, and most pleasing, perhaps, of the Naga tribes, with the exception of the inhabitants of the Yangmun valley. The Hatigoria women are remarkable for their good looks, many retaining them even in middle age. The dress of the three tribes is the same, consisting, for the males, of the small loin cloth, tied at the back, one end being brought round between the legs, and drawn up under the waistbelt, falls in front in a broad flap. These cloths are of various colours and patterns, and the Dupdorias fix small strips of brass in clusters down the edges of the flap, to give additional weight. The apron already described is also worn in full dress. The general decorations are the same as for the Rengmahs, &c. viz., the bearskin coronet (common also to the Angamis), cotton-wool bindings for the hair, and puffs for the ears, necklaces, &c. One ornament is peculiar to them, a defensive ornament for the chest. It is a long flat strip of wood about 15 inches long, narrow in the middle, but broadening towards the ends, and covered with coloured cane-work, cowries or white seeds, and adorned with a fringe of long red hair. It is worn on the chest suspended by a string round the neck. Two broad red and blue sashes also fringed with hair support at the back the dao, and a small bucket for carrying panjis. The spears are similar to those already described. The daos are similar to those of the Angamis, but among the Assiringias is found an approach to the long hair-tufted handles and broad blades common among the more eastern tribes. The shields are small, and either of cane-work or of thin pieces of wood or hide painted black with white circles and spots on the front, and occasionally decorated with plumes. The Assiringias wear, in war-dress, tall conical helmets, adorned with boars' tusks, and two straight plumes of hair, one on each side, leaving the apex of the helmet bare. The clothes of these three tribes are

¹ Phom immigrants into Ao territory.

many coloured, dark blue, with red and white stripes, or dark blue only, or red only, &c., and are frequently adorned with tufts of crimson and white hair sewn in rows at intervals along the stripes of the cloth.

The women's dress consists of a small petticoat of dark blue, a cloth of the same colour being thrown over the shoulders. They wear large brass rings on each brow, supported by a string passing round the head. Sometimes these rings pass through the upper portion of the ear, but generally they simply hang on the temples. The lobe of the ear supports large thick oval or oblong-shaped pieces of a crystal obtained from the plains. The women all tattoo slightly: fine lines are drawn on the chin, the outer ones being tattooed from the corners of the mouth; the front of the throat has a few crossed lines on it, three arrow-headed lines are tattooed on each breast, running up to the shoulders, and a fine diamond pattern runs down the centre of the stomach. The calf of the leg, from about 3 inches below the knee, is also tattooed with diagonal lines (like cross gathering): they also, like Khasia women, frequently wear cotton gaiters. The wrists are also tattooed with stars and stripes. The women's necklaces, are, as usual, beads or large pieces of shells strung on cotton.

Men, women, and children all smoke pipes similar to those described earlier.

The villages, as a rule, occupy the most commanding points along the ridges, and the approaches to them are exceedingly pretty. Broad roads, bordered with grass and low shrubs lead up through avenues of fine trees to the main entrance, which is generally very strongly guarded by two or three panjied ditches running right across the ridge and stockaded on the inner bank. The stockades are strongly built of a double line of posts supporting a wall of interlaced bamboo, and are capable of offering a good resistance. The outermost ditch is generally about 200 or 300 yards from the village, the second being situated between it and the one surrounding the village. The gate through the stockade of this last ditch into the village is cut out of one huge block, and is frequently 4 or 5 feet broad and 6 feet high. A large gable roof is constructed over it, giving it a great resemblance to our old lychgates. Look-outs are built commanding the entrances, and in some cases little huts are constructed in large trees outside the most advanced stockades

on the main roads, communications being preserved with the interior by means of long ladders and causeways. Passing through the gate into the village we find ourselves before the 'morang', or bachelor's house, a large and most peculiar looking building, appearing to be all roof, which springs from a small back gabled wall of bamboo about 5 feet high, and 6 or 7 feet broad. The ridge rises rapidly from this to the front, till it attains a height from the ground of 25 or 30 feet, the eaves resting on the ground on either side. The front is closed in with a semicircular wall of thatch, a small door about 4 feet high giving admittance to the building, which, as this is generally the only opening, is necessarily somewhat dark. As the eye gets accustomed to the gloom, though, we find that the house is divided into two parts by a low wall formed of a log of wood over which a thick bamboo mat is stretched. One-half of the house has a matted floor, and is provided with a hearth and planked sleeping places round it, and here the young men live; but the other half is unfloored and is intended for the reception of casual visitors dropping in for a chat. We also make out that the principal uprights are carved with large figures of men, elephants, tigers, and lizards &c., roughly painted with black, white, and a reddish brown. Arranged round the walls are skulls of men and animals, and skilful



Naga morang

imitations of them made by cutting and painting old gourds. The ridge of the 'morang' projects a few feet in front and is ornamented with small straw figures of men and tufts of straw. Outside each 'morang' is a large platform of logs of wood on which the young men and their friends sit and smoke through the day, and hard by is an open shed, in which stands the big drum, formed out of the trunk of a huge tree hollowed out, and elaborately carved and painted in front, after the manner of the figure-head of a ship: it is furnished at the other end with a straight tail. The drum is raised from the ground on logs of wood. It is sounded by letting a heavy piece of wood fall against it, and by beating it with double headed clubs. This drum calls the villagers together for war, or is beaten on festive occasions and gives forth a deep booming sound. Sometimes when an attack is expected from some neighbouring village, the drum is beaten at intervals throughout the night, in the hope that if the attacking party is on the way to the village it will, on hearing the drum sounding, consider that the villagers are on the alert and return home. In large villages there are two and even three 'morangs' with their neighbouring drums. The other houses in the village are large and long, the front part resting on the ground, the back, as usual, being supported on bamboo piles, with platforms at the back and sides, in which many of the household duties are performed. There is a large open verandah in front, and the interior is divided into two or three rooms. The Hatigoria houses are the largest and best built, and are arranged most regularly, and closely adjacent on either side of long streets. The front gables project considerably, those of opposite houses nearly meeting over the roadway. In front of the houses are rows of skulls, and in one or two of the front of the verandahs we notice rows of curiously carved and painted posts about 3 feet high. These, we are told, are put up on the occasion of the owner of the house giving a big feast, and thereby proclaiming himself a man of substance. A village contains from 200 to 500 houses.

The bodies of the dead are wrapped in mats and disposed on platforms roofed over and fenced in. All the personal decorations and clothes of the deceased, his shield &c., are arranged about the platform or fence. The ground around is sometimes panjied as a protection against the attacks of wild animals. The gourds and other domestic utensils belonging to the deceased are suspended from this

platform for his use in the next world, holes being made in them to render them useless to any who might otherwise be tempted to steal them in this world. These bodies are placed in groups on either side of the road between the two outer stockades, and consequently it is not always pleasant travelling along this road. Outside one village, called Boralangi, we saw the body of a young man only a few hours dead stretched on a small 'maichan' without any covering except his cloth. This circumstance, and the fact that he was lying far from the regular resting place of the dead, excited our curiosity and we were informed that he and another man from the next village had been at Boralangi the day before to attend a merry meeting, and had made too merry with the Naga liquor: in consequence of which, the night being dark and the path just outside the stockade a narrow and tortuous one amid a forest of long panjis, he had tripped and fallen, and a panji had passed right through him from side to side below the ribs, and he had died a few hours later. My informant added that men who died violent deaths in this way by accident were simply tied upon the spot where they fell, without covering or ornament, as their death is attributed to their having incurred the special disfavour of their gods. This custom obtains among many of the tribes.

The Hatigorias, as road engineers, far surpass their neighbours. Their roads are constructed with due regard to the easiest gradients, and are not carried up and down over every little hillock. The steeper parts are stepped and paved to prevent the rain washing channels in them, and in the gentler gradients cuts are made across the road at every change of inclination or direction in the most scientific manner to carry off the water down the hill-side. Among some of the other tribes the Lhotas, for example, the paths are narrow, never avoid obstacles and often seem made expressly to carry off the drainage of the country around. The mode of repairing them when the narrow path has been worn into a deep furrow, is to fill the latter with long tree trunks, the wobbling of which, and the steep slope at which they are often laid, making them very unsafe.

We pass on now to the tribes lying to the north-east of these we have just been considering, and they may be designated as the tribes inhabiting the hills bordering the Sibsagor district. Here we again find several villages similar in every way to their neighbours, yet occupied by naked Nagas, and we find tattooing beginning to appear

among the men, though not as yet on the face; only slightly on the arms and breast, a few fine lines running up from the navel and diverging on either side over the breast. The women's legs are tattooed below the knee with a cross gartering, and some have a cross tattooed on their stomachs, the navel being the centre and the arms of the cross all equal, the pattern of each arm being a long narrow oval bordered by two diverging lines four or five inches long. These naked Nagas are, as a rule, fine looking people, fair as to colour, and with some claim to good looks. The men's heads are shaved with the exception of a long tuft from the crown to the forehead, over which it lies. They wear nothing beyond belts of straw very tightly twisted round their waists. The women wear a strip of cloth about a foot wide round the hips, the upper part of the body being unclothed like the Garo women; they wear innumerable brass rings on the right arm, and the usual bead and shell necklaces. Both men and women chew pan to a great extent. The neighbouring Nagas differ only from this naked tribe by wearing a small waist cloth or rather flap made of a woody fibre woven into a coarse cloth. A few clothes thrown loosely over the shoulders are, of course, worn in cold weather.

A general description of the villages, &c., will suffice for all here. The plan of the village is somewhat similar to that of the Hatigorias, &c., except that the fortifications are not so elaborate. The 'Morangs' (bachelors' houses) are much more elaborately carved and ornamented than in any other part of the hills: figures of elephants, deer, tigers, &c., being carved on all the principal uprights, and, in some, life-sized figures of men and women, clothed and tattooed after life. The weather boards are carved with figures of birds and fishes, and painted in great detail with red, black, and white stripes, circles, and dots. The morangs are divided into three parts: first, the front verandah enclosed at the sides; second, the body of the house, containing the sleeping apartments and store-room on either side of a central passage (each sleeping room contains four planked bed places arranged in twos like the berths of a ship, one above the other, on either side of a small fireplace); third, a large room open to the small back verandah, this room contains a fireplace with a few planks as seats around it, and is floored with immense hollowed beams. In the back verandah, which has a low circular roof, are hung all the trophies of war and of the chase. The big drum is also

kept here. A curious custom prevails in this district of decorating the skulls of enemies taken in battle with a pair of horns, either buffalo or methua¹, and failing these, with wooden imitations of them.

The houses in these villages are similar to those already described being raised from the ground, the ridges instead of being straight are hog-backed. They are very closely packed on either side of long streets, the eaves touching, and the projecting front gable-ends of opposite houses often overlapping each other: the result is that even in the middle of the brightest day the streets are wrapped in gloom so great as to make it difficult to distinguish objects in the front verandahs, the few flecks of sunlight which fall upon the roadway here and there only serving to make the darkness greater. In the front verandah of some of the houses is a small enclosed room containing a bed and fireplace.

When an old woman is left a widow and without a home, her son (or nearest relation) provides her with this little chamber. Here, as I think very generally in these hills, a youth having taken a fancy to a girl, either of his own or neighbouring village, has to serve in her parents' house for a certain time, varying from one to two or more years according to agreement, before he can marry her, as was Jacob's case. Outside the villages, within a circle of staves surrounding two trees supporting a small platform, the harvest festivals take place. Large quantities of garlic are grown in these villages in small fenced gardens, panjis studding the ground between the plants.

In some villages the skull trophies are not placed in the morang, but are placed in the front verandah, decorated as usual with horns. The eldest brother in a family, in addition to his own trophies gets the skulls taken by his brothers, also to decorate his portals. Many of the verandahs contain a number of Y-shaped posts carved with human figures and methua heads. These signify that the occupant of the house has been the giver of a big feast.

The dead are sometimes as at Tablung, &c., wrapped tightly up in mats, and, resting in a long canoe-shaped cradle of wood, the ends projecting and carved, are placed among the upper branches of big trees just outside the villages. In other parts they are placed in small houses, the beaks at the end of the coffin projecting through

¹ In Assamese *mithun*.— N.K.R.

the front of the house. A small window is left at the side, I believe for the convenience of the dead man's spirit. These dead-houses, unlike the custom obtaining among the other tribes, are not outside the stockade, but actually within the village precincts, close to the dwellings; so in order to obviate any unpleasantness from the newly dead, fires are lighted in front of their resting places, the fuel being chaff and rice straw, which smoulders slowly, a plentiful supply of smoke being obtained by heaping over the fire a pile of green boughs and leaves.

The men of this tribe tattoo on the chest after taking their first head. The pattern consists of four lines which spring from the navel diverging as they ascend, and turn off into two large concentric curves over each breast, the lines broadening out to about one inch in width at the middle of the curves. The tattooing is done by scraping the skin with a dao, a sharp stone, and rubbing in very finely pounded rice. The colouring matter is the juice of a berry which is crushed over the powdered rice and leaves an indelible black stain.

In the valley of the Yangmun river is an interesting tribe of whom I should like to have learned more than we did, but our time and our supplies were running short, and we could not remain to explore more than the entrance of the valley. The men are tall, well built, and in many cases handsome. Their dress and accoutrements are similar to those of their brethren farther east whom I shall describe directly: their hair is dressed in a similar manner to that of the naked Nagas, i.e., cut close everywhere except on the top of the head, where a thick tuft falls over the forehead, another long tuft hanging behind from the crown, the latter twisted up into a tail with a band of grass.

There is very little, frequently no tattooing among these men till they approach the naked Nagas and adjoining tribes, when a little tattooing on the face and limbs is observable. The women in the Yangmun valley have a very peculiar mode of cutting their hair: it is kept so closely cut as only to leave a dark shade on the head: a narrow space on each side of the head being shaved perfectly clean from the temple to the crown. They wear very little clothing, a small belt of very fine leather thongs, to which in front are attached the upper corners of a long, narrow slip of cloth about 30 inches long and 6 inches broad; from this point it falls perfectly free and loosely round the loins and buttocks.

Very quaint designs are carved in slight relief on the planks forming the front walls and doors of the houses, the designs being further brought out by a judicious use of black, brownish red, yellow, and white pigments. The dead are placed on a 'maichan' raised about 4 feet from the ground, and covered with a low roof which gradually tapers out in front for about 20 or 30 feet.

They build a large number of granaries in their fields for the reception of the crops when first gathered. These houses are long low structures on piles, having their roofs tapered up for a considerable length, at one end only, or at both. These curious buildings, dotting the bare hill-sides, and standing out against the dark red soil, look at a distance exactly like huge crocodiles lying about. Another striking feature in the landscape is a curious erection seen near most villages, which is visible a very long way off. It looks at a distance like a large silver chevron¹ turned upside down. It is made of split pieces of wood with the white face turned outwards, placed close together vertically, and fastened to large curves of cane or bamboo, suspended between three trees: the whole length varies from 40 to 50 feet, and the average width is 6 feet, widening to 12 feet in the centre. We could not arrive at the meaning of these erections as we were here quite beyond interpretation; but they were always put up facing towards a village with which their builders were at war: there was no idea of fortification about them.

In one village here we saw a very fine stone viaduct across a small ravine 50 feet in length and 20 feet in height with a most scientific culvert through it. As we leave the Angamis and proceed eastwards, we find the spears and shields getting smaller and the daos getting larger till we reach in Yangmun and its neighbourhood the largest sized dao, the blade being triangular in shape, 1½ foot long, 1½ inches broad at the handle, and about 4 inches at the end. The handle is long. Bows and crossbows are common everywhere.

We now come to the tribes in the Jaipur district, including the men of Ninu, &c., who were concerned in the outrage on the Survey Party in February, 1875, when in the incredibly brief space of a couple of minutes, Lieutenant Holcombe and 80 men were most

¹ This probably represents, according to Dr Hutton, the rainbow as the bridge by which spirits from the sky come down to earth. It may perhaps be put up to fetch back the lost soul of a man killed in warfare from the enemy village which has taken his head.—N.K.R.

treacherously murdered, and fifty-one others wounded, out of a total of 197 all told: the remainder of whom only escaped by the bravery and presence of mind of Captain Badgley, the Survey Officer, who, though severely wounded by cuts on both legs and arms, brought them safely away after a four days' march through the hills, carrying the wounded out with him. For this service I believe he has received not so much as even the thanks of Government.

The men are of average height and nearly all well made and well developed, and, as in the case with all their tribes, their complexion comprises every shade of brown. They would be good looking as a rule, but for the tattooing which in some cases, when done heavily, makes their faces almost black; in others the tattooing is blue, and then the bare portion of the face, especially in those of fair complexion, appears pink by contrast. The tattooing on the face is called *ak* and consists of four continuous lines carried across the forehead round and underneath the eyes up to the nose, back over the cheeks, and round the corners of the mouth to the chin: rows of spots follow the outside lines, and two lines mark out the nose in a large diamond space. Some tribes, the Mutanias and Sermamens, do not tattoo much on the body, but their thighs are tattooed with various patterns; others, the Borduarias and Namsangias are not tattooed at all on the face, but their shoulders, wrists, bodies and thighs are covered with devices.

All the men of these tribes dress their hair in a similar fashion, i.e., it is shaved just above the ears, the remainder being taken back off the forehead and face, and tied in a knot behind; through this knot are passed curved strips of horn carrying waves of red and white or black hair. Some men have a small moustache, but few show anything like a beard.

As we proceed eastwards from the Angamis we find a taste for helmets gradually developing, and it culminates among the tribes now under consideration. The helmet is conical in shape and made of plaited cane, either plain or having patterns of coloured straw worked over it. A large plume of black or red hair passes over the helmet from front to rear, and long horns, carrying large feathers or tufts of hair, spring from the sides. Some helmets are covered with leopard or bear skin. Another headdress is a circular band of coloured cane and straw ornamented with bits of a large shell and a fringe of hog's hair which lies on the forehead. Their ear ornaments

are generally strings of beads pendant from a piece of shell fitted to the ear, and terminating in long tufts of hair which fall over the chest. They have another pretty one made of alternate tufts of red, white, and black hair, radiating from a centre of yellow straw work, which is fixed in the lobe of the ear.

From the shoulders to the elbows the men encase their arms in many rings of red and yellow cane, very large at the shoulder, gradually decreasing towards the elbow: these give an appearance of great breadth to their shoulders, an effect which is heightened by the bands of black or yellow cane which are drawn tightly round the waist. These canes are of great length: one man had as many as 19 turns round his waist giving a total length of cane over 40 feet. Large belts, very broad at the back, fastening in front, and made of plates of polished brass or of coloured cane and cowries are also worn. A broad piece of blue cloth hangs from the waist ornamented with red fringes and rows of white seeds. On the wrists are worn deep bracelets of cowries, and below the knee strings of the same are also tied. All these decorations, as I have before remarked, are intended to be defensive as well as ornamental.

These Nagas are very skilful in devising little adornments from palm-leaves, making coronets, wristbands, and anklets of them. A curious custom prevails at a village called Voka, and probably also among the neighbouring villages: it is this—that till a young man is married he goes perfectly naked, but he at once adopts a waist cloth when he takes a wife. Every man carries about with him a small basket, a bag for his food, pan, &c. At one village every man carried against his apron a small bamboo cup full of live embers of sago palm bark placed in a layer of sand. This was for the purpose of supplying a pipe-light at any time, I was told. The weather was warm, so that it was not to supply heat to their bodies, as is done in a similar way in Cashmere in cold weather.

The women of these Eastern tribes are short in stature, and their figures are rather remarkable for strength than beauty. The shoulders are tattooed with diamond patterns, three horizontal lines are taken across the body above the breasts, between which eight lines go down to the waist narrowing gradually to a point: the navel is the centre of a Maltese cross, each arm about five inches long consists of three lines with a pointed finial. The leg tattoo is drawn with an admirable sense of fitness, that on the thighs consisting of close

vertical lines and on the calves of horizontal lines, a small break occurring in each on the shin bone: this has the effect of increasing the apparent rotundity of the legs below the knees.

The operation of tattooing is sometimes attended with fatal results. I was once asked to visit a poor little girl about ten years old whose legs had been tattooed a few days before. The operation had resulted in inflammation and mortification of the limbs. I went into the house where the poor little thing—sad votary of fashion—lay screaming with pain. The sores were dreadful, both legs apparently rotting away below the knee. I was only passing through the village, my camp being some miles away and could do little for her, and I fear she died a painful death. Fashion, whether in tight lacing or tattooing, claims its victims all over the world.

The dress of the women consists principally of a very small petticoat 26 inches long and 6 inches deep, ornamented with bells, beads, and shells; this only comes a little more than half-way round the body leaving the right thigh bare,—it is attached at the ends and middle to a string passing round the waist. Sometimes a small cloth is worn on the shoulders. Many strings of beads fall low over the breasts. Small fillets of coloured straw adorn their brows, and massive white metal rings are worn above the elbow. Their ear ornaments are small strings of beads passed through various holes.

The arms are, as usual, the dao, spear and crossbow. The first is a most formidable weapon, the blade triangular, about 8 inches long, straight at the back, and 4 inches wide at the top, narrowing gradually towards the handle, which is 2 feet long and ornamented with tufts of coloured hair; sometimes there is a semicircular projection at the back of the blade. The spears are not such handsome or formidable weapons as those further west, due probably to the fact that the dao, and not the spear, is here the principal weapon of offence. The spear heads are small, and the shaft, though short and slender, is strongly made of bamboo and decorated with red and black hair in various fashions. The shield is small, about 4 feet long by 2 feet wide, made of buffalo hide decorated along the upper edge with a fringe of red hair, and on the face with some tassels of grass. Every man carries in a small basket or horn at his back a supply of panjies. Some wear a kind of defensive armour in the shape of a leathern corset, which overlaps on the chest, and is kept up by means of straps which pass over the shoulders.

Gongs, which probably come indirectly from Burmah, are largely used by these tribes, and they cast bells in little clay moulds, the material being apparently a kind of gunmetal, and occasionally brass. The women carry long iron walking staves foliated at the upper end. Another lighter and prettier walking-stick among the Yangmun people is made of sago palm, decorated with brass rings and furnished with an iron spike.

The villages are not always well placed for defence against rifles, being commanded from some neighbouring height; but some, such as Bor Bansang, Senua, Niao, &c., are exceedingly well placed, occupying the highest points of the ridges on which they stand, and commanding all the approaches to them. The defences consist of double stockades made of interlaced bamboo and cane, with panjied ditches.

The houses are generally scattered up and down without any attempt at order, and are half hidden among the trees, which are not, as elsewhere, cut down to clear a village site such only being felled as interfere with the houses: these are built on the unlevelled ground, the floor being carried out to the rear on piles, the back verandah being frequently 20 or 30 feet from the ground. The house is divided into an entrance hall, where the owner's weapons hang, also skulls of animals taken in the chase, and beyond are several small apartments, terminating with a large open verandah. The principal uprights project some two or three feet through the ridge of the roof, this portion of each post being thatched to keep the rain from trickling through into the house. This thatch is ingeniously worked into figures of men, &c. The reason given for this projection of the posts is that, as the part below the ground decays, it can be cut off and the post lowered without damage to the house.

The Vangam's, i.e. headman's house, is always very large, and built on the most level site in the village. It is generally about 200 feet long by 40 or 50 feet broad, and contains two large halls, one at either end, the intervening space being divided up into several apartments and store-rooms arranged on either side of a central passage. Each of the women's apartments has its own door of exit, and small verandah. On one side of the entrance hall is the drum—similar to that of the Hatigorias. Opposite the drum is the rice pounder, a long log squared, with small holes, in which the rice is pounded out from the husks. The other hall is kept as an audience

hall, where the chief receives his friends. It has a raised and matted floor, the rest of the house being on the bare ground. This hall opens into a large verandah; every house is furnished with a few small stools on short legs, and one or two large beds, which, with their legs and a bolster, are carved out of one log. Tables made of cane work shaped like huge inverted wine glasses, and about two and a half feet high, are used at meal times. In each village are one or two 'morangs', in which are kept the skull trophies, placed in rows in a large sloping tray on the verandah. At Bor Mutan there were 210 bleached skulls arranged thus.

Between two villages we saw by the roadside a small table raised eight feet from the ground and approached on either side by a broad wooden ramp. We were told that here peace is concluded between the two villages after a war. The chiefs walking up, each from his own side, meet face to face on opposite sides of the table and exchanging *chungas* (bamboo mugs) of wine, drink to each other, and thus declare peace. On the road to Niao we saw on the ground a curious mud figure of a man in slight relief presenting a gong in the direction of Senua; this was supposed to show that the Niao men were willing to come to terms with Senua, then at war with Niao. Another mode of evincing a desire to turn away the wrath of an approaching enemy, and induce him to open negotiations, is to tie up in his path a couple of goats, sometimes also a gong, with the universal symbol of peace, a palm leaf planted in the ground hard by.

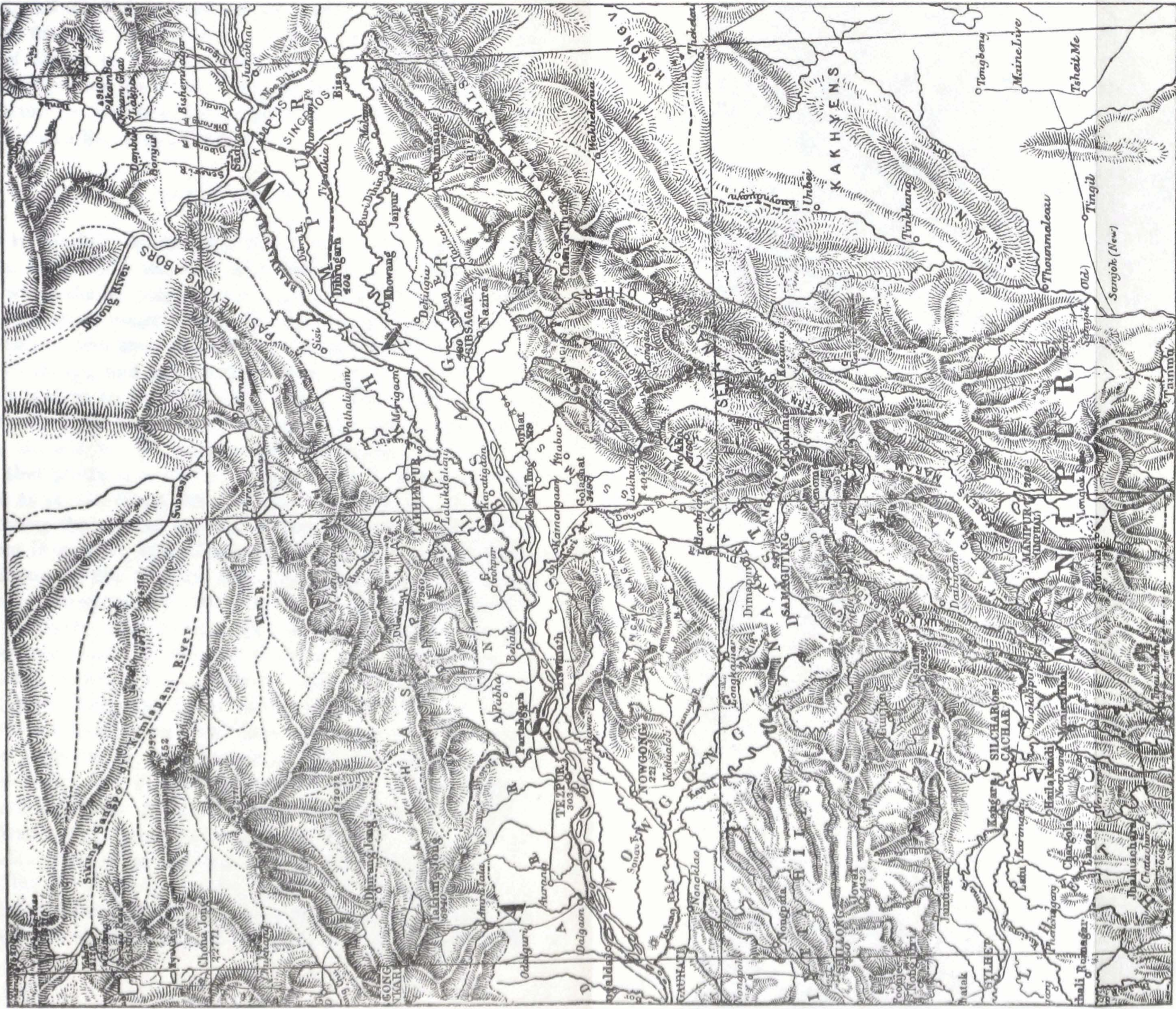
The dead are wrapped in mats and placed on platforms under small roofs, which are decorated with cloths and streamers, and have at each end a tall figure of wood dressed, painted, and tattooed after the manner of the men of the village, and carrying imitation spears and daos; gourds, baskets, &c., being suspended above. At some villages the tombs are enclosed in small sheds with doors and are regular family vaults. These tombs are all just outside the villages. Cairns of stones are also erected, where the heads of departed villagers, decorated with shells, beads, and bells are collected, earthen jars filled with the smaller bones being arranged beside the skulls. Each head is decorated so as to preserve its individuality.

In my paper on the Angamis I have said all that we know, or that I, at any rate, know, of the religion of the Nagas. I feel how meagre these papers of mine are, and how much more might be

92°

94°

96°



28°

26°

MAP SHOWING

INDIA'S NORTH-EAST FRONTIER IN 1884

Scale of Miles



From A. Mackenzie, *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal* (1884)

said about the Nagas and their peculiar customs, but I trust that I have said enough to show what a very interesting field of study these hills afford, and what a pleasant life the surveyor's was there, each day's march bringing something new before him, with just enough suspicion of danger to tinge his work with excitement. Personally, I shall never regret the few seasons spent in those hills, and the many pleasant memories they have left to me of work done and dangers shared with men I loved and honoured.

DISCUSSION

Colonel H. Godwin-Austen said that it was very remarkable to note in the Naga Hills the very short distances that have to be traversed, where the language is so changed that these village communities can scarcely understand each other. No doubt the constant state of hostility with their neighbours in which they live leads to this state of things, and the speaker could testify to all that the author had said as to the difficulties caused intentionally by the interpreters whom we have to employ, and who often are the cause of hostile attitude by the exaggerated reports they spread. He remarked that goitre is a disease equally local in the north-west Himalayas as in the Naga Hills, where it is often found in one valley affecting the greater number of the population, while it is quite absent in another valley close by. The patterns of the cloths being distinctive of the different clans, the speaker mentioned that it is still more interesting to state that the devices on their shields are also well known, and by which they distinguish friend from foe at long distances, and are veritable coats of arms. The placing of broken gourds on tombs is no doubt symbolical of death, and they are always placed with the mouth downwards. In the West Khasi Hills, on the tombs of women and girls, the cotton spindle she has wound are hung on the sides broken in half. The Lalus, a small clan in the North Jaintia Hills, place their dead in open coffins, raised several feet above the ground, which are left in this position after the dead body is taken out and burnt close by. The similarity of the pendant piece of wood hung from the waist, as shown in the drawing of the girl of the village of Chopnu to what the speaker had seen on a Buddhist sculpture in the valley of Kashmir is remarkable. He obtained one at the village of Bijbihara on the Jhelum, which

had just been dug out, and which he afterwards gave to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta.

Mr Hyde Clarke, in responding to Col. Godwin-Austen's observations as to the diversity of languages, proposed another explanation. Thus for *monkey* there were four words, for *elephant* three. That these were not of local origin could be proved by tracing their affinities elsewhere, and then we find the four forms for monkey,

takwi, *simai*, *veh*, and *suchi*, represented as *tekawu*, *dsima*, *wai*, and *tsakar*; the forms for elephant, *lokniu*, *puok*, and *shiti*, appearing as *ulonga*, *opowo*, and *ndshogo*. So in like way for many other words, as tiger, cow, goat, fish, head, ear, hair, mouth, hand, bone, blood, sun, moon, star, day, night, to-day, to-morrow, no, not, I, we, thou, you, he, they. Indeed, wherever tested, the general results were the same. Not only was this found to be so as to dissimilar roots, but as to dialectic variations for the *ma* and *nak* of *not*, for the *masi* and *nasi* of *cow*. These facts serve to show the position of the Naga languages, and to throw light on the early Naga history.



Wife of Soibang, Vangam of Chopnu
(Bor Mutan)

The languages must be those of tribes, forming a league before the occupation of the Naga country, and becoming diversified or distinguished after occupation, not being variants from one original stock. Another result is this, that languages belong to much higher culture than that now prevailing among the Nagas, and to a very ancient culture. The relation is to the group which included the Akkad, the Khita, and all that the speaker had described as Khitoid. One curious parallel in this way is with the *Eten* or *Eteng* of Peru, a similar isolated population. The languages are not those of

populations in the present condition of the Nagas, but of higher populations and apparently of a white race.

The Nagas represent sections of populations governed by a former dominant race driven up into the mountains, and there is no reason to assume that the Nagas are descendants of the dominant race, or that they have not been affected by the intermarriage or immigration of the neighbouring races. They transmit in all probability the languages of the races which gave the earliest culture to India, antecedent to the Kolarians and the Dravidians. There is not much difficulty in fixing this, as the ancient river and town names of India preserved by the classic geographers conform to those found in other parts of Asia and in Europe, occupied by corresponding dominant populations, and which names are consequently anterior to the Aryans. The Naga languages are invaluable for investigations in pre-historic philology and archaeology, and in this sense the tables of Colonel Woodthorpe are of more than local importance.

The President, Colonel Keating, and Professor Flower also joined in the discussion.

Colonel Woodthorpe, replying to the President and Colonel Keating, said that the only terraced fields are those belonging to the Angami Nagas. They were described in the previous paper. There are salt wells in many parts of the hills. The water is simply evaporated in small earthen pans over fires, and the rough salt collected and made up into small cakes enclosed in a case of bamboo leaves.

3

THE NAGA TRIBES

(W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, 1841, pp. 380-98)

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD NAGA IS UNKNOWN; but it has been supposed by some to have been derived from the Sanskrit word, नग्न and applied in derision to the people, from the paucity of their clothing; but there seems little foundation for this etymological derivation, as the term has never been known to be applied by the Bengalees to either the Khassias or Garos, with whom they were

far better acquainted than with the Nagas; and besides, the Garos especially are habitually accustomed to a greater degree of nudity than any of the Naga tribes with whom we are acquainted. Whatever be the origin of the word Naga, it appears that the appellation is entirely unknown to any of the hill tribes themselves. The inhabitants of these hills are divided into numerous communities or races; and they know themselves by the designations of their respective tribes only, and not by any name common to all the races.

There, however, appears to be some mark by which these tribes are distinguished from their neighbours, and some common ties by which they are all bound together as one people, though possibly at present divided into tribes by a diversity of dialects. In all probability, this common tie may have descended to all the present tribes, from the great aboriginal stock by which the hills were first peopled. Other races may from time to time have entered, and taken refuge in the hills, bringing with them their own dialects; but they may have probably amalgamated with the old stock in habits and manners, and above all, in religious superstitions; and these last especially, may form the great connecting link of all the Nagas, and the cause of separation from other hill tribes.

Though constantly at war amongst themselves, and using dialects so different that two adjoining tribes cannot converse together, except through the medium of a third dialect common to both; yet they are said to intermarry and form connexions and alliances with each other, which they do not do with tribes not belonging to the Naga community.

The Nagas also appear in general to be distinguished from their neighbours by physical conformation; for though there is much difference in this respect amongst them, yet they are in common, remarkable for extremely coarse, savage countenances, and dull, timid, heavy dispositions.

In some of their habits, all these tribes have a common resemblance. They are, moreover, all distinguished by their weapons, which consist solely of javelins or spears.

So little is known of the dialects of the Nagas, that our present information will not permit us, from this source, to form any judgment respecting their descent. From the apparent diversity in their languages, it may with probability be inferred, that many of the tribes have not sprung from one common origin. . . . Thus whilst

some of the tribes may have dialects derived from a common source, others speak languages of a perfectly distinct stock.

A more general acquaintance with the people, and a more diligent attention to their languages, it is hoped, will not long be wanting to throw light on these interesting races. Already have two or three members of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions established themselves in the Naga hills, and have become so far acquainted with the language of the tribe amongst whom they have located themselves (the Namsangiyas), as to have been able to get up a few elementary books in that dialect, and to open a school for the education of the children. To the perseverance of these exemplary men, in the great cause to which they have devoted their lives, we shall soon be indebted for much and valuable information regarding the Naga tribes in general, and the products of the hills which they inhabit. It is further to be hoped, that by the blessing of Divine Providence, through the efforts of these excellent men, the Nagas, who from time immemorial have been the scorn and the prey of their more civilized neighbours may shortly begin to emerge from that dark barbarism which now renders the tribe of each hill an enemy to that of the next, and has hitherto prevented an Alpine tract of great natural resources and high fertility, from supporting more than a very scanty population of savages, in a state of discomfort and privation.

The rich and fertile valley of Manipur rests at an elevation of 2,500 feet above the sea; its extreme length is about thirty-six miles, and average breadth eighteen. The Manipuris who inhabit this valley, are not generally supposed to be connected with the great family of the Nagas. We have, however, no certain information that the Manipuri language bears no resemblance to that of any of the Naga tribes, and the probability is, that more minute researches will discover some traces of an affinity between them. The Rev. Mr Brown of Jaipur, is of opinion, that there are some traces of a connexion between the language of Manipur and that spoken by the Singphos.

The Manipuris have a written language, and are in all respects far more advanced in the state of civilization than any of the Naga tribes; which may in a great measure be owing to the advantage of their locality admitting of regular cultivation, and affording the necessary means of supporting its population in comparative comfort.

There are but a few of the great divisions of the Naga tribes known to us; these are the Koong-juees, inhabiting the hills SW. of Manipur; the Marams to the NW.; the Laohoopas and Ungkools to the NE. and E.; and the Angamis north of the same valley. We are, however, uncertain whether these terms are correctly applied to any of these confederated tribes, or acknowledged by the people themselves.

The Nagas connected with Asam are those occupying the northern faces of the mountains now alluded to, and whose streams fall into the Brahmahputra; these all pass under the general name of Nagas while those situated on the higher ranges, are known as the Abors, or Abor Nagas.

The Nagas on the lower ranges are exceedingly jealous of the profits arising from their connexion with the province, and there is nothing which they more strenuously oppose, than the communication of the interior Nagas with the markets frequented by them; and the wish to prevent any interchange of a direct barter by the Abors with the inhabitants of Asam, has been the cause of constant wars between them. This spirit of jealousy prevails throughout all these hills, and while the Abors are debarred from access to the markets of Asam, the Nagas of the northern hills are prevented from trading with Ava or Manipur.

East of the river Namsang, and between it and the boundary of Asam, are several small Naga communities, who are now almost reduced to the state of slaves by the more powerful Singphos, by whom they appear to be greatly oppressed. Of late, however, the progress of our paramount authority has interposed for their relief. We are not aware, whether any Nagas are found further east; but it seems probable that the Khunungs, who inhabit those mountains whence the Irrawadi takes its rise, may also be Nagas, though this general term is not applied to them.

Among those Naga tribes in communication with Asam, and who deserve more particular notice, are the Namsangiyas, the Borduriays or the Borduwarias, and the Panidawarias. These tribes are in possession of brine springs of considerable value, and further were always supposed to pay allegiance to the Rajas of Asam.

The circumstance of the Asam government having always raised a revenue from the imported salt of the hills, and the dependence of the Nagas on the Asam markets for the exchange of salt for grain

and other articles, has contributed to a mutual good understanding between the two people. The Naga hills have in consequence been always accessible to the people of the plains ; whilst the Nagas have on their part, been always permitted access to the markets on the frontier.

The taxes that have been till lately levied on the Naga salt have been exceedingly heavy, and the manner in which they were imposed, led to numerous exactions on the part of the tax-gatherers. The individuals appointed to the collection of the taxes were in attendance at the springs on the hills, as well as the markets below, and tolls were levied by them both on the salt itself, and on the articles the Nagas obtained in barter for the salt.

Lieutenant Brodie, now in charge of the Sibpur district, finding the old system very oppressive to the people, abolished all the duties to which they were subject, that on the salt excepted. The tax now levied upon it consists in kind. The present receipts amount to 652 maunds 38 seers and 11 chittacks of salt, which at 5 rupees a maund, the rate at which it has been sold, yields rupees 3,264 : 13 : 4. Deducting from this the monthly expenses, which amount to 120 rupees, or rupees 1,440 annually, and the net return is rupees 1,824 : 13 : 4.

The salt wells in the hills are for the most part the sole property of the Nagas. In some of the wells, the former Asam government obtained a joint property, the Nagas having a right to draw the brine for a certain number of hours, and the government for an equal period. Raja Purunder Sing found this right a very profitable one, and a certain portion of his Pykes were allotted to the works. As the Pyke system has since been abolished, and it would not in all probability be so profitable under a system of hired labour, at least without some more profitable mode of boiling the brine than is now in use, the British government have not yet exercised their prerogative in these wells. To some springs below the hills the government have an exclusive right ; but the jealousy of the Nagas induced them, during the weakness of the late Asam government, to fill up the wells and forcibly to prevent their being re-opened.

The Naga mode of manufacturing the salt is exceedingly rude, and the process both slow and wasteful, so that the salt manufactured by the Nagas, can scarcely compete with that imported from Bengal. It is, however, to be hoped, that European speculators will shortly be able to introduce a far more profitable mode of manufacturing

the salt, which is the more likely to succeed, as the vicinity of several coal beds will offer the means of evaporating the brine with greater facility. The Nagas themselves are at present averse to any innovations, and it is difficult to see what measures are to be taken even for their own advantage, without giving them offence.

The Naga tribes already alluded to, gave the late government considerable trouble, by the constant wars in which they were engaged against each other. Between the Namsangiyas and the Bordurias in particular, a deadly feud has long existed, which the officers of the Asam Raja far from endeavouring to quell, had till of late, by inflicting fines on both parties, made a fruitful source of gain to themselves. Mr Sub-Assistant C. R. Strong was lately deputed on a mission to their hills, for the purpose of inquiring into the cause of their feuds, and if possible, to attempt a reconciliation. This, it is hoped, he has effectually done, by engaging both parties in a solemn agreement to abstain from further aggressions, and in future to seek for a redress of their grievances, by a reference to the British authorities.

Of the tribes of Nagas further west, we have no certain information. These tribes are allowed free access to the *hauts*, or market-places on the frontier, and most of them acknowledge allegiance to the British government. During the reign of the Asam dynasty, they were allowed the privilege of cultivating all the lands south of the Dhudur-Alli, at a very trifling rent; and in some parts along that frontier the Nagas possess much valuable cultivation, and a few very comfortable villages. Most of the inhabitants of these villages are composed of refugee Asamese Pykes and slaves, who found protection here from the systematic oppressions they were subjected to in their own villages.

From various causes of complaint, and chiefly, it is believed from an attempt of Raja Purunder Sing to increase the taxes already obtained from these tribes, or from a wish to bring under taxation the Nagas who had long been exempt from it, the Naga tribes between the Dikho and Disang rivers were, during the latter part of his reign, in open hostility to his government, and committed such fearful ravages on the bordering districts, as to stop all communication by the roads, and force the ryots to remove from the neighbourhood. But happily these disturbances have now ceased, and tranquillity has once more been restored.

To the west of the Dessai, and between that river and the Dhansiri, the hills are inhabited by numerous and peaceful tribes of Nagas, known to the Asamese by the name of Latoo Nagas. They frequent the markets of Jorehat, Kachari-hat, and the *hauts* on the Dhansiri.

Further west, and on the hills betwixt the several streams of the Dhansiri, are situated the Nagas of the great Angami community, with whom the British government have lately been brought into collision, in consequence of the constant aggressions of that tribe upon the Kachari villages in the hills of northern Kachar. These hills were transferred to Asam in consequence of these aggressions, the superintendent of Kachar not possessing so ready an access to them as is available to the authorities in Asam. The frequent atrocities committed by these tribes, at length forced upon the British government an immediate and powerful interference. Mr Sub-Assistant Grange accordingly conducted two expeditions against them, which it is presumed have had the desired effect. Intimidated by these expeditions, the most powerful chieftains have sent in messages, promising better behaviour, and suing forbearance. A third mission, and which it is hoped will be final, to be conducted by Lieutenant Bigge, Principal Assistant in charge of Nowgong is now about to proceed to their hills for the purpose of negotiating with all the chiefs for terms of alliance and mutual friendly communication.

Though the Angamis are a very powerful confederation, they appear to have had no communication with the markets in Asam, from which they were probably intercepted by the Latoo Nagas, with whom they have been at constant war. Nor does it appear that the Angamis had any immediate communication even with the district of Kachar on the Jamuna. A small trade was, however, maintained with them by means of the Kacharis, and some of the Nagas of the lowest hills, who had been brought under subjection by the Angamis. The rule of the Angami chiefs seems to have been very oppressive; and many of the Nagas have been thereby driven from their own villages, to seek an asylum on the Mikir hills, to the west of the Dhansiri.

The country of the Angami Nagas had, previous to Mr Grange's expedition, been visited by Captains Jenkins, Pemberton, and Gordon, in attempts to open a communication between Manipur and Asam. The expeditions conducted by these officers have,

however, been attended with no permanent results, partly from the strenuous opposition made by the Angamis to any route being opened through their country, and partly from the officers of the British and the Manipuri governments taking different views of the policy of the proposed measure, and not following up steadily what their predecessors had begun.

The scanty information we at present possess of the Naga tribes, is scarcely sufficient to admit of our dwelling at any length on their civil and social condition.

In all unpolished nations, the functions in domestic economy, which fall naturally to the share of women, are so many, that they are subjected to hard labour, and must bear their full portion of the common burden. Among the Nagas this is more particularly the case, owing in a great measure, perhaps, to the anarchical state of the country; or rather to the number of independent chiefs, who formerly, for the slightest offence, were disposed to wage war against each other, and the worst of all wars,—that which is covert and unsuspected. This made it necessary for the men to be always ready for an assault; and hence the custom that the women should cultivate the fields, and the men prepare for and fight in battle. In regard to the connexion of the sexes, the Nagas may boast of a propriety unknown to their more civilized neighbours. The men confine themselves to one wife, to whom they are strongly attached, and of whose chastity they appear very jealous. The women, on their part, are said to be distinguished for the correctness of their behaviour. They are in general treated with considerable kindness by the men, and are allowed to participate with them in their festivities and social amusements.

Marriages among the Nagas are not contracted in childhood, as among the Hindoos; nor do the men generally marry young. This probably arises in a great measure from the difficulty of procuring the means of paying the parents of the bride the expected *douceur* on giving the suitor their daughter to wife. Hence the youth, who wishes to espouse a girl, if accepted, agrees to serve her father for a term of years, generally limited to the period at which she may be considered marriageable.¹ At the end of his servitude, a house is constructed for the young couple by their parents, who also supply

¹ Compare Pemberton's account, p. 43 above.—N.K.R.

them with a small stock of pigs, fowls, and rice. A long previous training has fully qualified the young bride to enter upon the duties of her new station; and the value of her services is generally so well appreciated, that nothing is more prompt than the vengeance of a Naga for any insult offered to his laborious partner; his spear gives the ready reply to any remark derogatory to her honour.

The agriculture of the Nagas is neither extensive nor laborious. Among some of the tribes, however, every portion of culturable land is most carefully terraced up the hills, as far as rivulets can be commanded for the irrigation of the beds; in these localities, rice forms the only object of cultivation. Arums and yams the Nagas have in great abundance, but are for the most part found wild about their villages; they have also some large capsicums, good ginger, and a few cardamum plants. Cotton is frequently grown on the sides of the hills; and with it is often seen a species of grass, (*lachryma jobi*,) from the grain of which the Nagas extract an intoxicating liquor by an operation that closely resembles brewing. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity, to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality, and there is no tribe so rude or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The Nagas seem as much addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors as any of the neighbouring tribes. Pigs, fowls, and ducks are abundant in all the villages, and some of the more wealthy keep herds of cattle procured from the plains. They make no scruple of the use of beef, and in fact are by no means particular in their diet—dogs and cats, as well as reptiles and insects, are equally partaken of as food. In general, the Nagas do not use much vegetable food, and the consequence is, that most of the old people shew great and disgusting symptoms of cutaneous eruptions, scurvy, and leprosy.

In so large an extent of mountainous country as that occupied by the Nagas, the useful vegetable and mineral substances that are produced in it, must undoubtedly be numerous; but our imperfect acquaintance with their territories will admit of our particularizing only a few. Amongst the former, there are several species of laurels; that yielding cassia is known to exist plentifully in the eastern hills, whilst the plant known to us as the bay leaf, or the *tezpat* of commerce, is abundant everywhere. Mr Grange in his expedition to the Angami Nagas, found the wild tea plant in considerable quantities

on their hills, which the Shyans, who accompanied him, said was of excellent quality. Agar wood, the produce of these hills, was at one time in great demand as an article of commerce. A very resinous fir is also abundant in all the higher ranges, and, amongst other useful timbers, oaks of various kinds are plentiful.

The only mineral product we are acquainted with, as used by the Nagas, is salt, which we have already noticed; and as we are aware that salt springs exist westward on the banks of the Dhansiri at Sunkar, in the Kachar hills, as far east as the banks of the Dehing and Namsang rivers; whilst coal is plentifully found as far as we have hitherto been able to trace it, all along the lower ranges bordering on the valley, we may with great propriety suppose, that this country abounds in all the deposits of the coal formation and secondary rocks.

4

A SOLDIER OBSERVES

(Capt. Vetch, 'Report of a visit by Captain Vetch to the Singpho and Naga Frontier of Luckimpore, 1842', *Selection of Papers*, pp. 260-3)

THE PORTION OF THE HILLS we passed over may be described as a succession of steep ridges, our marches being generally up one side of a hill and down the other to a stream at the bottom; these streams generally forming the boundaries of tribes. The soil appears to be very fertile, and there is a very large portion of it under cultivation. The chief products are rice, yams, capsicums, and ginger. The dao is the only implement of husbandry used by the Nagas: with this the jungle is cut down, and when burnt, it is used to turn up the soil and fit it for the seed. The principal crop is *aoos* rice, which is sown in March and April, and reaped in October or November. The land after being in cultivation for two years is left fallow for eight or ten.

The villages seem without exception to be on the top of precipitous hills, with commanding views of all the approaches to them; they are generally fortified by a ditch, and many of them by a succession

of ditches cut round them with barricades on the inner sides of the entrances. These entrances are generally over a narrow ridge with very precipitous sides; the ditches have a tree or a few bamboos thrown over them for crossing, but it is probable that these are with panjees or pieces of bamboo stuck upright in the ground. I did not observe that any of these were sharpened, and from the way they were laid down on some of the roads they had more the appearances of being used as balks at night than with any intention to lame assailants.

The defences are made chiefly, if not altogether, in consequence of feuds and warfare among themselves, and I have no doubt that they answer pretty well the purposes for which they are intended. But their arms and, as far as I have been able to learn, their courage, are not sufficient to enable them to stand against a body of disciplined troops, and I believe that a small party of sepoy would take the strongest village they have with ease.

Beyond the Deko to the southward lies the great range which separates Assam from the Burmese dominions. The summit of this range could not be more than from 15 to 20 miles off. We could see roads and villages in many directions, and the people of Changnoee seemed to know that there was a pass leading from thence to Burmah; but they said they had little or no intercourse with the Nagas beyond them to the south, and could give no information as to the distance to the other side.

The roads through the villages are uneven and filthy; the houses are large and built on posts with walls of split bamboos, and roofed generally with the leaf of the palm called Takopath. The residence of the chief of Changnoee was at least 400 feet long by about 40 or 50 feet broad, and there were several houses occupied by members of his family of not much smaller dimensions. The interior of these dwellings is dark, there being no windows nor any entrance but at the ends, and the roofs being very low. The floors are not raised unless when this is rendered necessary by the unevenness of the ground on which the houses stand, and then there is merely a bamboo platform from rock to rock.

In all the villages there are one or more large buildings called morungs. In these there is a large scooped-out tree with a longitudinal opening on the top about three inches wide and extending nearly from end to end. It is used either for music or for sounding the alarm to collect the fighting men together, by being beaten upon with two

pieces of heavy wood cut out like dumb-bells. These houses are generally placed at the head of the principal entrances to the village. They are said to be carefully guarded at night; and there is a high platform thrown out in front, from which the whole surrounding country is seen in the day, and we never saw this platform unoccupied.

In the morungs are kept the skulls carried off in battle. These are suspended by a string along the wall in one or more rows over each other. In one of the morungs in Changnoee I counted 130 skulls, which were said to have belonged to men, women, and children, indiscriminately. Besides this number, there was a large basketfull of broken pieces of skulls; one of the morungs at Mooloong had been burnt, and the very ashes had been gathered and preserved with the skulls that had been since collected.

The porch of the Changnoee chief's house was a perfect Golgotha. There were between 50 and 60 human skulls, together with the skulls of elephants, buffaloes, Naga bulls, bears, tigers, pigs, monkeys, &c., the larger kind lying on the ground, while the smaller literally covered the walls and posts. We did not see so many skulls elsewhere; but the same desire to obtain them prevails all over these hills.

A striking instance of the value attached to these trophies was met with at Konghon the first day I entered the hills. In strolling round the village, I came upon a path down which the women and children had been removed; and on the back of the gateway opening from the village down this path, I saw that the skulls had all been collected, ready to be carried off if flight became unavoidable.

The arms used by the Nagas are the spear, dao, and occasionally a crossbow and arrows of pointed bamboo. The spear is thrown, and a rush then made with the dao either to recover the spear or to carry off the head of any enemy that may have fallen. They have no firearms, and are greatly afraid of them.

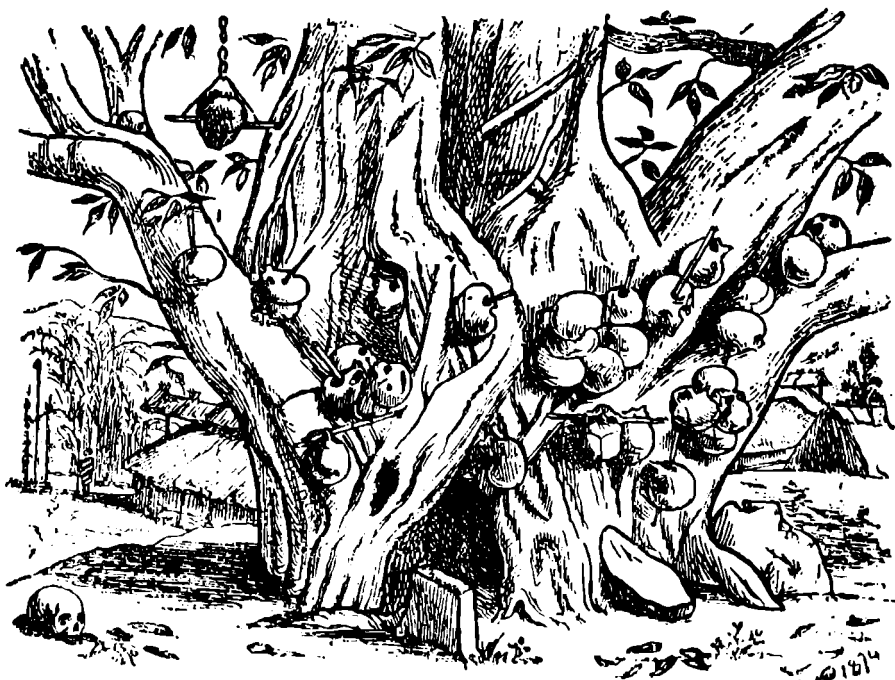
The men are a stout, athletic race. Most of the tribes have their faces tattooed with distinctive marks, so that it is easy for a person accustomed to see them to know to what part of the hills they belong. At Tabloong, Konghon, and Jaktoong they were in a state of nudity, their loins being lightly girt with a smooth rattan passed twice or thrice round the body. To the eastward, a straight piece of cotton cloth of about eighteen inches long and nine broad is worn suspended from the middle. The principal men at Mooloong and Changnoee wore a very handsome girdle of polished brass plates, and the cloth

worn by them was of somewhat larger dimensions and ornamented with shells or clear polished circular brass knobs.

We saw very few of the women after leaving Jaktoong. Those we met with were very sparingly clad, and seemed to be employed



Lhota Naga village and Golgotha



principally in carrying water in large bamboo tubes from the wells below the villages.

In conclusion, I beg to say that I have little doubt but that this expedition will be the means of saving many hundreds of lives annually; and if it shall be the wish of Government, I shall be happy next cold season to go over the hills between the Deko and Dhun-seeree, with a view to effect similar arrangements with the Nagas in that direction. The country is quite unexplored, though the Nagas are as numerous and as addicted to warfare among themselves as any of those with whom I have been dealing. The number that come down to the plains is perhaps greater.

5

PRIMITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

(a)

(R. G. Latham, *Ethnology of India*, 1859, pp. 70-4)

ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF THE MIKIR AND CACHAR comes a population rude and pagan; or, if not wholly pagan, with a minimum amount of Buddhism or Brahminism. The numerous tribes which compose it are on the boundary of the British dominions—some of them within it. Expeditions have been made by British officers against them. Like all pagans, however, they are fitter objects for the missionary than the soldier; and missionaries are finding their way to them.

The Naga houses differ from the Mikir; so does the Naga dress—or rather undress. From this they are supposed to have taken their name, which is anything but native. Indeed, it is not likely to be so. Few tribes so rude as these mountaineers have any general or collective name at all amongst themselves. Amongst themselves everything is particular or specific. Each tribe has its name, but the whole stock none. It is the neighbours who know them in their collective capacity. Now, in the languages of the plains, *nunga* equals *naked*. I do not, however, find that the Nagas are actually this: they have some clothing, though not much. It is, moreover, home-made; manufactured by the Naga women, dyed by them.

The name Naga, as we may easily believe, is, in general, foreign to the Nagas. There is one tribe, however, in North Cachar that so denominates itself. The Aroong Nagas call themselves what the neighbours call them.

In one respect they differ from the Mikir, Kukis and Cachar, with whom (in some portions of their area at least) they come in contact; and that notably. All the above-named tribes, though not migratory, are easily moved to a change of residence. They crop the ground around their settlements, and when it is exhausted go elsewhere. The Nagas crop the ground also, and exhaust it; but when, having done this, they find it necessary to make a fresh choice of ground, they go to a distance, cultivate their allotments, and never mind the trouble and labour of bringing the produce home. This is the sacrifice they make for the love of their old localities. The field is changed; the house remains where it was. Of Naga houses, some twenty, thirty, or one hundred constitute a village, the situation of which is generally on the tops of the hills. Can this extraordinary affection for particular spots be accounted for in an otherwise not over-active community? I think the suggestion of Stewart is correct—viz. that the habit of burying the dead near the houses promotes it. The Nagas inter their deceased relations at the very threshold of their homes, rolling a stone over the grave to mark the spot. The village streets are full of these rude memorials, some falling into neglect, but others fenced-in and ornamented with flowers.

When no blood has to be avenged the Naga is simple, social, and peaceful. His government is so pre-eminently patriarchal as to be no government at all. A quarrel, however, between two villages, or even between two families of the same village, leads to miserable results—blood for blood, treacherous surprises, cruel punishments.

The first deity of the Naga Pantheon is Semeo, the god of riches.

The next (perhaps) is the god of the harvest, or Kuchimpai.

The chief malignant deity is Rupiaba, a Cyclops, not only with one eye, but with that in the middle of his forehead, even as the eye of Polyphemus. But—

Inter caecus regnat luscus. His assistant Kangniba, bad-tempered and malicious, is blind altogether. He must, however, be propitiated. And this can be done cheaply. A fowl is the sacrifice; but the sickliest and smallest of the roost will do. He can only feel what room it

takes. So the crafty Nagas put the little bird in a big basket, and so deceive Kangniba the sightless.

The custom of the Genna is this. When certain occasions call for the preliminary rite, the whole village is closed. Work is suspended. The fires are put out. Eating and drinking, however, are believed to go on with more than usual vigour. A buffalo, or some animal, is sacrificed. When a fresh piece of jungle is cleared the ceremony of the Genna precedes; and the fire used for the purpose is made by rubbing two pieces of wood together. The ordinary light of a household hearth would be improper.

(b)

(H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, 1882, pp. 167-75)

THE NAGAS LIE TO THE SOUTH-WEST of the Khamptis and the Singphos, being scattered all over the mountain ridge that divides Assam from Manipore. The word 'Naga' means a serpent, but it is not pretended that the Nagas are of serpent or Scythic descent. The name was more probably given to them originally as being best expressive of their character, for of all wild tribes they are held to be the most subtle and treacherous. There are about a dozen septes of them, who differ considerably from each other in several respects, each having some distinct peculiarity of its own and often a distinct language. Those of the upper ranges are generally light-coloured and handsome, and their women pretty, though beauty of form is not the rule of the hills; but those of the lower ranges, such as the Lotah Nagas and others, are dark, dirty, and squat. The differences in character also are equally prominent, for, while the Rengma Nagas are spoken of as being good-natured, peaceful, and honest, the Lotahs are known as unsocial and sulky, and the Angamis as contentious, vindictive, and perfidious.

The Nagas *par excellence* are the last, whose name Angami, or the 'unconquered', is their boast. They live high up the mountains, and have always distinguished themselves as caterans and murderers, and also for being perpetually at feud with each other, their feuds going down from generation to generation. Their villages are accordingly planned for everyday defence and stockaded as hill-forts, from which barbarous onslaughts are made, in which neither

age nor sex is spared. They gave a world of trouble to the Government by the many plundering inroads they made on the peaceful tribes occupying the foot of their hills; and several expeditions had to be sent against them, commencing from 1835.

In 1865, the location of a special officer in their hills was determined upon, and the country taken under direct management, after which its history was rather uneventful for a long time, though never altogether peaceful. Subsequently some outrages were perpetrated in 1879, in connexion with an attempt to dislodge the British authority from the hills, and culminated in the murder of the special officer, Mr Damant, and his escort, which led to an expedition being undertaken against the savages by General Nation, and to their punishment. Peace has since been ostensibly restored; but it is hardly to be supposed that it will be long preserved. The bellicose disposition of the race has not yet been mastered, and what seems calculated to master it in the future even more than Government interference is tea-planting, the operations connected with which are gradually spreading British rule over the immense wastes now held by these people, the limits of which are likely to be extended in the end to Muni-pore on the south, and on the east to the Patkoi range and the borders of Burmah and China. The Nagas are carrying on a most profitable business with the tea gardens, and those so engaged have already been partially humanized, at the same time that their occupation has forced them to neglect their internal bickerings.

The Nagas are a fine, stalwart race, though inferior in physique as compared with the tribes inhabiting the North of the Brahmapootra, having smaller bones and much less of muscular development. Their faces are lozenge-shaped, features flat, eyes small, complexion dark; and of hair they have none in the shape of beard, whisker, or moustache, while that on the head is cut short and trained to stand erect. But, despite these drawbacks, their carriage is dignified, and they have over all a wild expression peculiar to them, which distinguishes them from all other tribes in their vicinity. The females are short and waistless, but not necessarily ungainly, though they are too hard-worked to retain any shade of comeliness long, having every employment, apart from fighting, hunting, and traffic, saddled on them.

There is no clothing for either sex in the higher elevations, and hence some imagine that the name Naga may, perhaps, have been

derived from the word 'Lunga', or naked. At the foot of the hills the limbs are usually covered with a small piece of cloth dyed with indigo, a larger piece of coarse cloth being also used for covering the body when needed; while nearer the tea gardens the men wear kilts of different patterns and colours, and the women picturesque petticoats, and a cotton *chadur* thrown across the back and chest. They are very fond of ornaments at all places, and both males and females go loaded with them, the trinkets consisting of necklaces, bracelets, and armlets, made mainly of cowries, and more rarely of greenish beads which are particularly prized.

What the Naga most of all delights in, however, are his weapons, which are his constant companions, awake and sleeping. These are: the *dao*, or battle-axe, the spear or javelin, and the shield—for he never uses the bow and arrows. The Angamis have also long known the use of firearms, of which they have got a considerable supply.

Fighting and hunting, however, are not their sole occupations at the present day. They understand the advantages of trading, and frequently come down to the markets of Assam and Cachar heavily laden with ivory, wax, and cloths manufactured from the nettle-fibre, in exchange for which they receive salt, brassware, and shells, and, by preference, matchlocks and gunpowder if they can get them.

Their only other occupations are dancing and debauch, both of which are sometimes, not always, shared in by their women. The war-dance in particular is performed by the men alone, with spear and hatchet in hand, while all the circumstances of battle are acted, namely, the advance, retreat, wielding of weapons, and defence with the shield, accompanied by terrific howls and war-whoops.

As the Nagas are not a migratory people, like the other hillmen around them, their villages are stationary and unchanging, and those marked in Rennel's maps of 1764 are still to be found. Some of them are very large, containing so many as five hundred houses, and there are none which have less than fifty. The houses are built after a peculiar fashion, having the eaves down to the ground, while one gable-end forms the door to enter by. Every family has a separate house, and each house generally contains two rooms, one for sleeping in, and the other for all other purposes, including the custody of pigs and fowls. The accommodation is necessarily straitened, and the unmarried young men of the family have to sleep out of it, all the bachelors of a village being accommodated in one common

building, furnished with a series of bamboo beds covered with mats. In this house are also exhibited the spoils of the chase and the implements of war belonging to the community; and it is further used as the village inn, in which travellers from other villages are allowed to put up.

The separation of the sexes in youth, if intended, is not, however, actually very rigidly enforced, young men and women having every facility given to them to become well acquainted with each other; and when they have made up their minds to marry they are at once united, the only form gone through being the execution of a contract of union by both parties, unattended by any religious ceremony whatever. Presents are then made by the bridegroom to the family of the bride, and there is a grand feast given to the whole village, in return for which the villagers have to build a house for the accommodation of the youthful pair. Divorces and remarriages are both allowed and freely availed of, and open infidelity is necessarily not of frequent occurrence.

As a rule the Naga woman is a model of labour and industry, and is mainly valued on that account. She does everything the husband will not, and he considers it effeminate to do anything but fight, hunt, and cheat. The cultivation labours are all performed by the wife, the crops raised consisting of rice, cotton, and tobacco, as well as several kinds of vegetables. She also weaves, both with cotton and with nettle-fibres, and manufactures salt from the many salt-springs in the country, though she is not able to make it at less cost than is charged for the salt sent up from Bengal. The tending of cows, goats, pigs, and fowl likewise devolves on her in most places, and she of course cooks and performs every other household work besides.

One curious way of cooking with some clans is thus described in Owen's *Naga Tribes*: 'Their manner of cooking is performed in joints of bamboos, introduced into which are as much rice, chillies, and meat, with water, as each will hold and can be thrust tightly in by the aid of a stick. A couple of bamboos placed on the ground, with a third connecting them at the top horizontally, constitutes a fire-place, against which those holding the food rest. By continually turning the bamboos the food becomes well roasted, and is then served out on leaves from a neighbouring tree.'

Neither milk nor any preparation thereof is appreciated by the Nagas generally, but they eat animals of all kinds, including rats,

snakes, monkeys, tigers, and elephants; and the roast dog in particular is regarded as a great delicacy. Another article equally prized is a liquor manufactured from fermented rice, which is drunk by both sexes in great quantities; they are inveterate smokers also, and are especially fond of the oil of tobacco, which they mix with water and drink.

The Nagas have no kind of internal government, and acknowledge no supreme authority. If spoken to on the subject they plant their javelin on the ground and declare that to be their Rajah, and that they will have none other. The *Gaon Boora*, or elder of the village, has some authority conceded to him; but it is very moderate, and is often resisted and defied. A council of elders is suffered to adjust petty disputes and disagreements, but only in the way of arbitration. There is no constituted authority lodged anywhere in the community; every man doing what he likes and is able to perform.

The Naga is by nature fierce as the tiger, and matters are necessarily made worse from the total want of control over his passions. His other vices are drunkenness and thieving, in the latter of which he glories, though it is held very dishonourable to be discovered in the act.

His religion consists in the worship of a plurality of deities, or good and evil spirits, to whom sacrifices are made, and in the belief in omens, by which his conduct is mainly guided. The chief religious festival is called the *Genna*, a Sabbath extended generally over two or three days and nights, when all the inhabitants of the village celebrating it live in complete isolation from others, sacrificing and drinking, but not permitting any one to witness their debaucheries. There is no fixed time for this ceremony, which is frequently repeated in the course of the year—that is, whenever it is considered necessary to make propitiatory offerings to their gods. The dead among them are buried at the doors of their own houses, and the spear and dao of the warrior are always buried with him.

6

A DISCUSSION ON THE NAGAS

(S. E. Peal, 'The Nagas and Neighbouring Tribes', *J.A.I.*, 1874, Vol. III, pp. 476-81)

THE AREA LYING between the Irawati, Asam, and Bengal is mainly composed of densely-wooded hills of moderate altitude, and is also subject to like climatic conditions; the S.W. Monsoon, sweeping across the entire country, literally deluges it with water taken from the Bay of Bengal, and, with the hot sun, conduces to a rank vegetation; partly, perhaps, in consequence of this, most of the villages are perched on hilltops, on the shoulders of spurs, and in the rains (say May till October) communication is at a standstill. There seems hardly a flat stretch of land anywhere, all is hill and valley, and thus the system of cultivation is mainly by what is called jooming, where forest is felled and the site used for two years only, when, in consequence of the growth of rank weeds, fresh forest is again joomed, and a system of permanent culture of one spot is impossible. In fact there is a remarkable and direct connexion between all the peculiar customs of these strange people and their physical surroundings.

The two main facts to remember first, however, are that the word 'Naga' has a definite geographical limit, and that, secondly, the race so designated is subdivided into literally innumerable independent tribes, who are constantly at war with each other.

A very common and conspicuous feature of the Nagas, Garrows, Kukis, Lushais, and other hill races of this part of S.E. Bengal, is their custom of taking human heads, either by regular warfare, raids, or casual surprises. Not only does the custom seem almost universal among them, but it has obviously existed for some ages in its present form, and is really the cause of the strongly-marked variations in both language and physique that exists among these Naga tribes, no two of whom are really alike.

It is often supposed (even here) that these raids and murders are due to revenge, disputes, or blood feuds, and that there is always more or less of a personal element in the affair, than which there could hardly be a greater mistake. Occasionally there are causes,

but by no means always; and among the tribes near here, probably not more than half, if as many, have any grudge personally against those they kill. Among certain tribes peace may be the rule and war the exception, while among others again it is the reverse; other tribes, again, seldom fight together seriously, whereas some are at perpetual enmity.

Most of the Naga tribes, with which I am acquainted, tattoo more or less, some on the face, some on the body, and to obtain this 'Certificate of Manhood' they must present their Raja with a human head, always hereabouts a Naga's, and generally belonging to a tribe not related. How they obtain this is nobody's business; perhaps a young man's sweetheart has rallied him on his clean, girl-like face, and he takes his dau, spear, and cooked food, and lurks near a spring on the territory of another tribe, till some unfortunate woman or child comes within reach, and there is not time for a death cry, and, presenting the head to the Raja, is tattooed with the *ak* or mark of that tribe, and henceforth is a man.

At other times a party of youths who desire to get their *ak* will arrange to waylay a pool where the people of another tribe are certain soon to fish, and, if a larger party come, they go off quietly and unseen; but, if a small party, they watch their opportunity and rush out, securing, perhaps, three or four heads, though perhaps losing one.

Again, the young men of several villages of the same tribe or allied tribes, often combine to raid a more distant village or 'chang', occasionally with success, but at other times with none, or, even worse, may get badly cut up in turn *en route*. With such parties there are usually older men to show the way, and who also wish to score extra decoration or obtain plunder.

Between such raids for heads and regular warfare it is difficult to draw the line, especially as the heads of the slain are invariably taken in all cases. Waylaying or ambush is the most common device; quarrel or dispute is obviously not the cause then, as it is generally impossible to say whose head will be taken.

I think it all the more needful to draw your attention to this, inasmuch as the subject is not yet fully understood in this light, even here. The pernicious system of constantly changing the officers in charge of our district precludes the possibility of their obtaining much information, and mistakes of the executive are thus liable to occur.

Occasionally there are regular tribal wars, and also, perhaps, family blood-feuds, and thus a combination of causes produce the singular phenomena of small isolated tribes perched on peaks, and relying almost entirely on their own resources. To such an extent, too, has this been their past system, that isolation has developed well-marked lingual and physical variation in almost all cases. Less so at the edge of the plains, perhaps, than further in, as the villagers near Asam often meet there.

As an almost necessary consequence of their whole mode of life they are a fine, hardy, and active race, excelling in all that relates to forest lore and labour, while, on the other hand, conspicuously deficient in all the so-called arts, as pottery making, working in metal, writing, etc. Going nearly naked and really not needing much covering, weaving is at a low ebb, at least in the tribes to the east of Asam.

But, perhaps, the most singular feature is the almost total absence of agricultural implements (as such); with the *dau* or *p*-shaped axe literally everything is done, from the first clearing of the forest to the last item. There are only two agricultural implements at all used, as far as I can ascertain, one is a weeding loop made of a slip of bamboo, and the other a small iron hoe, about the size of a dessert spoon, also used for weeding by girls and women. The soil before planting is scarified by the *dau* or *p*-axe, and when the seed is put in it is dropped into a small slit made by this tool-weapon.

In actual mental capacity they are rather low, for, though smart or cunning in anything that relates to their ordinary life, they are soon lost when trying to go beyond, none that I know can count above ten, their numerals go so far only, and vary at every twenty or thirty miles distance. (Of this I am trying to procure statistics.) I have often paid them in mixed coins small sums, and very few, I find, can do even the simplest sums in addition. They will sit in the shade of a tree, doubling down their fingers till quite bewildered. Only yesterday, the brother of a Raja, while informing me of the loss of three of his sons and a brother, who were killed in an ambush while out for heads, tried to convey the number thirteen, and did so by first holding up both hands open, and then holding three toes together, at the same time cautioning me not to forget the five fingers that held the three toes.

Their ideas of supernatural beings are on a par with all this, their word for God (here) is *Harang*, which also stands for angel, goblin,

etc., and he is simply a sort of will-o-the-wisp, who delights to torment them, and can be generally propitiated by eatables placed at the wayside.

Properly, they have little or no religious feeling, such as we understand the phrase, and their ideas on these questions are generally so vague as to be often quite contradictory.

So far as I can ascertain they here carefully throw away and avoid touching all the stone celts they find while clearing their lands, considering them the uncanny relics of a bygone race, who were not exactly men. I have only procured one small axe, which is neolithic, and is now, I believe, with the Asiatic Society, Bengal, among other things sent them.

I know of no stone weapons or tools in use now, unless as hammers used by blacksmiths near the Hills. In Asam I lately saw a fine stone hammer used by an old Khampiti. The handle was made of a creeper, and lashed on.

DISCUSSION

Major Godwin-Austen said Mr Peale's paper is of great interest, for the more information we can collect of these little known tribes the better; of those inhabiting the interior of the hills we know absolutely nothing. The Nagas, with whom I am acquainted, lie to the west of those described by Mr Peale, in the hills between Asam and Munipur, viz., the Anghami, Tangkul, and Kutcha Naga near Asalu. They are quite distinct from the Kukis, on the South, who have apparently come up from the line of the Arakan hills and south-west, while the Nagas are from the east-ward. With reference to head taking, I can testify that it is not always caused by the existence of blood-feuds; they will take human life whenever a safe opportunity offers, and one of our dak-men (letter-carrier) was thus killed, perhaps more for the sake of his musket than aught else. A party lay in wait for him by the wayside and speared him as he passed.

With reference to tattooing being a mark of manhood, or the having taken a head, I may mention that the Anghami Nagas do not tattoo. They have, however, a similar custom; the wearing of rows of cowries on the kilt is permitted to those men who have killed an enemy, and this is extended to members of a marauding party, when heads are taken. The number of lives thus sacrificed in these hills is

very great. In one village of Gaziphimi, we counted no less than fifty-three skulls, stuck up on poles, as shown in the sketch I have brought here to exhibit.

I have seen both stone and hard wood inserted into wooden handles and used for weeding by the Kukis in the north Cachar hills. With regard to the ignorance of the Nagas met with by Mr Peale, and their not being able to count beyond ten—the Anghami, and those I know, are far in advance of them, and have terms for the numerals up to one hundred, as may be seen in vocabularies of the languages.

Dr Campbell made some allusion to the Nagas being snake worshippers. I never saw any trace of such worship, nor does it exist. They do not call themselves Naga, which is a term used only by the Assamese for the people inhabiting these hills, and I think the term was quite as likely to be derived from the Hindi 'Nanga', naked. The Nagas are pure demon worshippers, and propitiate them by sacrifice in illness or misfortune.

Colonel A. Lane Fox said that there were points in the paper, and in Major Godwin-Austen's communication, that were of interest to those who believe that important evidence of connexion might be traced by means of the arts and customs of savages. The description of the head-taking amongst these people was so similar to what prevailed amongst the Dyaks, that in listening to the paper, one might almost suppose it was written as an account of the customs of the Dyaks of Borneo.

In the use of a tool-weapon they appear also to resemble the Malays. The *parang-illang* and *parang-latok* of Borneo are used for all purposes exactly in the same manner as the Dao described in the paper; and Dr Campbell would no doubt tell us that this tool-weapon was used much higher towards the north.

Then again, the form of the shield affords another point of connexion. The form of the shield is very persistent in its distribution; it is not used in Polynesia as a rule. In Australia, the shield is nothing more than a parrying-shield, with many varieties, having a place for the hand inside. He believed it would not be correct to say that the circular shield was absolutely unknown in the Malay archipelago; but, as a rule, the shields in all the islands were long and narrow, and had a handle in rear, and were used much in the same manner as the Australian one. In all the islands the shields

were varieties, more or less modified, of this long, narrow shield. Major Austen's drawing shows that this long, narrow shield, is also used by the people described in the paper. The Rangoes of cane shown on the top of the shield, and used in a *chevaux de frise* when stuck in the ground, are also traceable to the Malay Archipelago. Similar defences are used in China; but they belong especially to this quarter of the globe; they are used also in Fiji. The tracing of such resemblances as these is of interest when taken at its proper value, not as implying necessarily common racial origin for people amongst whom such customs prevail, but denoting that a like phase of culture has spread over a given area. The Malay peninsula has, no doubt, served as a high road of communication throughout all time between the continent of Asia and the islands, and many other resemblances may be traced by means of it.

Mr Hyde Clarke remarked that the Naga languages were well deserving of study. They present the characteristics of the earliest pre-historic periods. Thus, for instance, Night, Black, and Not are all represented by Nak. There is one peculiarity interesting to the student of pre-historic weapons, that the name for arrow is takaba, in Khari Naga, and in the Houssa of West Africa, kebia; but knife and sword are takobi. A village is Arame in Angami Naga, and forest in Fantee of West Africa is Abarama. In the pre-historic epoch, the words for house, and tree, and village, and forest, are often synonyms.

Dr A. Campbell also offered a few observations.

Chapter III

SOME ASPECTS OF NAGA HISTORY

I HAVE CALLED THIS CHAPTER 'Some Aspects of Naga History', for the dreary story of hostilities on the one side and punitive expedition on the other, or the deliberations on high policy of which Mackenzie gives so full an account, cannot be regarded as the real history of the Nagas. However warlike a people may be, their quarrels are not fundamental to their lives and unhappily the history books have little to tell of the real life of this enterprising, hard-working and romantic people.

But it would be wrong to omit the story of the Naga raids and British retaliation and I therefore give here two extracts from the contemporary literature, the first by Sir Francis Jenkins, the second the fruit of painstaking research by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, both of whom held high office under the Government of the day. My first extract is taken from A. J. Moffat Mills' *Report on the Province of Assam* which I discuss later in Chapter XVI. This includes extensive notes by Francis Jenkins who was responsible for the sections on the hill tribes and their history.

Francis Jenkins who, although only a Captain at the time—he ultimately rose to the rank of General—became Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in 1834, and was evidently a most remarkable man of wide interests and a sincere devotion to Assam.

Jenkins was one of the very first Englishmen to meet any Nagas, for in 1832 he went with Pemberton from Manipur across the Naga Hills to Nagura in Assam and wrote a report of this expedition, but it was never published, though some details are included in Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* (1835).

Robinson, who dedicated his *Descriptive Account of Asam* (1841) to Jenkins, speaks of his 'literary talent, high attainments and superior knowledge of the Province'. He was throughout devoted to the cause of development. He urged 'a systematic improvement of the main roads' not forgetting their repairs, for the building of roads would mean that 'all the money so laid out could be spent on the agricultural population'. He wanted to encourage Europeans 'to take up waste lands for the purpose of cultivating the great

staples of external commerce'. He was anxious to develop the coal industry. He advocated the reform of the police. He encouraged education but notes that it had little effect on the Garos, for 'when they are educated they cease to be Garos, leave their villages and cease to have any influence on their countrymen in the hills'.

He was not only interested in the Nagas but contributed to Moffat Mills' report notes on all the tribes, including those of NEFA—Akas, Daflas, Abors, Mishmis and the people of Kameng. He observes that it is difficult to develop them in view of their inaccessibility but urges that this might be gradually removed by 'pressing on the roads round and into the hills'. He showed himself anxious not to interfere with tribal prejudices or to cause offence. He obviously did not advocate a policy of isolation.

From our point of view today Jenkins is of special importance since in 1832 he became interested in tea and initiated research to discover whether the tea of Assam had any commercial value. For this he was given a gold medal by the Agricultural Society of Calcutta. It is uncertain who actually discovered the use of tea but Jenkins undoubtedly did much to promote its development and use.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, from whom my second extract is taken, who was born in 1842, was throughout his life an independent and somewhat controversial figure. He was unable to become a don at Cambridge, for which he was well qualified, since he refused to subscribe to the Anglican test for a fellowship. After coming to India at the age of twenty he went to the Central Provinces as Chief Commissioner in 1887, but his schemes of reform were hindered by disagreement with the military members of the Provincial Commission. Four years later he went to Burma as Chief Commissioner and was created a K.C.S.I. At the end of 1895 he became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Here too he was followed by controversy. The Bengalees, says *The Dictionary of National Biography* which gives him a fairly long notice, 'disliked a sanitary survey of Calcutta which he ordered' and objected to his views on the need for amending the Calcutta Municipal Act. At the same time he fought with the Government of India, seeking to protect Bengal from its financial encroachment; he compared the Province to a lamb thrown on its back and close sheared for the benefit of the central administration. He had also to battle against more sinister foes. The famine of 1873 had already injured his eyesight. Towards the end of the century he

had to fight an invasion of plague and after the severe earthquake of 1897 his health broke down. After his retirement Mackenzie, who was described as one of the ablest men of his time in India, died at the early age of sixty.

His independent spirit is revealed in his *History of the Relations of Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal*, from which I quote a long extract in this Chapter. Although the work is a standard authority it is singularly candid and drew some protest from the Government of India. He himself describes how from 1866 to 1873 he had immediate charge of the political correspondence of the Government of Bengal which at that time included Assam in its charge. In 1869 he wrote for office purposes and as he could snatch the time from other more pressing work, a memorandum of the North-East Frontier of Bengal which I have been unable to trace in any library: even J. P. Mills could not find a copy¹. This was very useful for officials but it was at best a 'mere sketch' and accordingly from 1871 onwards Mackenzie made detailed examination of all the records, both in the Bengal Security and Foreign Department, which bore in any way upon the political history of the North-East Frontier. The trouble with his sight and duties 'far too arduous to warrant any dream of authorship' delayed the completion of the work until much later, but he was able to carry on his history to the end of 1882 and his work, which puts 'the wild story of the frontier into complete and fitting dress', was published in 1884. The history of the frontier area has been continued to 1941 by a former Governor of Assam, Sir Robert Reid, who has an interesting chapter on the Nagas for this later period.

¹ A copy has since been located in the National Library, Calcutta.— N.K.R.

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS TO THE ANGAMI NAGA HILLS

(A. J. Moffatt Mills, *Report on the Province of Assam*, 1854,
pp. cxlv-clxii. Notes are by F. Jenkins)

I

THE FIRST TIME THE ANGAMI NAGA COUNTRY was ever visited by Europeans was in January 1832, when Captains Jenkins and Pemberton with a party of 700 soldiers and 800 coolies or porters to carry their baggage and provisions marched from Meneepore in progress to Assam. The route pursued was via Sengmae, Myung Khang, Mooram Khoohoo, Mohee Long, Yang, Papoolongmaie, Tiriama, Sumooguding, Dhunseree river, Mohong Dejoa and Ramsah, which latter place they reached about the 23rd of January 1832.

The whole party suffered much from the want of provisions, and in consequence were obliged latterly to march all day through a heavy dark forest until they arrived at Dejoa, where their wants were supplied. The party was opposed in its progress from Yang to Papoolongmaie by the Angami Nagas, and having no idea of the effect of fire-arms, their opposition was most determined. They rolled down stones from the summit of the hills, threw spears and did their utmost by yelling and intimidation to obstruct the advance of the force, but all in vain, the village of Papoolongmaie, consisting of 300 or 400 houses was occupied by the troops, and a constant firing of musketry was necessary to keep the Angami Nagas at a distance. A stockade was taken at the point of the bayonet. The village was burnt, some lives were lost and many wounded; cunning, treacherous, vindictive and warlike, the Angami Nagas had hitherto never encountered a foe equal to contend with them, and in utter ignorance of the effect of fire-arms, they vainly imagined no party could penetrate through their territory; luckily the force was well supplied with ammunition and overcame all opposition.

II

In the cold season of 1833, Lieutenant Gordon conducted the second expedition into the Angami Naga hills, twenty-five miles east of the route pursued by Captain Jenkins. He was accompanied by the late Rajah Gumbheer Sing with a force sufficient (Captain Pemberton remarks in his report on the Eastern Frontier) to overcome all opposition, but a powerful coalition was entered into by all the hill tribes to arrest his progress and ultimate success was entirely owing to his fire-arms.

III

Northern Cachar having been annexed to the Zillah of Nowgong, on the 5th January 1839, Mr Grange, Sub-Assistant to the Commissioner was entrusted with a detachment of the 1st Sebundies, the present 2nd Assam Light Infantry, 50 men of the Cachar levy and a party of Shan Police Militia to proceed to the Angami country to endeavour to repress the yearly incursions of the Angami Nagas into Cachar for plunder and slaves. He reached the stockaded Thannah at Gumegoojoo in Northern Cachar on the 11th January, and not receiving any instructions from the Superintendent of Cachar, he deemed it necessary to pay that officer a visit and set out on the 13th and reached Silchar on the 16th, returning from thence to the Gumegoojoo Thannah, he was occupied till the 26th January in collecting provisions, and coolies to convey them, before his force could commence the march to the Angami country. His route then lay via Semkur, Beremah, Belakemah, Muhye, Tirimah to Takajenamah thence to Chiremah Rajahpamah, Sumooguding and Mohong Dejoa, which place he reached on the 15th March. The Shans were then located at Mohong Dejoa. The levy returned to Cachar and the Sebundy detachment to Gowhatty.

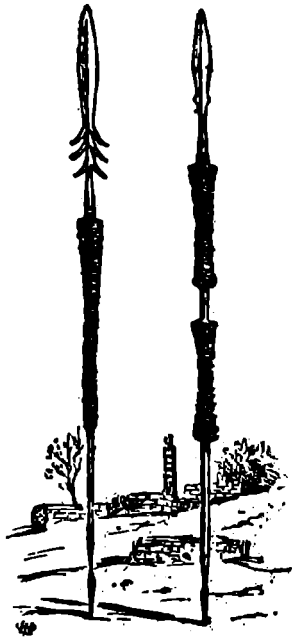
Throughout the journey the party was badly provided with provisions and had but few coolies to convey their baggage and food, and even those were perpetually absconding; harassed and jaded by daily long marches and exposed to much wet weather, besides frequent attempts of the Nagas to attack the camp at night, we are surprised that the expedition terminated without disaster one or two coolies only having been speared by the enemy.

IV

On the 3rd December 1839, Mr Grange was again deputed to visit the Angami Nagas. He set out with the Shan detachment from Deemapore to Sumooguding on the 21st December, leaving the Jorehath Militia to follow from thence when supplied with coolies; on approaching the village of Sumooguding as was anticipated, the Nagas were not friendly disposed towards the detachment and assembled with their spears, but a little persuasion induced them to put aside their weapons and to erect huts for the party, at night however they endeavoured to spear the sentries and broke off all communication, and said their spears were their Rajahs. This conduct admitting no excuse their grain was

forthwith seized and a stockade built independent of the village.

The Jorehath Militia having arrived they were placed in charge of the stockade containing the grain, and Mr Grange set out on an excursion on the 2nd February to Rajahpamah, descending the Sumooguding hill to the south east, he went up the stony bed of the Deboo river till he arrived opposite the low range of hills on which Rajahpamah is situated. Here the Nagas had assembled to obstruct his advance but the chief Karebee having been induced to come into camp a friendly intercourse ensued. On the 3rd February the party reached Tirimah, here they were as on the first tour treated with civility by the people. On the 4th, they



Angami Naga spears

ascended the great Southern range of mountains 6,000 feet high by the path taken by Captain Jenkins in his route across the hills from Muneepore in 1832. The ascent was extremely steep and harassing, and the whole party did not reach the small river below the village of Papolongmaie or Khonomah till 3 P.M.

The next day the party encamped on the banks of the Tobool river in the same fences occupied a few days before by the Muneepore troops; proceeding up the rocky bed of the Tobool river, a short distance on the 6th towards the rocky ridge on which Yang is situated, all the Nagas of that village assembled and would not for

a long time come down and show the way to the ground on which the Muneepore troops had encamped, at last after much persuasion three men were induced to point out the route but having gone a short distance, they set up their hideous war howl and rushed down a precipice, which act of treachery brought on them several shots from the sipahees, who after considerable difficulty at length gained the encamping ground occupied by Captain Jenkins in 1832, between Yang and Moelong.

The country here is extremely rugged and repulsive in appearance being composed of high rocky ranges with but little flat ground at their basis. The sides of the ridges are covered with low bushes and small patches of grass, and a few scattered stunted firs; all night the Nagas were very troublesome, they set fire to the grass in all directions and though the Moelong Nagas had joined those of Yang, the ground being well panjied, that is, studded with sharp wooden spikes, no night attack was attempted. Having advanced thus far and seeing no prospect of meeting the Muneepore force, Mr Grange commenced on the 7th February to retrace his steps to Papoolongmaie, he had hardly reached the footpath which runs along the side of the Yang range when the crash of boulders and stones made him aware of the treacherous attack of the Yang villagers. His party luckily divided into two divisions without confusion, and thus escaped utter annihilation from the rolling stones. The rear joined the rest without accident as soon as a diversion was made in their favour by establishing on a knoll of the range a party who by keeping up a brisk fire on the enemy succeeded partially in stopping their rolling down stones, and in the interval the rear took advantage of the cessation and extricated themselves from their perilous position in a frightfully narrow and difficult pass.

The Nagas however having assembled in considerable numbers, the party were necessitated to cross over to the opposite range to avoid returning beneath steep declivities exposed to the rolling stones of the enemy without being able to return their fire. After gaining the opposite range in safety in spite of the jungle being set on fire in the rear of the retreating party, Mr Grange gained the road on which he had advanced from Papoolongmaie and encamped on his former ground in the bed of the Tobool river, but their fences had all been destroyed and they were much impeded in their movements by the ground in every direction being studded with panjies.

On the 8th still continuing to retreat towards the heights of Papoolongmaie and anticipating the intention of the Nagas to roll down stones on the party as they passed beneath, Mr Grange took a party of 40 men and dislodged the enemy from their breastworks, after which joining the rear guard with the baggage, he drove the enemy before him and took possession of the village of Papoolongmaie, part of which had been burnt by the Muneepore troops who had just left that part of the country.

For the recovery of the sick and those wounded by panjies, Mr Grange was obliged to remain in the village of Papoolongmaie four days, and on the 13th continued his retreat towards Sumooguding. The enemy appears to have been humbled by this visit for on Mr Grange's departure, they said they were afraid to return to their village as long as he remained, but on a future occasion they would not oppose him as they desired peace, for three Nagas had been killed and several badly wounded.

Owing to the sick and wounded, the retreat from Papoolongmaie to the Deboo river, was tedious and fatiguing occupying from 9 A.M. till dusk of evening, but no attempt whatever was made by the enemy to molest the party as they retired via Tiriamah, Rajahpamah to Sumooguding, which place they reached on 15th February. The sick were placed in the stockade on the summit of the Sumooguding hill, and being joined by some of the Jorehath Militia, Mr Grange again set out on the 18th February to accomplish a meeting with some lawless Angami Nagas further Eastward.

The first day he encamped at Mazepamah, and the next at Prephemah where a coolie going for water was wounded by the Nagas, leaving Prephemah on the 20th, before passing through a track of grass jungle Mr Grange took the precaution to halt and set fire to the jungle and clear the path of panjies. In this interval four Nagas made their appearance in the rear evidently to set fire to the grass previous to an attack in front instead of returning or meeting the party, in a friendly manner, they assumed their usual war attitude of defiance and commenced jumping about and spinning their spears, this conduct brought the fire of the sepahees upon them immediately when one Naga was killed and another though severely wounded effected his escape by rolling down a precipice. The path being strewed with panjies were removed here, the party could advance and form their fenced camp about four miles in advance of

Prephemah on the banks of a small stream. In the evening beacons or lights as signals were observed in all directions on the high hills, the number of lights at each station signifying that the party was halted, advancing or retiring.

The progress of the party on the 21st was very slow in consequence of the number of panjies required to be removed from the path, and although the distance was only five miles the encamping ground at Japamah was not reached till 3 P.M. The Nagas deferred their attack on the party till within a mile of the village at a rocky part of the hill. When five or six men sprang out on the leading files and threw their spears and before the sepahees had time to fire were down the precipice, several men of the guard were struck by the spears, but their clothes being tied on loosely they escaped uninjured. The enemy had erected an embankment which they deserted on a flank movement being made to attack them. The village was entered without much opposition although the entrance was very strong. The passage was through a narrow lane with a stone wall on each side and a single plank of considerable thickness formed the door.

The villagers did not again show themselves till night when they pelted stones at the party from an adjoining high piece of ground concealing themselves behind stone walls. The next day after searching for the well some distance from the village and when the whole party had partaken of the water, they experienced very unpleasant effects in being afflicted with a giddiness and heaviness of the upper eyelids which made it difficult to keep them open. On examining the well or reservoir it appeared that the enemy had bruised and steeped a poisonous root in the water. The Naga prisoners said that while the root was fresh its effects were what had been experienced, but if allowed to rot it would kill all who partook of it in three or four days.

Japamah is an old village of three hundred or four hundred houses, and at this period oppressed and plundered all the small weak neighbouring villages.

The Nagas of Japamah were fully prepared for the visit, and had hid their grain in pits and crevices of rocks in the jungles and had even taken off the grass from their houses to prevent their being burnt. The party remained here safely stockaded in the village six days and destroyed all the grain, houses, planks, stools and everything they could meet with, but still the Nagas refused to come in

and submit to our authority; a lesson however was taught them that the time had now arrived when they could no longer attack defenceless communities with impunity or without being attacked in return and utterly defeated.

Hitherto confiding in their remote inaccessible position, their insolence was so great as to imagine there was no power equal to repress their marauding raids. After much difficulty in providing for the conveyance of the sick, Mr Grange commenced on the 27th February to retrace his steps to Sumooguding, passing through Mazepamah he learnt that three men had been killed and several wounded in the encounter at Japamah, and as they did not attempt to obstruct or molest that party in their retreat the success of the expedition was complete. On reaching Sumooguding on the 29th February, Mr Grange found that through the carelessness of a sepahee his grain godown had been burnt down and the Nagas of Sumooguding assuming a threatening attitude in spinning their spears and showing other signs of hostility, it became necessary on the 1st March to capture a few prisoners as hostages for the good behaviour of the village, and on the following day the whole party encamped at Deemapore on the Dhunseree river, distant from Sumooguding thirteen miles; here in one of the densest forests of Assam the Shan police Militia were permanently located in a stockade for the protection of the frontier throughout the year from the marauding inroads of the Angami Nagas.

Thus terminated the second military expedition from Nowgong against the Angami Nagas. A few months after, the nine prisoners captured at Sumooguding and taken to Nowgong were permitted to return to their hills, having sworn to keep the peace and pledged themselves to remain in future in entire obedience to the British Government.

V

On the 26th November 1840, Lieutenant Bigge, Principal Assistant to the Agent of the Governor-General, left Nowgong to make a tour throughout the Angami hills. He entered the hills on the 22nd January 1841, with a detachment of the 1st Assam Light Infantry. On his arrival at Sumooguding the Nagas deserted the village, but in a few days having restored confidence and placed his provisions in charge of a guard, he was enabled to set out on the 27th January

and visited the following villages: Mazepamah, Prephemah, Guophamah, Sassamah, Mozumah, and Konomah from thence across the Southern range to Papoolongmaie and turning Northward he returned to Sumooguding via Tiriamah and Rajahpamah on the 9th February. His route then lay through Rajahpamah, Chamah, Sallomah, Jalookemah, Moolokemah, Semkur on to Hassunghajoo in Northern Cachar which place he reached on the 22nd February, having for the first time traversed the country without meeting any opposition.

VI

To arrange the boundary between the Nowgong District and the Muneepore State, Lieutenant Bigge proceeded on the 24th November 1841, via Northern Cachar to Silchar, thence to Muneepore, and on the 2nd January 1842, sent in a joint report with Captain Gordon, Political Agent of Muneepore, establishing the summit of the high range of mountains as the proper boundary line. Returning to Nowgong on the 29th January, Lieutenant Bigge set out for Deemapore on the 8th February, where he was met by a detachment of the Assam Light Infantry, and advanced as far as Rajahpamah. Till the 10th March, he was busily occupied in a fruitless endeavour to cut open a road along the banks of the Deboo river East of the Sumooguding. The rainy season however setting in he was obliged to desist from the attempt and return to Nowgong.

No expedition was sent into the Angami Naga Country in 1843, and the Angami Nagas continued their annual predatory murderous raids as usual. In 1843, they made two inroads killing four persons each time and carried off a considerable quantity of property.

In 1844, two incursions were made into the Rengma Naga hills, three persons were killed in the first forage and six in the second, and on both occasions the people were plundered of their property; although eighty-nine persons were concerned in both attacks, from the difficult nature of the country not a single individual was ever captured, the whole party having retreated to their hills as soon as they had committed these depredations. Becoming still bolder and finding that a guard of one naick and four Shan Police Militia sepahees detached from the stockade at Hassunghajoo for the protection of the small village of Lunkae in Northern Cachar obstructed

or was a check somewhat to their marauding incursions, on the 3rd October 1844, they treacherously surprized the little party at night and killed three Shan sepahees and a boy; one sepahee alone escaped with a wound to Hassunghajoo to tell the fate of his companions consequent on the frequent audacious raids of these free-booters.

VII

Captain Eld, Principal Assistant, accompanied by Mr Sub-Assistant Wood and a detachment of 50 men of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry set out from Nowgong on the 10th December 1844, with the express object of capturing the murderers of the sepahees at Lunkae; on arriving at Hassunghajoo Captain Eld learnt that the Nagas of the village of Assaloo were apparently accessories in the attack made on the small guard at Lunkae, they having afforded shelter in their village to the Angami Nagas, even if they did not join in the attack. Mr Wood was accordingly directed to visit the village; on his approach, however, whether from fear or a sense of their guilt they took to immediate flight and their village was in consequence burnt; proceeding thence Eastward they reached Beremah and a portion of the village being implicated in the late treacherous massacre at Lunkae and having absconded their huts also were burnt to the ground.

Captain Eld then returned via Deemapore to Nowgong on the 10th January 1845, and deputed Mr Wood to visit the villages of Mozumah and Konomah from Deemapore with the Assam Light Infantry Detachment which he did joining up the bed of the Deboo river to Cheremah thence to Tokojenamah, Mozumah and Konomah; Mr Wood demanded of the village of Konomah the immediate surrender of the Nagas who had killed the Shan sepahees at Lunkae; after considerable parley they restored the four muskets which they had carried off from Lunkae, but would not listen to the demand of delivering up the culprits and as they appeared to pride themselves on their prowess and gloried in their successful raids there was no alternative but to undeceive them and convince them of their inability to persevere in these practices; with great promptitude, Mr Wood immediately advanced with his detachment towards the village of Konomah, the inhabitants instantly lost courage on the approach of the troops and fled with precipitation to the jungles and

part of the village was in consequence reduced to ashes; such was the result of the fifth expedition; a barbarous unprovoked massacre of three Shan sepoys had been committed, conciliatory measures were first tried for the apprehension of the delinquents without avail and then the destruction of three of the enemies' villages ensued with as little effect.

VIII

Although many expeditions had been made into the Angami country up to this period, no accurate map having hitherto been taken and the Angami country being still in a very disturbed state, Captain Butler, Principal Assistant, was deputed to make a tour and he was accompanied by a detachment of 100 men of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Campbell, Mr Thornton to survey the country and Mr Apothecary Pingault. The party set out from Nowgong on the 28th November 1845, visited Sumooguding, Mozumah and Konomah, and then made a tour West-ward to Beremah, Semkur, Hassunghajoo and Northern Cachar back to Nowgong, which place they reached on the 17th January 1846.

Not a shot was fired throughout the journey or the slightest sign of a hostile feeling manifested towards the mission which wisely was too powerful to admit of opposition. Everywhere we were received with a friendly spirit and the chiefs of each village rendered cheerful submission and presented tribute of elephant's tusks, cloths and spears according to their means. Mr Thornton, who accompanied the expedition surveyed the route, traversed and plotted off on a large scale a most valuable map of the greatest portion of the Naga hills attached to the District of Nowgong; the grand objects of the expedition, the conciliation of the tribes and the acquirement of a more accurate knowledge of the country was therefore considered to have been more fully attained than on any former occasion.

IX

Accompanied by Mr Masters, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Captain Butler left Nowgong on the 30th November 1846, with a detachment of one subadar, 3 havildars, 3 naicks and 49 sepahees of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry, and arrived at Deemapore on the

7th December, and from this date to the 20th December was occupied in getting up rice from Golahghat and constructing a new stockade at Deemapore; on the 28th December the detachment marched to Sumooguding, here a stockade was built and a detachment of Shan Police Militia permanently located, as a permanent measure should it be found practicable to provide the post with provisions.

On the 29th December, Captain Butler with a select party of sepahees marched from Sumooguding to make a tour among some of the Angami Naga villages East-ward, the route taken was via Mazupamah, Pheremah, Prephemah, Mozumah, Tokojenamah, Lochenamah, Rajahpamah, back to Sumooguding on the 5th January 1847; whilst at Mozumah the Nagas of Jopshemah, Kohemah and Konomah, seeing the small force sent against them leagued together and made a futile attempt to attack in the open day the party in camp close to Mozumah, but being strongly posted and the Sepahees getting under arms and drawing up in line promptly to repel their advance, the enemy suddenly lost courage and hastily retreated to the village of Mozumah, put away their weapons and for the first time the chiefs of Jopshemah and Kohemah submitted to become British subjects and promised to discontinue predatory inroads.

The party suffered much from fatigue and fever and returned to Nowgong on the 17th January 1847, being unable to continue longer in the hills from sickness and the want of coolies who had run away in great numbers from the camp, and others were summoned from the Mekir hills before the party could quit the hills.

A sazawal or native superintendent of the Angami Nagas having been sanctioned by Government, Bhogchand was appointed in February 1847, and directed to reside with the Shan Police Militia at Sumooguding. In February 1847, the chief of Mozumah, Jubelee, having reported that a Naga of his village had been murdered by the Jakamah Nagas, he was deputed with a party of 20 Shan sepahees to visit Jakamah and ascertain the cause of the murder; on arriving at Mozumah three Shan sepahees refused on the plea of sickness to proceed further. The fact was however they were malingerers, and had not the courage to meet the enemy.

On the 13th March, Bhogchand with 17 sepahees reached the village of Meema, and was received by the Nagas of that village with great civility, they having lately been attacked by the Nagas of

Jakamah and several Nagas killed. From the 13th to the 18th, Bhogchand was regularly surrounded by the Nagas and unable to leave the friendly village of Meema, but on the 15th, he ventured to visit the village of Kegnemah; on returning to Meema one coolie was wounded and another captured by the enemy and tied up to a tree as a target and speared to death; after this each Naga cut off a piece of the victim's flesh and held it up to the view of Bhogchand and party, and told them they would cut off their heads and distribute their flesh in the same manner and having declined to have any further communication with Bhogchand or party and being resolved on exterminating the party. They formed breastworks and waited behind them in ambush till Bhogchand should venture to make an attempt to retreat to the thannah, which soon came to pass, for on the 18th March, having no provisions and as further delay and forbearance seemed only to increase the arrogance of the Jakamah Nagas, Bhogchand courageously determined on facing the dangers with which he was beset and effect his retreat to Sumooguding.

He had scarcely retreated a mile from the friendly village of Meema, when the war yells of the Nagas about 1,600 warriors in every direction behind breastworks clearly showed his retreat was completely cut off; at this critical moment seven of Shan sepahees being panic-stricken fled to the jungles in the rear, nevertheless with the remaining ten sepahees, Bhogchand maintained his ground undaunted and rallying his little party to fight their way through the enemy; in a few minutes they gained courage, a sepahee Aheena by name, stepped out and challenged his companions to follow him against the enemy and drive them from their entrenchments, or they would all be flayed alive, as the Nagas were rapidly closing round the party and had wounded a coolie, volleys of musketry were fired and the enemy being driven from their positions, one after the other retreated as soon as they discovered their mistake that neither thick boards in their trenches or wooden shields were any protection against leaden bullets.

The enemy carried off their killed and wounded so that the number slain was not ascertained, but it is supposed a good many fell before they were defeated and forced to retreat; after the battle was over Bhogchand and party returned to the friendly village of Meema and the Shans who had run away at the commencement of the struggle rejoined their companions.

The next day the 19th March, the party retreated towards Sumooguding, which they reached in safety, the Nagas offering no molestation. For the bravery evinced by the sepahee, Government was pleased to promote him to the ranks of a havildar and Bhogchand suzawal, having proved himself eminently fitted by his late conduct for the post at Sumooguding; a thannah was established there in June 1847, and Bhogchand exalted to the grade of a second class Darogah on 75 rupees per mensem, to superintend the whole of the tribes on the southern frontier of this District.

X

During the year 1848, a thousand Angami Nagas visited the station of Nowgong to trade with the merchants in salt and cornelian beads, which they greatly prize and the utmost goodwill was manifested towards the authorities and the people of the plains; but early in 1849, the Angami Naga chiefs evinced a turbulent disposition amongst themselves, and the two chiefs of the village of Mozumah, Jubelee and Nitholey, had an unfortunate dispute about some land; Jubelee applied for a guard of sepahees to be placed in his village, and both chiefs waited on the Agent to the Governor-General at Gowhatty and returned to the hills, we thought quite satisfied with the prospect of a guard being placed in their village, either before or after the rains; but in May 1849, Bhogchand Darogah found the season so far advanced, he could not obtain any assistance from the Nagas to construct a stockade, and on that account was directed to postpone the measure till after the rains, when in November, the Principal Assistant would proceed to Mozumah and select a good site for a stockade, distinct from the village of Mozumah.

In July, however, a noted free-booter, Hurry Doss Kachary, employed as a Darogah by the Muneepoor Government, wrote a letter from Beremah to Bhogchand Darogah at Sumooguding, asking him to meet him to settle a murder case that had been committed by the Nagas of Konomah. With the concurrence of the Agent to the Governor-General, he was directed to meet him as soon as possible at Beremah; in the mean time, however, Bhogchand Darogah heard that Jubelee had called in a party of Toolaram Senaputtee's, Cacharies armed with seven muskets to fight against Nitholey. Conceiving that it was necessary at once to interfere and prevent

bloodshed, Bhogchand set out from Sumooguding, without any orders, on the 17th July 1849, accompanied by 1 havildar, 1 naick, 1 lance naick, and 30 sepahees of the Nowgong Police Militia and a few armed Tiklahs, and arrived at Mozumah on the 19th July, where he was well received by both chiefs, and he induced them to construct a stockade in the middle of the village, separating the two clans now at enmity with each other.

After staying five days at Mozumah, Bhogchand visited other large villages in the neighbourhood, and was treated in the most friendly manner and then returned to Mozumah and apprehended seven Cacharies, armed with muskets, residing with Jubelee, and demanded of Nitholey the surrender of the persons who had killed a man of Jubelee's clan. Nitholey was indignant at the request, and replied he could not submit to such a dishonourable act, and entreated him not to attempt to apprehend any persons of his clan, but to bind him and Jubelee and take them both to the Principal Assistant at Nowgong, and he would cheerfully abide by his decision and settlement of the quarrel; strange and unaccountable as it may seem, this reasonable request was utterly scorned by Bhogchand, and instantly, in spite of all entreaty and warning, he apprehended two men of Nitholey's clan.

This conduct so exasperated Nitholey, that he and his clan immediately left the village of Mozumah, which was tantamount to a declaration of war; but Bhogchand seemed perfectly reckless and fearless of all threats, and continued in the village of Mozumah three days. On the 2nd August, leaving three Tiklahs armed with muskets, to take charge of the newly built stockade at Mozumah, he set out for Sumooguding. On the line of march, no opposition was offered to his party, but on approaching the village of Prepemah, one of the Naga prisoners effected his escape from the guard by jumping down a precipice, and was not seen afterwards: this circumstance, it is said, caused Bhogchand great annoyance, and he became reckless and desperate, and bid the Nagas defiance; and though he was warned by Naga women and Jubelee, that he would certainly be attacked by Nitholey that night if he was not very watchful, he heeded no warnings, and did not apparently take any precautions to guard against a surprise: no sentries were placed outside of the huts, and it is evident the enemy was held in the utmost contempt.

The party located themselves in the village of Prephemah in three separate houses, 20 sepahees with a Naga prisoner in one house, Bhogchand, Tiklahs and 10 sepahees in another house, and the seven disarmed Cacharees in a separate house by themselves, whilst the coolies lay down close by without cover.

At break of day, on the 3rd August, Nitholey and his clan surrounded the houses occupied by Bhogchand and party, and with their usual war yells commenced the attack by flinging stones and throwing spears at the huts. Bhogchand entreated the sepahees to come out and beat off the enemy, but excepting two or three Nepalese and Shan sepahees, the remainder of the guard could not be prevailed on to quit the huts and in a body to fire on the enemy. This feeble defence emboldened the Nagas to set fire to the huts, and the ejection of the whole party followed in a few minutes; but unfortunately at this moment, Bhogchand, with the Shan havildar and two or three sepahees, proceeded to the edge of the hill, where Nitholey was lying in wait for him, concealed behind a high stone, when from his ambush he threw his spear, which passed through the neck and came out between the shoulder-blades, and Bhogchand fell dead on the spot. The Shan havildar was likewise speared through the body, and several sepahees shared the same fate; and the death of the havildar and Bhogchand, two dauntless leaders, so dispirited the men, they were panic-stricken and immediately fled, leaving the killed and wounded, with all their baggage and several muskets, ammunition and accoutrements, and never stopped till they reached Sumooguding that day about 9 P.M.

The enemy had three or four killed, and it appears they were so alarmed or satisfied with what they had done, that on the death of the havildar and Bhogchand, they returned to Mozumah with all haste, clearly showing there was no necessity for the rapid flight of the sepahees from the scene of this disaster. On this eventful morning our loss in killed was 1 darogah, 1 havildar, 4 sepahees, and 8 coolies, and the wounded consisted of 1 naick, 3 sepahees and 4 coolies, in all, the killed and wounded amounted to 22 men. It is wonderful that a single man was allowed to escape; so little courage was shown by the troops on this occasion.

On Nitholey's return with his clan to Mozumah, he was opposed by Jubelee's clan, who, true in their allegiance to the British Government, would not permit the three Tiklahs left in the stockade by

Bhogchand, viz., Bodhoo, Pook and Run Sing, to be given up to the enemy, but led them and maintained open war until the ensuing cold season in November, when they all managed to return in safety to Deemapoor. Nitholey's party meanwhile commenced to construct a fort on a high ridge of the mountains above the village of Konomah, to protect themselves against the vengeance they knew awaited them as soon as our troops could visit the hills.

XI

On the 20th November 1849, Lieut. Vincent, Junior Assistant Commissioner, was deputed to conduct, in the Political Department, the eighth expedition to the Angami Naga Hills, and Lieut. Campbell, 2nd in Command of the 2nd Assam Light Infantry, commanded the party consisting of 1 soobadar, 1 jemadar, 7 havildars, 7 naicks, 1 bugler and 130 sepahees. After passing nearly a month at Deemapoor, in endeavouring to collect coolies and in making arrangements for provisions, the force divided into small parties, reached Mozumah the latter end of December. On the approach of our troops, Nitholey and his clan fired a few shots and retired to their fastness in the mountains.

In the beginning of January 1850, Lieut. Vincent, with a small party of 1 havildar, 12 sepahees and 50 Naga warriors proceeded to Beremah to have a consultation with the Political Agent of Muneepoor, leaving Lieut. Campbell at Mozumah to build a stockade there in the middle of the village, as a permanent station for our troops. At that time neither of these officers seemed to be aware of Nitholey's having constructed a strong Fort in their neighbourhood, until accidentally, on the 14th January, Lieut. Campbell being out foraging in the jungles, with only a guard of 18 men, to discover concealed rice, suddenly fell in with the enemy and followed him to his Fort, which he soon found was not to be captured by his small force, and he accordingly prudently effected an orderly retreat to his own camp in the village of Mozumah.

Two days afterwards, he deputed a native officer, with 62 men to take the Fort, but after a day's useless exertion and firing 500 rounds of ammunition, the party retired unsuccessful in the evening to Mozumah. Notwithstanding this failure to capture the Fort, Lieut. Campbell did not make any other attempt to take the place

but in the latter end of January, leaving half his force, about 60 men, at Mozumah, with the remainder he proceeded to visit the large village of Jopshemah.

In his absence, a little before break of day, on the 26th January, the enemy burnt down the whole village of Mozumah. Lieut. Campbell, seeing the fire from Jopshemah, proceeded forthwith to Mozumah, where he found that he had lost all his provisions: Naga promises of assistance in supplying him with rice, he knew were not to be relied on, and in consequence he immediately retired through the passes before they were occupied by the enemy, with the whole of his force, unmolested by the enemy to Deemapoor, which place he reached on the evening of the 28th January. Lieut. Vincent also arrived at the same place on the same date, being escorted by a party of Muneepoor sepahees from Beremah to Deemapoor.

In this state of affairs, having myself arrived a few days previously at Deemapoor, and finding there was no provisions in store, only sufficient for the troops for a short time, the posts of Sumooguding, Deemapoor and Mohongdejon were strengthened, and the Officers and men returned to Nowgong; for at that late season of the year, there were many difficulties to be overcome, rendering a second expedition extremely hazardous. Neither coolies nor food could have been collected for such an undertaking under many days, and moreover, Lieut. Campbell having informed me that two hundred men, with guns, would be necessary to capture so strong a Fort as the enemy had constructed, there was no other safe alternative but to pursue a defensive policy till the ensuing cold season; for we had no guns at hand, and a second failure was on every ground to be avoided, and the mere re-instating Jubelee's clan, in the village of Mozumah, though quite practicable, was of secondary importance to that of taking the Fort, which could not be accomplished without guns and a large re-inforcement of troops.

This policy, however, was not approved by the Agent of the Governor-General, as the frontier posts did not prevent the Nagas from committing murderous inroads on our villages in the plains: two traders had been murdered near Mohongdejon on the 5th December 1849, our 23 Mekirs had been cut up at Dealow on the 8th January; and at Loongeejon, near Mohongdejon, 18 Cacharies had been slaughtered on the 18th February.

To check these inroads, it was thought expedient to divert the Nagas by sending a detachment again into the hills, and to assist Povitsoh in recovering his lost village. Lieut. Vincent accordingly set out from Nowgong on the 18th February, to carry out the ninth expedition; he reached Deemapoor on the 27th February, and on the 2nd March, having taken 10 Nepalese sepahees, volunteers from the 1st Light Infantry, 1 havildar, 1 naick, and 20 sepahees of the Nowgong Police Militia set out for Mozumah with Povitsoh and his clan, amounting, including men, women and children, to 300 persons.

On the 6th March the whole party reached Mozumah without a single accident, and without any coolies to carry his baggage. Nitholey's clan, or rather a picket of 20 men, on the arrival of our troops at Mozumah, gave their usual war whoop and fled to Konomah, hotly pursued by our troops; and the portion of the village of Konomah, inimical to us, belonging to Pelhoos clan, was instantly burnt to the ground, but that in alliance with us was spared: in this manner the friendly Nagas of Mozumah were reinstated in their village, which had been burnt down by Nitholey in January, and which, from the loss of provisions, had rendered it necessary for a large detachment under Lieut. Campbell to retire to Deemapoor.

Lieut. Vincent's speedy return to Mozumah greatly astonished the enemy, but in a few days he evidently perceived the perilous position in which he was placed. Before leaving Nowgong, he had imagined that 30 men were sufficient to capture Mozumah and to maintain it; no one doubted but that 30 sepahees could surprise Mozumah; but to secure it throughout the year, surrounded by numerous turbulent treacherous savage tribes, all acquainted with the country and people knew was a perfect delusion oblivious of past declarations. On the 13th March, he called for a reinforcement of 50 men of the 1st Light Infantry to take the duties of the post at Deemapoor, in the room of troops withdrawn from thence for service in the hills: and by the latter end of March, Lieut. Vincent had assembled about 100 men at Mozumah.

On the 4th April, with a select party, having travelled all night, he surprised the village of Jakamah, of about 300 houses, and burnt it to the ground, because they were in alliance with the enemy.

A party of Mozumah Nagas, our allies, accompanied Lieut. Vincent on this night expedition, and it is to be regretted that in

the pursuit of the enemy, 6 persons were killed, 2 women amongst the number. As this village had not openly opposed Lieut. Vincent, and almost every village in the country had similarly assisted the enemy with food and shelter, its total destruction by fire seems a harsh vindictive measure, calculated to exasperate and ever to make them implacable enemies.

On the 16th April, Lieut. Vincent reported that the stockade of Mozumah was nearly completed, and provisions sufficient for 35 men would be in store in a few days, and he should then be ready to return to Nowgong with the remainder of the troops; but before he took such a step, he begged to offer his services to remain at Mozumah throughout the rains, for the Nagas would then see we could subsist in their hills for any length of time during the hot, as well as the cold season; and that Nitholey was so strongly entrenched in his Fort beyond Konomah, he did not deem it prudent to attack him, but the policy he was pursuing of keeping him out of his fields and village, would, in the end, oblige him to surrender, he felt convinced, before the close of the rains.

The Agent to the Governor-General acceded to this proposition, and directed Lieut. Vincent to remain at Mozumah throughout the rains with an efficient force. During the month of April, Lieut. Vincent saw clearly that his post of 100 men at Mozumah, but little straightened the enemy in their movements or resources, for they readily obtained all their supplies from Konomah and other villages. To prevent, therefore, the enemy having access to the village of Konomah or their fields, at the request of a clan of that village, he located a guard of 2 jemadars, 1 havildar, 2 naicks, and 41 sepahees at Konomah on the 26th April, in a stockade, which measure, he said, would completely prevent access to their village or fields; and being confined to their Fort, he was credibly informed, without any great store of provisions, it would be impossible they could remain for any length of time, and they must therefore be speedily compelled to surrender.

Notwithstanding this reasoning, the Agent to the Governor-General did not approve of the establishing of a post at Konomah, and directed that it should be withdrawn, if Mozumah, Sumooguding or Deemapoor should be in any danger.

On the 8th May, 3 sepahees left the stockade of Konomah to procure water from a spring close by, taking with them 2 muskets.

Whilst so engaged, two Nagas suddenly appeared on the hill above them at some distance; on this one of the sepahees fired, but without effect: immediately a number of Nagas sprang out from the jungle close to the sepahees; Munsobaræ at once tried to fire his musket, but it missed fire three times, and seeing there was no chance of escape from so many Nagas, the 3 sepahees fled with all speed towards their stockade; Munsobaræ, however in his flight, having fallen into a deep nullah, was quickly overtaken by the Nagas and speared to death, and his musket carried off in triumph; the other 2 sepahees, though hotly pursued, reached the stockade in safety; a party of sepahees having, on hearing a shot fired, came out of the stockade to meet them, or they also probably would have shared the same fate as their comrade, Munsobaræ. The sepahees had been frequently warned not to go from the stockade for water, except in large bodies, with loaded muskets, but as this had not been attended to, Lieut. Vincent now gave the jemadar commanding the stockade at Konomah written orders, on no account to permit a smaller party than 20 sepahees under a Non-Commissioned Officer with at least 10 muskets, to go at any time for water: a stronger proof than this of the folly of locating 35 men in a stockade, in these hills, could not be adduced. Such was the war in which we were now engaged. The sepahees could not, either at Mozumah or Konomah, leave their stockades for the calls of nature or for a drop of water, except in a body of 20 men with loaded muskets, and frequent attempts at night were made by the enemy to surprise the stockades.

On the 23rd May, Lieut. Vincent determined carefully and minutely to reconnoitre the enemy's Fort at Konomah, and to surprise them, if possible, while engaged in cultivating their land. On approaching the Fort, he was assailed with stones and fired at, which he returned, and being satisfied from a close inspection, that the right of the enemy's position could not be taken without the assistance of a gun, he withdrew his party, having 1 sepahee slightly wounded with a slug, and two or three others panjied. The attempt to surprise the enemy cultivating previous to reconnoitring the stockade failed from the enemy that day not having been at their usual occupation but out hunting and bathing in the river.

About the 27th July, Lieut. Vincent succeeded in effecting the ransom of Toolaram, a Cachary boy, for 37 Rs, who had been carried off from the village of Loongeejon on the 18th February by

a marauding party of Angami Nagas; two other children were at the same time carried off, but sold to different villages; a little girl was sold to some Nagas at Beremah, but could not be traced; the fate of the third boy was lamentable, he was purchased by the adjoining tribe of Lotah Nagas and a man of the village immediately after the purchase having died, it was considered a bad omen, and that ill-luck had befallen them on account of this captive child; they therefore flayed the poor boy alive, cutting his flesh bit by bit until he died; these superstitious savages then divided the whole body, giving a piece of the flesh to each man in the village to put into his *dolee*, a large corn basket, from which they suppose all evil will be averted, their good fortune will return and plentiful crops of grain will be ensured.

The experience of six months' residence in the hills had now conduced to change entirely the views of Lieut. Vincent, in regard to the feasibility of either maintaining a small post in the hills or subduing the tribes with 30 muskets, which in February was deemed by him practicable. On the 26th August, he reported that Andaroo sepahee having left the stockade at Konomah to answer the calls of nature only 42 paces from the stockade, was suddenly speared to death by two of the enemy seated behind a stone. This act of treachery, coupled with the suspicion entertained, that the professedly friendly Nagas of Konomah were not so faithful as they ought to be induced him to withdraw the guard at once from Konomah, and on the following day this was effected.

The store of rice and sepahees' baggage were first removed from Konomah to Mozumah, and then all the houses of those Nagas residing in Konomah, who had not sworn to go to Mozumah, were burnt down. The sepahees' huts were also destroyed by fire, and the whole of the troops quitted Konomah by 5 P.M.

On the 24th August, Lieut. Vincent, on this occasion remarked: 'I do not consider my position at Mozumah, even with an increased force, though perfectly tenable, so safe as it was when I had an advance picket at Konomah, and nothing should have induced me to withdraw it had I not been convinced of treachery from within; for though our troops can withstand, and have successfully withstood repeated attempts at surprise and attack, both on their way to and from water, and at night in the stockade, still it is impossible to expect them to be prepared against treachery at their very threshold.'

It was now evident that the guard at Konomah, from the 26th April to the 24th August, had not been of any use in preventing the enemy from procuring provisions from all quarters; and thus successfully to oppose a large detachment from March till the present time, Lieut. Vincent could only depend upon the 160 warriors of Jubelee's clan reinstated in the village of Mozumah in March. The burning of Tokomah, and part of Konomah, did not further his object in the least by leading to the capture of the Fort or the submission of the enemy; on the contrary, Lieut. Vincent acknowledged that the last daring act, the treacherous murder of Andaroo sepahee, showed clearly that the animosity of the enemy was unabated, and he was of opinion the enemy had no intention whatever of surrendering, for he was daily extending his Fort, and from which there was no hope or possibility of his being driven, except by a gun or mortar; and being buoyed up by the assistance they had received from other villages in goods and shelter for themselves and families, all efforts to induce their submission had proved fruitless.

This result was, what many experienced officers expected, before the ninth expedition set out in February from Nowgong: 30 sepahees only were solicited by Lieut. Vincent for this expedition, but with 100 men he was unable to do more than to maintain his post, and to do that so successfully, just credit is due to him, for he had many difficulties to contend against, and he is not to blame for having been deputed, or rather volunteered to return to the hills, to attempt to bring about what was considered highly hazardous and impracticable; the capture of the Fort of Konomah, or the surrender of Nitholey and his clan. It has however been urged that by Lieut. Vincent's return to the hills, all further inroads on our villages were prevented. It is true no aggressions occurred after his return to the hills in March, but if he had not returned, it is very doubtful whether any further inroads would have been attempted, as the season was far advanced, and the Nagas at that time are busily occupied in cultivating their land. The expedition therefore may be deemed uncalled-for, and it put the Government to an enormous expense, as the friendly clan of Mozumah might have been reinstated in the ensuing cold season, and the troops would have been saved much harassment and many privations, which they had to endure in an eight months' siege, from March till October.

In this state of affairs, seeing there was not the slightest chance or hope of getting the better of the enemy, on the 26th August Lieut. Vincent wrote, 'I strongly recommend, therefore, that a force of not less than four or five hundred bayonets, accompanied by a gun, should enter these hills as soon as the season will allow, in order that this hitherto-successful rebellion may at once be brought to an issue. I would also recommend that the assistance of the Muneepoor Government should be obtained in crushing this hydra-headed rebellion.'

XII

The failure of the eighth, and severity of the ninth expedition, greatly exasperated the Angamee Nagas, for previous to the last expedition, there were only 160 warriors of Nitholey's clan, and 200 warriors of a portion of Konomah openly opposed to us; but in August 1850, Lieut. Vincent reports 'the strength of the clans who may be opposed to us in the attack on Konomah may be calculated as follows:

Mozumah Chief Nitholey	..	..	..	160 warriors
Konomah Chief Pelhoo	..	..	..	200 "
Chedemah	..	..	..	200 "
Jopshemah	..	..	..	300 "
				<hr/>
				860 warriors
				<hr/>

'In addition to the above, the following villages are known to be hostile to us, and many others secretly opposed to us inhabiting every village throughout the hills.'

Keroomah Village	..	..	..	100 houses
Tyepamah	..	..	..	60 "
Bepoomah	..	..	..	40 "
Pherkekremah	..	..	..	50 "
Tyechemah	..	..	..	700 "
Kedemah	..	..	..	400 "
Kekreemah	..	..	..	1,000 "
				<hr/>
				2,250 houses
				× 2 warriors per
				house
				<hr/>
				4,500
Add warriors in first list	..	..		860
				<hr/>
				5,360 warriors
				<hr/>

So that there was by this list not less than 5,360 warriors arrayed against us.

Lieut. Vincent says: 'I have thought it necessary to enter at some length into the present posture of affairs, as it is my opinion that unless an overwhelming force is sent into these hills in the ensuing cold season, nothing permanent will be effected.' Hitherto the Agent to the Governor-General and the Government imagined that Lieut. Vincent had been most successful, and that the Nagas were on the point of submitting to our authority. This startling report, however, showed clearly the true state of affairs.

The Agent to the Governor-General could no longer conceal his disappointment, and expressed that he had anticipated a different result: he acknowledged he was not prepared to see so large a force required at Mozumah, or to find Nitholey making so determined a resistance. The Government was also surprised and expressed its displeasure: the delusion was at an end.

Government immediately sanctioned the assembling of a large force of 500 men under Major Foquett, commanding 2nd Assam Light Infantry, with two 3-pounder guns and two mortars, to enter the country as soon as possible, to relieve Lieut. Vincent and capture the Fort of Konomah. On the 24th September, the Agent to the Governor-General warned me to prepare to conduct, in the Political Department, the tenth expedition to the Angamee Naga Hills, but before I set out from Nowgong, orders were received from Government, that in the present state of affairs it was necessary that the Agent to the Governor-General should proceed himself to the frontier, and in some convenient position personally conduct the expedition.

The Agent to the Governor-General accordingly reached Deema-poor about the 18th of December and remained there till the 29th December. This order gave universal satisfaction, as for ten years past officers and troops had been harassed with annual useless expeditions to these hills. Captain Reid of the Artillery, and Lieut. Bivar of the Light Infantry, with a detachment of the Light Infantry and two 3-pounder guns, proceeded to Mozumah in November, and in December having collected 600 coolies and dispatched rice for the troops to Mozumah, I accompanied Major Foquett with a detachment and two mortars in progress to Mozumah, which we reached on the 7th December, after a harassing march of 40 miles from

Deemapoor, greatly impeded by difficulties we experienced in getting the mortars conveyed over the hills. About 8 o'clock on the morning

Major	1	of the 10th December
Captain	1	1850, the party noted in
Lieutenants	3	the margin, with two
Assistant Surgeon	1	3-pounder guns and two
Sergeant	1	4-inch mortars, left
Soobadars	3	Mozumah to capture the
Jemadars	3	Fort of Konomah. At
Havildars	17	2 P.M. the mortars com-
Naicks	20	menced firing shells on
Buglers	3	the Fort at a distance of
Sipahees	281	600 yards, but owing to
	<hr/>	a dense fog, the narrow
	334	
	<hr/>	

ridge of the mountain, on which the enemy's position was situated, the shells seemed to have little effect, falling either short of or beyond the position. The two 3-pounder guns were then advanced within 150 yards of the Fort to effect a breach in the barricade for the troops to enter, but the defences being very strong, constructed of stone and timber, and not being injured after many rounds of shot and cannisters had been expended, the guns were advanced to within 70 yards. Still as there appeared no hope of breaching the barricade, and the day was closing, the whole party advanced to escalate the position.

On reaching the defences, a deep wide trench stopped all further progress, flanked at each end by an abrupt precipice, and being exposed to showers of spears, musketry and stones, the troops were obliged to retire to the spot where the guns first opened fire, and there bivouacked for the night, which was extremely cold, and being without food, water or shelter, the sufferings of all were very great. To prevent a surprise, a desultory fire was kept up during the night on the enemy's position, and on the morning of the 11th, when the party rose to resume hostilities, the friendly Nagas reported that the enemy had vacated the Fort and our troops immediately took possession of it.

Thus fell one of the strongest Forts ever seen in Assam, after a siege of 16 hours' duration. Our loss in wounded on this occasion consisted of 2 Havildars, 3 Naicks, 1 Bugler, and 25 Sipahes, and 3 Sipahes were killed. The mountains were covered with snow

on the 12th and the cold was extreme ; so much so, that it was with difficulty the Sipahes could be prevented from leaving the Fort, whilst it was being dismantled. Indeed many did go down to the valley below the Fort and were compelled to return.

After the capture of the Fort, I wrote to the Agent to the Governor-General as follows on the 17th December : 'The experience of this expedition has shown very clearly the great difficulties that have to be encountered in carrying on warfare in this woody and mountainous country, unable to move with less than 600 coolies. If opposed, we should suffer serious loss without the possibility of being able to injure the enemy. I have used every means therefore to conciliate the Nagas of those villages said to be friendly to us, and in return they have supplied us with rice and assured me of their desire to be on friendly terms with us. At present I see no prospect of apprehending Nitholey or his followers, and if they receive encouragement or assistance from the Muneepoor Government, the contest may be prolonged for an indefinite period.

'The Government having decided on not resuming Toolaram's country, we are deprived of all assistance from his people ; and our own population of Mikirs being very scanty, we shall be unable to continue to employ them in conducting expeditions into the Angamee Naga Hills, for rather than submit to this service, I am persuaded they will leave the district, or be utterly ruined from not being able to attend to their cultivation. In the present state of affairs, I do not recommend violent measures, except from open opposition. We have driven the enemy from his stronghold, and he must now be sensible of our power, and it is a question to be considered whether it would not be more advisable not to interfere with the internal affairs of the Nagas, but to supply them freely with salt at Deemapoor and to maintain posts of the Police Militia and Light Infantry at Deemapoor and Mohongdejon for the protection of our frontier.

'If we establish a military post permanently in the hills, a European Officer, with civil powers as Superintendent of the Naga Hills, on a salary of 1,000 Rupees, will be, I conceive, indispensable, and not less than 150 men could be safely left at Mozumah, besides a large detachment as a support at Deemapoor. By a defensive or offensive policy, our frontier is equally exposed to sudden inroads, but to distinguish the guilty from the innocent is exceedingly difficult, and an indiscriminate destruction of Naga villages cannot be

contemplated, especially if we decide on retaining possession of the country, as we should, by such a proceeding, destroy our resources and have no claim on the Nagas to supply us with rice, but probably exasperate them to the commission of the most daring acts of atrocity and opposition to our measures in every way.'

In company with Major Foquett, on the 25th December, I returned from Mozumah to Deemapoor, when I was called on by the Agent to the Governor-General to give an opinion as to what measures were advisable to adopt in our future intercourse with the Angamee Nagas, and the following suggestions were offered after mature consideration. It appears to me that our endeavours, for some years past, to put down the internal feuds of the Naga communities have proved a complete failure; I therefore beg leave to suggest that for the future we leave the Nagas entirely to themselves, and wholly abstain from any interference with them. The guard posted at Mozumah in March last, I would withdraw as soon as the wounded men can be removed with the mortars and guns. By this step the Mozumah clan will be exposed, I am aware, to the vengeance of the enemy. We are however not called to support them, or any other small clan, or there would be no end to such a system. We ought not to side with any party.

The Nagas of Mozumah, about 160 warriors, have been reinstated in their village, and the fortified post of the enemy at Konomah having been effectually destroyed, we can now withdraw our forces without its being mistaken for weakness. The Mozumah clan have no claim on us for especial protection; they called in Cacharies with muskets to fight against Nitholey, and the late Darogah Bhogchand having taken their part, lost his life. There are many smaller villages than Mozumah who protect themselves, and as you gave them muskets in February last, they are better off than many of their neighbours unprovided with fire-arms. It would be unsafe to leave a smaller detachment than 150 men with a European officer at Mozumah, invested with civil and military powers; and after the past experience of all the difficulties to be surmounted, such a measure does not appear advisable, more particularly too as the guard at Sumooguding has, through the treachery of the Nagas, been obliged to be withdrawn.

To bring the Nagas into complete subjection by permanently occupying the country would, as I have before reported, involve the

employment of at least a regiment of 500 men, with several European officers, guns and mortars; and the enormous expense attendant on such a measure, besides the absolute necessity that would then follow of constructing roads throughout the country to facilitate military movements, leaves us no alternative but to adopt a strictly defensive policy for the future.

The campaign being now we supposed closed, Major Foquett reduced the force in the hills and made over the command to Captain Reid at Mozumah, to wait there till the final orders of Government were received as to the future management of the Angamee Nagas. Captain Reid reported on the 11th January, that on the 9th he has been with a detachment of 1 Soobadar, 3 Havildars, 2 Naicks, 1 Bugler and 65 Sipahes, with a band of Mozumah warriors, to Jopshemah, to procure rice and to seize a noted warrior who had fought against us on the 10th December. Whilst they were in the village of Jopshemah, a band of Kohemah warriors, in full war costume, were discovered treacherously coming towards them, but the Konomah Nagas were so impatient to go out to fight them, that the Kohemahs took fright and fled back to their own village. The noted warrior being sick was found in a hut and carried off a prisoner to Mozumah, and the detachment returned to Mozumah uninterrupted, although an alarm was given that the villagers would come to the rescue; Captain Reid now thought it advisable to send down for a whole company of the 2nd Light Infantry from Golaghat, half the company to come to Mozumah and the remainder to stay at Deemapoor, having only 196 men at Mozumah.

A further reason for more troops was a rumour that 3,000 Muneepoor troops were coming to assist the Nagas against us; and to prevent the hostile clans joining forces, he proceeded to Kohemah, in the hope they might be induced to attack our force in the open field, which was greatly desired.

Having been informed on the 21st January 1851, that a strong party of the enemy was sheltered in the village of Paplongmue, Captain Reid determined to make a night march to apprehend them, but owing to the darkness of the night, when he reached the heights beyond Konomah, it was found impossible to get to Paplongmue before daylight; he therefore bivouacked on the mountains all night, and after a tedious march the following day over high mountains, about 3 o'clock at night they approached Paplongmue, but the

enemy were fully aware of their movements and ran away. Fines were imposed on the houses in which the enemy had been sheltered, and those who did not redeem their property had their houses burnt. The troops stayed at Paplongmue two days to allow of some rice being sent off to Mozumah, and the night attack seemed to have instilled a wholesome dread of our vengeance into the minds of the people if they sheltered the enemy.

After this expedition Captain Reid proceeded to the eastward with two 3-pounders, 1 mortar and 100 men to visit a large village, which had a short time ago sent a challenge saying, 'Why don't the Sipahes come to fight us?' On the 3rd February the party reached Sassamah, where they heard that a man had been killed by the Nagas of Keguemah. This village being visited to apprehend the offender, and finding it vacated, the houses of the clan concerned in the murder were burnt to the ground.

Proceeding a little farther they came on six villages, called Saphe-mah, inhabited by a very rude people and ill-disposed towards us; two of the villagers came in and paid tribute, but the others declared they were ready to meet us with spear and shield; so after halting two days, and not being able to get them to give rice, a village which they had vacated was burnt to the ground, and notice was sent to the other clans that if they did not come in, their villages would share the same fate: this had the desired effect.

Early next morning, the heads of the clans of the whole of the villages came in and inquired what tribute was required, when an ample supply of rice was brought in for the troops. The Mozumah Nagas understood but little of the language of the people to the eastward, and finding great difficulty in provisioning the troops and transporting the guns, Captain Reid had resolved on not proceeding to make further discoveries; but on the 5th February, two heralds came into camp from Kekreemah, bearing a challenge from the people to come and prove who had the greatest power in these hills, they or our Government. The Muneepoorees, they said, under Gumbheer Sing, were afraid to fight them and we seemed afraid also. After seeing our muskets and guns, they scornfully declared they did not care for our (choongas) tubes, meaning muskets. 'Your Sipahes are flesh and blood as well as ourselves, and we will fight with spear and shield and see who are the best men, and here is a specimen of our weapons', handing over a handsome spear. Their village was said to

contain about 1,000 houses, and they were dreaded by all around as a blood-thirsty people, who think nothing of murder for the sake of plunder, and they boasted of having a man in their village who had killed 70 men, the greater part of them probably murdered and not killed in fair fight.

As it would have had a most injurious effect to return to Mozumah without accepting the challenge of these people, and it would have been attributed to fear; Captain Reid determined at once to uphold the name and honour of the Government by accepting the challenge; he therefore told the messengers, if they really wished to fight us, they would soon have an opportunity. Captain Reid was accompanied by Lieut. Vincent, but hearing that four other villages would join Kekreemah, the greatest caution was necessary; he in consequence sent to Mozumah for Lieut. Campbell to join him with 50 men. On this officer's coming out, he had 150 muskets, two 3-pounders and a mortar, and about 800 friendly Nagas to fight on our side with their spears.

On the 9th February they were encamped at the village of Kedee-mah, about two miles from Kekreemah, and observed the enemy very busy in making impediments on the path leading to the village, and so difficult and steep did the approach appear that Captain Reid determined not to attack on the South end of the hill, but to ascend the mountain about a mile further North.

On the 10th, therefore, a march was made to the village of Kegomah about two miles distant, and encamped near the river which runs at the foot of the Keekreemah mountain, and halted for the night. This move puzzled the enemy considerably, as they were uncertain from what part of the mountain the ascent would be made, and the next morning, the 11th February, the troops nearly reached the top of the mountain without much molestation although an attack was attempted on the rear guard, and one coolie was wounded, who died the following night. The advance guard being urged on by our friendly Nagas our allies got too much in advance, but having secured a good position on a high piece of ground commanding the village their fire was most effective on the enemy who were now hotly engaged with our friendly Nagas fighting with the greatest desperation and in the heat of battle attempted to cut off the heads of the Nagas as they killed them; but the sepahees of the 1st and 2nd Assam Light Infantry soon drove them out of the village, killing

and wounding many of them. The guns were fired, which created the utmost consternation, and the enemy fled in every direction, utterly discomfited, leaving 100 slain on the field of battle, including many of their most noted warriors. The loss on our side was two Nagas killed and six wounded, and one camp-follower killed and one wounded : we believe the above estimate of the loss of the enemy to be far under the truth. It is currently reported that about 300 Nagas were killed and wounded upon this occasion, and doubtless many women and children were murdered by our ruthless barbarian allies, who show no mercy in battle and delight in bloody warfare, exterminating young and old.

Captain Reid states, it was not his wish to destroy the village but, actuated by feelings of revenge, our Naga auxiliaries set fire to it on all sides, and a strong wind blowing at the time, the greater part of the houses were soon destroyed, with a great quantity of grain, only about six houses were saved in the centre of the village, in which the troops took shelter for the night. So determined and hostile were the enemy that several times during the night they attempted to attack the troops, and it was found impossible, without great risk, to get water for the troops, during the night the enemy being in ambush in all directions. Even, in the evening, when the sepahes were on the alert, and when the mortar was being fired a cook sitting close to it was wounded by a spear being thrown at him.

The day after the battle, on the 12th the troops returned to Kedeemah and met with no opposition on the way back to Mozumah. Thus fell Kekreemah, after one of the most bloody battles ever fought in Assam.

The Government considered the attack unavoidable and most creditably conducted by Captain Reid; but the expedition itself seemed scarcely to have been called for and the burning of empty houses was regarded as an unnecessary piece of severity. It was not deemed desirable that a post should be maintained at Mozumah, and the immediate withdrawal of all the troops from the hills to Deemapoor was directed, beyond which no military force was to be maintained; it being the wish of Government to abstain entirely and unreservedly from all concern or meddling with the feuds of the numerous savage tribes beyond our frontier. Thus terminated the tenth expedition to the Angamee Naga hills in March 1851.

In my letter No. 58 of the 29th July 1852, I suggested the expediency of locating the Junior Assistant of this District permanently in Northern Cachar to check the Angamee Naga inroads in that quarter, and this proposition was sanctioned in the Officiating Under Secretary's letter, No. 163, of the 25th January 1853, to the address of the Agent to the Governor-General in paragraph 4: 'You will accordingly carry out the suggestions contained in paragraphs 9 and 10 of your letter under reply, by deputing Lieut. Vincent, or his successor, to take special charge of the tract of country in question, and authorizing him to correspond directly with yourself, instead of through the Principal Assistant at Nowgong.'

Lieut. Bivar, Junior Assistant, proceeded to Northern Cachar in March last, and in obedience to the above order, the correspondence is carried on direct with the Agent to the Governor-General, and I am in ignorance of every measure carried out relating to the tribes on the frontier. With all deference I presume to express my disapproval of such an arrangement; I know of no advantage to be gained by it; on the contrary I should imagine it would be disadvantageous. I have been eight years in uninterrupted charge of the District, have conducted three expeditions to the Angamee Naga country, have received the thanks of Government for each, and now my experience is set aside; however, I will conclude this review of the Angamee Nagas with a few suggestions for guiding us in our future intercourse with them.

I have ever been an advocate for non-interference with the hill tribes, being impressed with the idea that Government desire not to extend their sway over unprofitable wastes inhabited by savage martial tribes; I have therefore deprecated annual military expeditions; but in twelve years we have deputed ten expeditions to the hills, and with what result may be seen in the review of these tours.

I recommended in my letter, No. 1, of 16th January 1846, that we should, at Deemapoor, supply the tribes with agricultural implements, daos, hand-bills for clearing the jungle for cultivation, koddals for tilling their land, and salt which they cannot dispense with; but this proposition was not approved. I likewise deprecate giving the tribes muskets, which will be surely used against us on a future day, but we have given them muskets, and by our annual tours have taught them the art of war.

I now suggest that orders be issued that no muskets be allowed to be given to the tribes by the European authorities, and that none be permitted to be sold to them, or ammunition either, by traders; and I again suggest that a Government shop be opened at Deemapoor for the sale of husbandry implements, daos and koddals and salt, as well as cornelian beads which they greatly prize. I would send up 100 rupees' worth of salt at a time and 50 rupees' worth of husbandry implements with 200 rupees' worth of large red cornelian beads: this is not a large sum to expend, and it would be the means of keeping up a frequent intercourse with our people on the plains, encourage them to trade in cloths and ivory, and lead them to see that we have no object in going to war with them. The Angamee Nagas are not a dangerous class, though warlike, that is, they do not go forth to conquer other Districts, to colonize and retain them but they are addicted to predatory cruel inroads for plunder, and to capture slaves to be redeemed.

A vast change has however come over the Angamee Nagas within the last eight years that I have been in this District. Formerly they did not know the use or value of money, now many are become expert traders and know the value of money thoroughly, and are bent on trade, going in parties even as far as Gowalpara and desirous of proceeding on to Calcutta to purchase cornelian beads and muskets, and if this disposition be encouraged we shall do far more to civilize them than by acts of retaliation, burning their villages and slaughtering them in battles.

When they begin to appreciate the benefits of trade, inroads for plunder will be of less frequent occurrence, and we shall, by stopping the trade, have greater power in punishing them and by tact in time we may induce them to surrender delinquents, whereas to capture them by military expeditions is perfectly impossible.

2

MACKENZIE'S HISTORY

(A. Mackenzie, *History*, 1884, pp. 101–43)

CROSSING THE DOYENG WESTWARD, we come to the tract known as the country of the Angami Nagas. For long years the tribes inhabiting this tract were supposed to be a powerful homogeneous race of highlanders. The fact, however, is that here, as on the Sebsaugor frontier, the country is divided among cognate but warring clans, which have all, until very recent times, been ready to raid indifferently upon neighbouring villages or upon British territory as opportunity offered or the prospect of plunder prompted. Our relations with these tribes have from a very early date been troubled; and the problem of their management is in fact only now being solved.

We began to hear of them soon after the close of the earliest of our wars with Burma.

Manipuri Expeditions of 1832 and 1833

The importance of opening up direct communications between Assam and Manipur was at that time much insisted upon, and it was in the course of explorations directed to this end that we first came into conflict with the Nagas of these hills. In January 1832 Captains Jenkins and Pemberton led 700 Manipuri troops with 800 coolies from the Manipur valley via Popolongmai, Samoogoodting and the Dhunsiri to Mohung Dijooa on the Jumoon. They had literally to fight their way through the whole Kutcha and Angami Naga country. So irritated were the hillmen by this invasion that British troops were sent to Mohung Dijooa to protect Assam from a threatened inroad of the united clans.

In the cold season following (1832–3) Raja Gumbheer Sing of Manipur, accompanied by the Manipur Levy under Lieutenant Gordon, again marched through to Assam by a route a few miles to the east of Jenkins' track. They too had to fight almost every step

on the road. Facts came to light which made it clear that the object which Gumbheer Sing had in view was the permanent conquest of the Naga Hills. The ambitious Manipuri would have been a very dangerous neighbour for our vassal Purunder Sing, whom we were then endeavouring to establish on the throne of Upper Assam, and the Government began to feel uncomfortable in prospect of Gumbheer Sing's operations. It did not absolutely prohibit him from subjugating the Nagas; but it forbade him to descend into the plains on the Assam side.

Captain Jenkins, when reporting with Pemberton in 1833-4 on the North-East Frontier, proposed to give up to Manipur definitely all the hills between the Doyeng and Dhunsiri. This proposal did not receive any formal approval, but it came to be supposed in a general kind of way that Manipur exercised some sort of authority over the southern portion of the Naga Hills. In 1835 indeed the forest between the Doyeng and the Dhunsiri was declared to be the boundary between Manipur and Assam.

The North Cachar Hills under Tularam

But besides all the complications arising out of the question of the extent of Manipuri jurisdiction and of communication between that State and Assam, we were brought into contact with the Angamis in another way, viz., by the acquisition of Cachar with its hill territory, running up as this did between the Angami Hills and the Khasi Hills, to the very confines of Nowgong. Cachar was formally annexed to British territory on 14th August 1832 on the death of its Raja, Govind Chunder, who left no descendant either lineal or adopted. The principal Chief in the North Cachar Hills at the time of annexation was Tularam Senaputty. This man was the son of Kacha Din, a table servant of a former Raja of Cachar, and had himself been an orderly in attendance on Govind Chunder. Kacha Din had been appointed by the Raja to some office in the hills and had rebelled in 1813. Govind Chunder enticed him down to the plains and had him assassinated.

Tularam then set himself to avenge his father's death, and now by the aid of the Burmese, now by his own levies, managed to hold out against every effort of the Raja to expel him from the hills.

In 1828 Tularam made over his levies to his cousin Govind Ram, who, after defeating Govind Chunder in the last attempt made by that prince to reconquer the hills, turned upon Tularam and drove him into Jaintia. In 1829 Tularam, with the assistance of the Manipuris, expelled Govind Ram, who then submitted himself to Raja Govind Chunder.

At this stage Mr Scott, the Governor-General's Agent, anxious to stop the constant border warfare, induced Govind Chunder to assign to Tularam a definite tract of country to be recognized as his separate fief, bounded on the west by the Kopili, north by Bhateebagram, south by the Julinga as far as Keynugur Mukh, and east by Samseyagram. After the annexation of Cachar, this territory was reduced in area as a punishment for the murder by Tularam of two British subjects, and his jurisdiction was restricted to a tract lying between the Dhunsiri and Doyeng, the Naga Hills and the Jumoona, a pension being also allowed him of Rs 50 per mensem. This tract lay on the eastern side of North Cachar, and was about 2,224 square miles in extent.

Invitation to Manipur and Tularam to Occupy the Naga Hills

When in 1835 our hill villages in North Cachar were found to be constantly suffering from Naga exactions and raids, the Government conceived that the duty of controlling the hostile Nagas devolved jointly upon Tularam and the Manipur State, as the two powers holding jurisdiction over at least some portions of the Naga Hills. It was proposed, therefore, that a line of posts to protect our subjects should be established by Tularam and the Manipuris at Semkhor and along the neighbouring Naga frontier. Tularam protested earnestly that he had no control over the Nagas or any means of checking their raids; while Manipur, whose only system of control consisted in raids as savage as those of the Nagas themselves, did occupy Semkhor for a time and harass the Nagas in a desultory way, the only effect of which was to bring down the hillmen upon our villages in force as soon as the Manipuris had withdrawn.

Captain Jenkins, now Commissioner of Assam, who knew something of the real position of Manipur in these hills, urged upon

Government the impropriety of encouraging that State in its career of aggression against the Nagas. Its troops got no pay, and had to live on the plunder of the villages they occupied. The only effect of Manipuri occupation had been to exasperate the tribes. The Government was not prepared itself to take over the Naga country, and still inclined to regard the Manipuris as the *de facto* masters of the hills. It therefore persisted in calling upon Manipur to occupy the country of the Angamis and arranged at the same time to depute a detachment of sepoy under a European officer to prevent any needless outrage by the Manipuri levies. The very terms of the instructions issued for the guidance of this officer showed that in Calcutta the Government had no clear knowledge of either the geographical or political situation.

Cancelment of the Foregoing Invitation

The continued remonstrances of the Assam Commissioner led at length to a cancelment of the call upon Manipur, and a European officer was in 1837 ordered to occupy a post near the Naga country and endeavour to bring the Chiefs to terms. The expectation of fresh war with Burma prevented his actual deputation for the time; but the Court of Directors having now condemned emphatically the policy of making over to Manipur fresh tracts of mountain country for conquest or management, the first renewal of raids led in 1838 to a revival of the proposal to depute some English officer to deal locally with the Naga difficulty. The raising of a small Cachari levy was sanctioned to assist in this especial service, and the whole tract of North Cachar was transferred to Assam and attached to the district of Nowgong, under the belief that the Assam officials could deal more effectually with frontier matters of the kind than those of Dacca to which Cachar belonged.

Grange's First Expedition, January 1839

Mr Grange, Sub-Assistant at Nowgong, was chosen to conduct the first Angami expedition. He was directed to investigate fully

the causes of the Angami raids, and to endeavour to punish the Chiefs of the large villages of Konemah and Mozemah who were known to be implicated in these outrages. Owing to mismanagement, Mr Grange was not properly supplied with troops and carriage, and his expedition degenerated into a somewhat hurried march through a part only of the Naga Hills. . . .

At Beremah he was shewn the remains of a circular fort built by Raja Kishen Chunder of Cachar, who had, the Nagas said, once invaded their hills. He saw also an old 10-pounder which the Raja had left behind him on his retreat. Possibly this trophy was exhibited by way of a significant hint; for, though some clans made professions of amity, hostile war parties hovered constantly about the camp, and speared one or two of the sentries. The brother of the Chief of Konemah came down to see what the stranger wanted, and Mr Grange, unable to punish, was compelled to speak him fair.

Ikkari also, the powerful Chief of Mozemah, who had led most of the raiding parties in Cachar, a perfect savage, wild and suspicious, wearing a collar fringed with hair of his enemies' scalps, came down to see for himself what the camp was like. Him Mr Grange induced to swear not again to molest the Company's villages. The oath was solemnly ratified, Ikkari and Mr Grange holding opposite ends of a spear while it was being cut in two, and strange to say was for some time honourably kept. Mr Grange was too weakly supported to say anything about restoration of captives. He fixed, however, the position of the villages that had raided on Cachar, and found a way out of the hills to Assam via Samoogoodting, at which place he advocated the establishment of a permanent military post.

Discussions of Policy

It had already been decided that the Cachar hills, north of the water-pent, should be controlled from Assam and placed under Nowgong. The question was now debated as to how this control was to be exercised. The Nowgong authorities proposed to make the hills a substantive district, under a separate officer, to assess a house tax on the subordinate Nagas, and station thannas in the hills. But the whole returns would have been only Rs 3,000 yearly, against

an expenditure of over Rs 16,000, and this scheme was not approved. Captain Jenkins, the Commissioner, proposed simply to attach the tract to Nowgong, giving an extra Assistant to that district, who should visit the hills in the cold weather. He advised that Mr Grange should again visit the Angamis by the Samoogoodting route, receive the submission of those Chiefs who might be willing to be subject to us, and place a thanna of Shans on the Dhunsiri. He might at the same time be allowed to punish any villages that did not submit. Captain Jenkins insisted that the boundary line between Assam and Manipur and Assam and Cachar must now be clearly defined to be the water-pent of the great ridge of mountains. Manipur, he suggested, should be compelled to co-operate with us in bringing the Nagas into subjection to our rule.

Upon this the Government said that it had never contemplated anything more than the exercise of a general political control over the hill tribes, and, if necessary, the establishment of a military post to overcome the ill-disposed and give protection to the peaceable. Anything beyond this was not desired. It sanctioned, however, Mr Grange's deputation to receive the submission of the Angami Nagas, to confirm the doubtful in their good disposition, and to choose a post in easy communication with Assam or Cachar, at which to place a permanent garrison under a Native officer for protection of our subjects and to encourage communication. At this post a market was to be established. No interference with the internal management, even of Tularam's tribes, was to be allowed.

Though the original orders of the Government were thus restricted, I cannot find that it raised any formal objections to a further letter of Captain Jenkins, in which he reported his having instructed Mr Grange to subdue all the Angamis north of the water-pent, and his having invited Manipur to subdue all south of it. This subjugation was, he explained, only to be carried far enough to stop outrages, and especially affected the Chiefs of Mozemah and Konemah, the principal leaders of raids. From these Chiefs hostages for good conduct were to be demanded. But all the hillmen were to be told that we had no wish to interfere with their internal affairs. All that we sought was peace and free intercourse; and all who acknowledged our virtual supremacy and gave a small tribute were to be admitted to terms.

Grange's Second Expedition, January 1840

A party was ordered to march from Manipur to co-operate with Mr Grange. He entered the hills via Samoogoodting on 24th January 1840. Here the villagers were unwilling to receive him, but he overawed them into compliance. Thence he pushed across the hills to Hoplongamai or Popolongmai expecting to meet the Manipuris, but found that they had turned back without waiting for him. He went on two marches towards Manipur to a point between Yang (= Tzukquama) and Moeelong (= Tokquama). Here he found to his astonishment that the Nagas were avowedly hostile to Manipur, and not tributary as had been given out by that State. The only traces of Manipuri occupation were the charred beams of Naga huts. The people of Popolongmai, Tzukquama, and Tokquama, seeing in Mr Grange only an ally of Manipur, attacked him in a defile, but he beat them off and burnt down the half of Popolongmai inhabited by Angamis, the other half being discovered to be inhabited by Cachari Nagas, subservient to the Angamis. The expedition resulted in the burning of five villages and the capture of eleven Naga prisoners.

The effect of these somewhat strong measures was apparently to stop the raids, for it was reported in 1841 that there had been no raids in Cachar during 1840, and a continuance of the expeditions from Assam was recommended. Soon after Mr Grange had returned from the hills the second time, the two Gnaw Boorahs, or Chiefs of Samoogoodting, came down and entered into written engagements to be friendly, expressing a wish to settle on the plains. Lands east of Mohung Dijooa were promised them, and the Naga prisoners were all released, but it does not appear that any active steps were taken to induce a Naga immigration to the plains.

Proposals for constructing a great road across the hills to Manipur were about this time rejected on the score of expense. Lieutenant Biggs,¹ Principal Assistant in charge of Nowgong, was, however, authorized to enter the hills and make a leisurely and, if possible, friendly progress from village to village, conciliating the Chiefs by personal intercourse and bringing to bear on the people that nameless attraction which frontier officers are supposed, and often with justice, to exercise over uncivilized races.

¹ Mackenzie calls him Biggs, but this is wrong. His name was Bigge.

In 1841 Lieutenant Biggs carried out his tour. He met with no opposition, and concluded friendly agreements with most of the leading communities. A depot for salt was at their request opened at Demapore. The Dhunsiri was fixed as the boundary between the British districts and the Angami tract. The Government directed that a repetition of these friendly visits should be made from time to time, mainly with a view to the suppression of the slave traffic carried on by the Nagas with the Bengalis of Sylhet. The boundary between the Angamis and Manipur was to be finally settled, to prevent irritation on that side, and a road was to be opened to Samoogoodting from the plains. A nominal tribute was to be taken from the Nagas as soon as they could be brought to consent to its payment. . . .

A proposal to establish a British outpost on the Popolongmai hill was negatived. The attempt to make a road to Samoogoodting failed.

In spite of some desultory raiding in Cachar and Manipur the Angamis, as a whole, seemed anxious at this time to cultivate friendly relations with the authorities at Nowgong. They came down to the station, and entered into agreements to obey Government, to pay yearly tribute, and to abstain from internecine feuds. The Chiefs of Konemah and Mozemah made up an old quarrel in the presence of our officers, and all seemed as promising as Government could wish. Raids were not by any means entirely stopped, but it was hoped that things were in a fair way to a peaceful solution.

Eld's Expedition, December 1844

In April 1844, however, when an Assistant was sent up to collect the first year's tribute, the Chiefs defied him and absolutely refused to pay. They followed this up by a series of daring raids, in one of which they overpowered a Shan outpost and killed most of the sepoys. Retribution was speedily had by the local troops for these outrages, but so little discrimination was shown in the mode of its exaction, that Government was compelled to censure the local officers for burning villages that might well have been spared. The correspondence shows that Manipuri troops had at this time again been actually helping one Naga clan to attack and destroy another.

It seemed impossible to get Manipur to carry out honestly the orders of Government. The necessity of occupying the hills with a strong force as a permanent measure was again discussed, and again a middle course was adopted.

In November 1845 Captain Butler, Principal Assistant of Nowgong, was deputed to the hills with a force and made a peaceable progress through the country, conciliating the tribes and mapping the topography. He succeeded in inducing the Chiefs to come in to meet him, and they even paid up their tribute in ivory, cloth, and spears. The Chiefs told Captain Butler that they had no real control over their people, and had absolute authority only on the war-path. The different villages eagerly sought our protection, but it was only to induce us to exterminate their neighbours. As soon as the expedition left the hills, the tribes recommenced their raids on the plains and on one another. Butler came to the conclusion that only a strong permanent post in the hills would effect any good. The Governor-General's Agent, however, preferred the plan of annual expeditions.

In 1846-7 Captain Butler again visited the Angamis, and the same farce of agreements, oaths, and presents was gone through. As the result of this tour a road was opened from Mohung Dijooa to Samoogoodting, a new stockade and grain godowns were erected at Demapore, and a market established at Samoogoodting. With reference to this last measure Captain Butler remarked that he had placed it in charge of a Sezawal named Bhogchand *with authority over the whole Angami tribe*, because he had been ordered to do so, but he saw little chance of the villagers supplying the post voluntarily.

Bhogchand Darogah

Bhogchand appears to have been a man of much personal bravery, with but little discretion. He had brought himself first to the notice of Government in 1847 through the bold and skilful manner in which he brought away a small party of Shan sepoy who had been set upon by overwhelming numbers of Nagas in the hills. He appeared from his nerve and fearlessness to be well qualified to hold charge of the new advanced post, and at first all went satisfactorily. As the first effect of its occupation over a thousand Nagas visited

Nowgong to trade in 1848. Unfortunately Bhogchand was not content to let well alone. He was ambitious of quelling by direct interference the internecine quarrels of the clans, and was constantly urging the establishment of advanced posts. At length he succeeded in getting leave to place a guard in the village of Mozemah which was apprehensive of an attack from the neighbouring community of Konemah.

Before he set out for this duty, some time in April 1849, a letter was received by him from one Huri Das, Cachari, calling himself a darogah of the Manipuri Government, saying that 'certain Angami Nagas' had attacked a Manipuri village, and calling on him to arrest the culprits. Captain Butler, to whom the matter was referred, as no village of Angamis was named, told Bhogchand to go to Beremah, which was near where Huri Das was supposed to be, to confer with him; but as Huri Das was a doubtful character, having been in Nowgong jail in 1843, on suspicion of having assisted Konemah to attack Mozemah, a reference was made to Manipur about him.

Captain McCulloch, the Agent there, replied (13th May 1849) that Huri Das had certainly been in the employ of Manipur, but being sometime before suspected of malpractices had been summoned to the capital, an order which he had evaded. Captain McCulloch suspected that Huri Das had himself instigated Konemah to attack Mozemah. He said there was no regular agent of Manipur on the Frontier. Emissaries from the capital were sometimes sent out, but made no permanent stay. Bhogchand, nevertheless, set out to meet Huri Das, taking Mozemah on his way. The two Chiefs of this village, Nilholy and Jubeelee, were at feud about land, and Jubeelee had (it appeared) been aided by Cacharis sent by Huri Das. Nilholy, on the other hand, had been helped by the Konemah people. One of Jubeelee's adherents had lately been killed.

On Bhogchand's arrival both Chiefs met him, and, in compliance with his orders, built the stockade for the new post. Bhogchand then insisted on Nilholy's pointing out those of his followers who had killed Jubeelee's man, and when they were pointed out, he at once arrested the offenders. Nilholy upon this left the village in dudgeon. Bhogchand, to be strictly impartial, next arrested seven Cacharis of Jubeelee's party and disarmed them, and started to escort his captives to Samoogoodting. Bhogchand had a firm belief

in the prestige of a British constable, and conducted the whole of the proceedings exactly as he would have done those in a case of riot on the plains. The Nagas at first seem to have been stunned by what must have appeared to them his sublime audacity. But at night both parties, Nilholy's and Jubeelee's, united to attack him at Prephemah where he had encamped; and his guard running away, Bhogchand fell pierced by spears. It was afterwards stated that he had neglected all ordinary precautions, disbelieving utterly in the possibility of the Nagas venturing to attack him. It was also asserted that he had not been altogether clean-handed in his dealings with the clans; but he was undoubtedly a brave man, and fell in attempting the impossible task of controlling a horde of savages with a handful of nervous policemen, for the Shan sepoy who formed his guard were merely an armed police.

Government Orders an Expedition

The Governor-General's Agent now reported to Government that if we wished to recover our influence in the hills, we must systematically burn granaries and crops to enforce our demands for the surrender of those concerned in Bhogchand's murder. This was the Manipuri plan, and the Nagas thought much better of them than of us. We marched up the hills, held big talks, and marched back again. No one could stand against us, it is true, but we never did much damage, all the same. The orders of Government on this affair were these:

'The President in Council has learnt with much regret the failure of the endeavours, which have been so long and perseveringly made, to induce the Naga tribes to live quietly and peaceably, as evidenced by the deadly feuds reported still to exist among themselves, and by the recent acts of atrocity committed by some of them upon officers and subjects of our Government. His Honour in Council is so strongly impressed with a conviction of the absolute necessity which exists for the adoption of the most stringent and decisive measures in regard to these barbarous tribes, in order to deter them from a repetition of these outrages upon our people, that he is willing to leave a very wide discretion in your [Captain Jenkins'] hands as to the steps to be taken during the approaching cold season.

‘The Government of India has certainly been always most averse to resort to such extreme measures, as burning villages, destroying crops, granaries, and the like; and as respects these Naga tribes in particular, very great forbearance has been shewn. For some years a policy, entirely conciliatory in its character, has been adopted towards them; unceasing efforts have been made to induce them to live on terms of amity with each other, and to refrain from committing those horrible acts of cruelty to which they were known to be addicted. These efforts, however, seem unhappily to have been quite unproductive of any good result; and the recent murder of one of our police officers in the execution of his duty, followed up as it has been by a deliberate attack on one of our frontier posts, in which two police sepoyes have been killed, has rendered it imperatively necessary, in the opinion of the President in Council, that immediate and severe measures should be resorted to, in order to convince the tribes that such acts of outrages cannot be committed with impunity. His Honour in Council desires, however, that the officer who may be entrusted with the execution of such measures during the next few months should receive from yourself specific instructions for his guidance. The discretion which the Government is willing to place in your hands should not be delegated by you to others except on very emergent grounds. As far as it may be possible so to arrange, no village should be burnt, nor the crops of any village destroyed, except those which you may yourself point out to be so dealt with, in the event of a non-compliance by the clans to whom they belong with the demands which you may consider it necessary to make upon them for the surrender of those who are known to have been concerned in the recent attacks upon our subjects.’

Vincent's Expedition, November 1849

An expedition was accordingly dispatched to avenge Bhogchand's death, and plenary powers of granary burning, in case of armed resistance, were, under a liberal interpretation of the Government sanction, confided to it by the Governor-General's Agent. In December 1849 it set out, but the Officer in command fell ill. A friendly village which it occupied was burnt while the troops were attacking another not far off, and the detachment had to make a

hurried retreat. The Nagas celebrated the occasion by a series of raids all round the border. Indications were not wanting that other tribes were becoming uneasy, and that vague feeling of trouble in the air well known to Frontier Officers began to make itself felt. Manipur was said to be fomenting disturbance by underhand intrigue. Shans of various septs were wandering about the hills. The need of strong measures of repression was very clearly marked.

Nearly all the local officers at this time considered that the only plan likely to succeed with the Angamis was boldly to enter their hills, locate an officer in charge of them, enable him to establish a chain of posts across the country, and give him an armed levy of 500 men to maintain order.

Vincent's Second Expedition, March 1850

Early in March 1850 Lieutenant Vincent returned to the hills, re-captured Mozemah and burnt down part of Konemah. He established himself in a stockade at Mozemah and remained there during the rains, punishing villages round about which had been concerned in outrages, and receiving the submission of some of the Chiefs; but after holding his own for some months, the steady hostility of the Nagas became so formidable that he felt compelled to concentrate all his forces at Mozemah itself, and to call for assistance from the plains. Major Jenkins ordered up a strong force with guns, to march as soon as the road was fit.

Government approved of this, as Lieutenant Vincent was in danger; but pointed out how the situation falsified the sanguine predictions of the easy conquest of the hills in which some officers had indulged. It ordered that, after a blow had been struck, the Chiefs should be called together, and the position Government meant to hold towards them clearly explained. What this position should be it called on the Commissioner to report, suggesting at the same time that all the recent hostility had arisen from our interfering in the internal feuds of the tribes.

Lieutenant Vincent submitted a very good report on his first and second expeditions, and on the whole Angami question. He showed that in every Angami village, there were two parties, one attached to the interest of Manipur and the other to the British, but each

only working for an alliance to get aid in crushing the opposite faction. The hope of getting help from Manipur against us, and their inability to understand how Manipur was under our influence, had led to so much protracted fighting. Even now, though aid was not openly given by the Raja, no doubt Manipuris helped the tribes, and were found in the hills from time to time. The attacks on our villages, so far as could be traced, were always made by the Manipuri factions, and never by those who looked to us for alliance. Any English officer entering the hills and taking up his post at a Naga village was looked on merely as the ally of the Teppremah or Assamese faction, and not as the representative of any paramount power. Hence an officer establishing himself should take up an independent post and not locate himself in a Naga village. Besides the 'grand clans' in each village, there were in each portion many sub-divisions adhering to one side or the other; hence indiscriminate burnings of villages should be avoided as injuring friends as well as foes.

Tenth Expedition, 1850

Meantime in December 1850, the tenth Naga expedition left to relieve Lieutenant Vincent. After with difficulty capturing a strong Naga fort at Konemah and fighting a bloody battle against great masses of the tribes at Kekremah, the troops were eventually in March 1851 withdrawn from the hills. In 1851 no fewer than 22 Naga raids were reported, in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 taken captive. It is true only 3 of these raids were positively traced to Angamis, but they were most of them committed in North Cachar by Naga tribes who must almost certainly have been Angamis.

Policy Now Laid Down—Non-Interference

Immediately after the capture of the stockade above Konemah the Commissioner of Assam submitted his views as to the future policy to be pursued towards the Angamis. He admitted that it was now practicable to withdraw our troops from the hills without detriment to our military reputation, but he feared that such quick

withdrawal would involve the certain destruction of the friendly clan of Mozemah, unless the Manipuris, of whose secret aid to the hostile Nagas he entertained no doubt, could be restrained from aiding them further. If this could not be done, he apprehended that, after the annihilation of Jubeelee's clan, which would be the last blow to our authority in the hills, the most daring outrages would be committed upon our villages throughout 200 miles of frontier, as no system of defensive posts could possibly restrain an enemy to whom every mountain torrent was a highway, and no forests, however dense, were impassable.

He also represented that, now that the leading traits of the Angami character had been ascertained, we might by gradual means take advantage of them to effect a progressive reform. Though wild, bold, and ruthless, the savages we now knew were very intelligent and exceedingly anxious for traffic and gain. This disposition had hitherto manifested itself only in the trade they carried on in slaves, for obtaining which they committed most of their depredations, but recently they had commenced a more beneficial barter, exchanging articles of their own produce for the necessaries and luxuries to be obtained in our markets; and this spirit the Agent expected could be turned to a profitable account if our connexion with them was not altogether stopped. He therefore suggested that the post at Mozemah should be retained experimentally for one year.

Captain Butler, the Principal Assistant at Nowgong, recommended an entirely different course. He urged the immediate and complete abandonment of the hills, our interference with the internal feuds of the enemy having in his opinion proved a complete failure. Captain Butler stated that the Mozemah people had no further claims on our protection, having been reinstated in their village, and the fortified post of their enemies having been effectually destroyed. Lieutenant Vincent, the Junior Assistant, urged the policy of retaining our control over the hills.

After a full consideration of these several proposals, the course recommended by Captain Butler was adopted by the President in Council, and the troops were directed to be withdrawn to Demapore, the friendly clan of Mozemah being offered the option of remaining at Mozemah, relying solely on their own strength, or of taking refuge in our territory.

Lord Dalhousie's Minute

'I concur in the conclusion to which the Hon'ble the President in Council has come respecting the relations to be maintained with the Angami Nagas, and consider that His Honour has judged wisely in directing the withdrawal of the force which has been sent, and of the post which has been established in advance in that country.

'I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended of what is called obtaining a control, that is to say, of taking possession of these hills, and of establishing our sovereignty over their savage inhabitants. Our possession could bring no profit to us, and would be as costly to us as it would be unproductive. The only advantage which is expected from our having possession of the country by those who advocate the measure is the termination of the plundering inroads which the tribes now make from the hills on our subjects at the foot of them. But this advantage may more easily, more cheaply, and more justly be obtained by refraining from all seizure of the territory of these Nagas, and by confining ourselves to the establishment of effective means of defence on the line of our own frontier.

'I cannot, for a moment, admit that the establishment of such a line of frontier defence is impracticable. Major Jenkins describes the troops who compose the Militia and the Police as active, bold, and hardy. With such materials as these, there can be no impossibility, nor even difficulty in establishing effective lines of frontier defence, if the plan is formed by Officers of capacity, and executed by Officers of spirit and judgement. This opinion is not given at random. The peace and security preserved on other portions of the frontier of this Empire, where the extent is greater and the neighbouring tribes far more formidable, corroborate the opinion I have given.

'As it is impolitic to contemplate the permanent possession of these hills, so it seems to me impolitic to sanction a temporary occupation of them. We have given our aid to the friendly tribe and replaced them in their villages. We have destroyed the military works and have "broken and dispirited" their enemies. I can see, therefore, no injustice or impropriety in leaving that tribe to maintain the ground which is now its own.

‘Our withdrawal now, under the circumstances above described, when our power has been vindicated, our enemies dispersed, and our friends re-established, can be liable to no misrepresentation, and can be attributed to no motive but the real one, namely, our desire to shew that we have no wish for territorial aggrandisement, and no designs on the independence of the Naga tribes.

‘And as there is, in my judgement, no good reason against our withdrawing, so there are good reasons why we should withdraw.

‘The position of the European Officer and of the troops during last season appeared to me far from satisfactory. I should be very reluctant to continue that state of things in another season. The troops so placed are isolated; they are dependent, as appears from Major Jenkins’ letter to Lieutenant Vincent, on the Naga tribes for their food, and for the carriage of supplies of every description; while Major Jenkins evidently has no great confidence that even the friendly tribe, for which we are doing all this, can be relied upon securely for supplying the food of the force which is fighting its battles.

‘For these reasons I think that the advanced post should be withdrawn now, at the time of our success, and when we have executed all we threatened. Hereafter we should confine ourselves to our own ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds or fights of these savages; encourage trade with them as long as they are peaceful towards us; and rigidly exclude them from all communication either to sell what they have got, or to buy what they want if they should become turbulent or troublesome.

‘These are the measures which are calculated to allay their natural fears of our aggression upon them, and to repel their aggression on our people. These will make them feel our power both to repel their attacks and to exclude them from advantages they desire, far better, at less cost, and with more justice, than by annexing their country openly by a declaration, or virtually by a partial occupation.

‘With respect to the share the State of Manipur has borne in these transactions, I must observe that the reasoning by which Major Jenkins is led to assume that Manipur has been abetting the Nagas is loose in the extreme.

‘If, however, better proof of the fact be shown, and the complicity of Manipur either recently or hereafter shall be satisfactorily established, there can be no difficulty in dealing with it.

‘In such case it would be expedient to remind the Rajah of Manipur that the existence of his State depends on a word from the Government of India; that it will not suffer his subjects, either openly or secretly, to aid and abet the designs of the enemies of this Government; and that if he does not at once control his subjects and prevent their recurrence to any unfriendly acts, the word on which the existence of his State depends will be spoken, and its existence will be put an end to.

‘The increase of Police which is asked should be granted, and Major Jenkins should be desired to submit his scheme of frontier posts when it is prepared, together with a map showing its disposition.

‘In conclusion I would observe that I have seen nothing in these papers to change the unfavourable opinion I expressed of the conduct of affairs relative to the Angami Nagas, as it appeared in the documents previously transmitted to me.’

Officer Appointed to Check Nagas from North Cachar

In 1853 the Government consented to appoint a European Officer to the charge of North Cachar, to protect our villages there from the inroads of the wilder tribes, and soon after the tract held by Tularam’s sons was annexed in consequence of their fighting with the Nagas, Lord Dalhousie remarking that he would rather have nothing to do with these jungles, but to occupy the country was in this instance better than to let it alone.

In 1854 a Manipuri force invaded the Angami Hills, and twenty-two villages sent deputies to beg our interference and protection. But the Government now held that it was not justified in calling upon Manipur to abstain from working its will among these tribes, as they were not under our protection.

Persistence in Policy of Non-Interference

The repeated efforts of the local Officers to induce Government to take once more a direct part in hill management were sternly repressed. The line of out-posts which it had been proposed to

occupy was contracted. Punitive expeditions for recent outrages were discouraged unless the punishment could be inflicted with certainty and at once. . . . At one time it was proposed by the local Officers, almost despairingly, to abandon North Cachar itself, as there seemed to be no hope of effectually protecting it without the employment of means which the Government would not sanction.

The Supreme Government was not, however, to be moved from its resolve, even though the Court of Directors expressed a strong opinion that the policy of absolute withdrawal would only encourage the tribes to advance, and become more positively aggressive. The Directors would have preferred the plan of settling, between our villages and the Nagas, colonies of Kookies and other self-reliant races as buffers—a plan of which some trial had already been made. They suggested also the enlistment of Angamis in the military police. This last idea had also been tried without much success. The hillmen could not be induced to remain long under discipline; of 37 Angami recruits the average service proved to be only eight months.

The non-interference policy was maintained, and the raids went on, until at length in 1862 the Commissioner was constrained to report:

‘It is not creditable to our Government that such atrocities should recur annually with unvarying certainty, and that we should be powerless alike to protect our subjects or to punish the aggressors. It is quite certain that our relations with the Nagas could not possibly be on a worse footing than they are now. The non-interference policy is excellent in theory, but Government will probably be inclined to think that it must be abandoned.’

Sir Cecil Beadon's Policy, 1862

A new Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon) had then succeeded to office, and he reviewed afresh the whole question of the treatment of these tribes. He dissented from the policy of interdicting them from trade, which had of late years been usual. It was, he thought, not only unsound in itself, but it was a policy which, in regard to a country situated as is that of the Angami Nagas, it was impossible to carry out. He directed that an Officer subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong should be placed in

immediate communication with the Nagas. The Chiefs on the border were to be informed that Government looked to them to be responsible for the good behaviour of their villages, and annual stipends for this Police duty would be paid to them so long as they performed it well. Written agreements were to be taken to this effect and annual presents interchanged. The Officer to be appointed to this duty was further ordered to decide any disputes voluntarily referred to him, but not to interfere in internal affairs, at any rate for the present.

Some delay occurred in bringing this policy into actual operation, owing to official changes among the local officers and the successive representations of conflicting views. It came, however, in the course of the next year or two to be recognized that there were the following three distinct lines of policy open, and each had its defenders :

1. We might abandon North Cachar and all the hill tracts inhabited by Nagas, and strictly enforce the non-interference policy of 1851.

2. We might advance into the hills, place special officers in charge, and maintain them there by force of arms.

3. We might, while confining ourselves to the plains, cultivate political relations with the neighbouring clans and bring their Chiefs into stipendiary police relations to ourselves. (This was Sir Cecil Beadon's original scheme of 1862.)

Nothing decisive was done for over two years or until further raids in March and April 1866 forced upon Government a definite settlement of the question. Lieutenant Gregory, an officer of much tact and energy, was at that time in charge of North Cachar, and he reported that, unless he were allowed to adopt more vigorous measures than were permitted to his predecessors, he could not guarantee the safety of his Sub-Division. Still the Commissioner, possibly because he saw no alternative between absolute conquest and absolute non-interference, proposed to abandon the whole hill tract to its fate ; or at least to close the Dwaras to all Naga trade ; and it became necessary for the Lieutenant-Governor to give decisive orders.

Sir Cecil Beadon insisted accordingly on a fair trial being given to the policy sketched out by him in 1862, remarking that if the policy indicated in 1862 had been carried out in the spirit in which

it was conceived, there was every reason to suppose these outrages would not have occurred. Two years and a half had been allowed to elapse, and nothing had yet been done to give effect to the orders of Government, and though these orders were peremptorily repeated in a subsequent letter, dated 30th July 1863, they had apparently received no attention whatever. The proposal to recede before these wild tribes and fall back from their neighbourhood whenever they chose to annoy us, was one which the Lieutenant-Governor could not for a moment entertain. The practical effect of such a measure would be that in the course of a few years Assam would be divided amongst the Bhutias, Abors, Nagas, Garos, Mishmis, and other wild tribes; for exposed as Assam is on every side, if petty outrages were to be followed by withdrawal of our frontier, we should very speedily find ourselves driven out of the province.

Colonel Hopkinson's Proposal to Post an Officer in the Hills

In reply to this the Commissioner entered into an elaborate review of our position in regard to North Cachar and the Nagas, denying that he was himself decidedly averse to taking a more direct control of the country. He, however, pointed out that the democratic nature of the tribal arrangements among the Angamis, the infinite divisions and disputes existing even in a single village, rendered it impossible to hope for success from the policy of conciliation *ab extra* proposed by the Government. He admitted that no system of frontier military defence that could be devised would secure perfect immunity from raids. A country void of roads, void of supplies,—a country of interminable hills, of vast swamps covered with dense forest, save where here and there a speck in the ocean of wilderness reveals a miserable Mikir or Cachari clearance, could not possibly be defended at every point against a foe for whom hill and swamp and forest are resources rather than obstacles.

From 1854 to 1865 there had been nineteen Angami raids, in which 232 British subjects had been killed, wounded, or carried off. Ninety-two of these unfortunates had been so lost during three years (1854–6), when a chain of outposts was in existence from Borpathar to Assaloo connected by roads which were regularly

patrolled. 'At most we should be able to keep the raids of such savages below a certain maximum, and prevent their extension to settled districts.' The settlement of a trade blockade, the Commissioner maintained, was advantageous when it could be made practically complete, and so far as it was complete; but none of these schemes would secure the peace of the frontier. They had all been tried and found wanting. If Government were prepared to consider a more advanced policy he was ready to show how it could best be carried out. He would depute a specially qualified Officer to proceed with a force of not less than 200 men, and effect a permanent lodgment in the country at a point most convenient for keeping open communication and procuring supplies. This Officer would then invite the Chiefs to submit themselves to us. Those who agreed would, as a token of submission, pay an annual tribute, and in return receive our aid and protection; while those who refused would be told that we would leave them to themselves so long as they kept the peace towards us and those who submitted themselves to us.

The Commissioner now suggested that Lieutenant Gregory should occupy Samoogoodting, the post formerly held by Bhogchand Darogah, in the way above described. The following was Lieutenant Gregory's own idea of how his operations should be conducted:

He was totally averse to any attempt to subdue the country. It could only be done at great expense, and would require a strong force to hold it. It would be further embarking on an unknown sea, for we knew nothing of the tribes beyond the Angamis, except that they are fierce and warlike; so that it would be well our acquaintance with them should be made gradually and peacefully, which it is most certain would not be the case if we began by annexing the Angami country *vi et armis*.

He would advance step by step, yearly opening out a good road as he went, never getting in advance of the road, and never in advance of ground he was not sure of, until he reached the very centre of the most thickly-populated part of the country. There, clear of any village but that of his own hewers of wood and drawers of water, on the slopes of what is described as a most beautiful country, fertile to a degree, finely wooded with oak and beech and fir, and well watered, he would build the permanent station.

The Bengal Government Proposal

The way in which the Lieutenant-Governor received these proposals will be best seen by the following extract from his letter to the Government of India in regard to them :

In regard to the policy to be pursued towards the Angami Nagas, the Lieutenant-Governor is clearly of opinion that the abandonment of the position we held previously to 1854, and the withdrawal of our line of frontier posts to the left bank of the Dhunsiri is proved, by the events which have since occurred, to have been a grave mistake, and that the only course left us consistently with the duty we owe to the inhabitants of the adjoining frontier districts as well as to the Angami Nagas themselves, who are torn by intestine feuds for want of a government, and unable to exercise any general self-control, or to restrain independent action on the part of any village or even of a section of any of the numerous villages inhabited by the tribe, is to re-assert our authority over them, and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances, and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization.

These Angami Nagas are frequently mentioned in the correspondence of late years as independent Nagas, and a distinction is made between the tract they inhabit and British territory, as if the former were not included in the latter. But for this distinction there is no real ground. The treaties with Burmah and Manipur recognize the Patkoi and Burreil ranges of hills running in a continuous line from the sources of the Dehing in the extreme east of Assam to those of the Dhunsiri in North Cachar as the boundary between those countries and British India. There is no intermediate independent territory, and while the wild tribes who inhabit the southern slopes of those ranges are subject to Burmah and Manipur, those who inhabit the northern slopes are subject to the British Government. These latter, including the Angami Nagas, are independent only in the sense that the British Government has refrained from reducing them to practical subjection, and has left them, except at occasional intervals, entirely to themselves; but they have never enjoyed or acquired political or territorial independence; and it is clearly open to the British Government in point of right, as it is

incumbent on it in good policy, to exercise its sovereign power by giving them the benefit of a settled administration.

This is the course advocated by all the local authorities, and it is the one which the Lieutenant-Governor strongly recommends as the only means of establishing peace in this part of the frontier, and of putting an end to the atrocities which have prevailed more or less for the last thirty years, and which a policy of non-interference and purely defensive action is now found to be wholly inadequate to prevent. Even if the right of the British Government were less clear than it is, the existence on its border of a savage and turbulent tribe, unable to restrain its members from the commission of outrages, given up to anarchy, and existing only as a pest and nuisance to its neighbours, would justify the Government in the adoption of any measures for bringing it under subjection and control.

North Cachar

The Lieutenant-Governor therefore proposes to direct Lieutenant Gregory to remove his head-quarters from Assaloo to Samoogoodting, to abolish Assaloo as a sub-division, apportioning a part among the districts of South Cachar, the Cossya and Jynteah Hills, and Nowgong, and constituting the remainder lying on the right bank of the Dhunsiri, together with the Angami Naga Hills and the country on both banks of the River Doyeng (a tributary of the Dhunsiri) a separate district, to be administered by Lieutenant Gregory as Deputy Commissioner, under the direct orders of the Commissioner, and no longer dependent on the District of Nowgong.

The orders of the Government of India thereon were as follows :

Orders of the Government of India

With reference to various passages of your letter under reply, indicating a desire to bring the whole country of the Angami Nagas at once under the subjection of the British Government, I am desired to observe that such a policy is more than the local officers recommend, or the Government of India is prepared to sanction. Colonel

Hopkinson appears to agree entirely in Lieutenant Gregory's proposals, and the only instance in which the latter officer contemplates any assertion of actual authority over the Nagas is that of the villagers of Samoogoodting who are said to have been always friendly to us, and to be really anxious for our re-occupation of their territory. Lieutenant Gregory's object is from his position at Samoogoodting and by the exhibition to the other Nagas of the kindly relations subsisting between the Samoogoodting people and himself, gradually to win the confidence and friendship of the neighbouring villages and so, village by village, to bring the whole Naga country under control, but he deprecates strongly any attempt to do this by force, he is 'totally averse to any attempt to subdue the country'. This, I am to intimate, is the policy which commends itself to the approval of the Governor-General in Council.

Lieutenant Gregory may take up the proposed position at Samoogoodting, and do his best by tact and good management, supported by a moderate display of physical force, to bring that portion of the hill tract adjacent to the plains into order. He will remember that our main object in having any dealings with the hill people is to protect the low lands from their incursions. Instead, therefore, of exerting himself to extend our rule into the interior, he will rather refrain from such a course. Subject to this general principle, his line of action may advantageously be left in great measure to his own good judgement. A conciliatory demeanour will of course be indispensable, and perhaps the expenditure of a little money to leading men will be useful. When conciliation fails, punitive measures will not be shrunk from. In some instances a blockade of the passes, so as to exclude the offending tribe or village from our bazaars, may be attended with good results. But in all cases the great point will be to select a penalty suitable to the circumstances of the particular affair. Where roads are necessary, they must be constructed in a simple and inexpensive manner, just sufficient for the opening of the country to the extent actually required.

Should the plan thus sketched succeed, and the hillmen be gradually reclaimed to our rule and civilized, without much cost to the British Treasury in the process, it will be a good work well accomplished. But His Excellency in Council cannot admit that we are bound to attempt more in their behalf than the resources of the empire can reasonably afford.

The Secretary of State cordially approved of all that had been done.

It will be seen that the Supreme Government gave no sanction to a gradual occupation of the Naga Hills, such as the Commissioner certainly contemplated, and the Bengal Government desired, but merely allowed the establishment of a strong central station, the officer in charge of which was to endeavour to maintain conciliatory intercourse with the Nagas.

Lieutenant Gregory Occupies Samoogoodting

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed statement of the mode in which the arrangements thus approved were carried out. Lieutenant Gregory was ordered to establish himself at Samoogoodting. Assaloo, in North Cachar, was abandoned, save by a small Police guard. A road was opened from Demapore to the new station. A compact force of 150 Police, all hillmen and well armed, was placed at Lieutenant Gregory's disposal. Large discretionary powers were entrusted to him of proceeding summarily against villages concerned in any gross outrage, and a rough system of judicial procedure was laid down. The Manipuris were not to be allowed any longer to make retaliatory expeditions into the Naga Hills. Measures to redress any outrages committed by Angamis in Manipur were to be taken in concert with Lieutenant Gregory. This was not, of course, to prevent Manipuri troops from following up and punishing any marauding party they fell in with in their own territory. All Angami Nagas visiting the plains of Assam were to be furnished with passes, by Lieutenant Gregory, as they passed through Samoogoodting, where they were also to leave their spears.

Razepemah Raids

At the very time of the change of policy thus inaugurated, in January 1866, the Nagas of the village of Razepemah cut up a Mikir village in North Cachar. In March Lieutenant Gregory made a dash with a little force of Police and burnt Razepemah to the ground.

In June the Razepemah men, to retrieve their honour, made a raid and butchered twenty-six Mikirs in the village of Sergamcha. The rains prevented any immediate steps being taken to avenge this outrage. But it was determined that, as soon as Lieutenant Gregory had fairly established himself in the hills, a salutary lesson should be given to the Razepemah community, while an amnesty for the past was extended to all others. This was accordingly done. Razepemah was levelled to the ground; its lands declared barren and desolate for ever; and its people, on their making complete submission, were distributed throughout other communities.

The occupation of Samoogoodting was followed by the opening of a school and dispensary, the extension of trade and construction of roads to the plains. A plan was also sanctioned of receiving at Samoogoodting residentiary delegates from the various communities, to whom small stipends were allowed for acting as interpreters and messengers to their respective clans.

Internecine Feuds of the Tribes

The permanent establishment of a British Officer in the Angami Naga country had the effect for a time of stopping the annual raids upon British territory, and the tours of Gregory and his successor Captain Butler greatly extended our knowledge of the tribes and convinced them of the peaceable character of our intentions towards them. The Naga question was not however yet by any means finally settled. More intimate relations with the hillmen revealed more clearly than ever the wretched state of inter-tribal warfare which prevailed. . . .

Captain Butler Presses for a Bolder Policy

Captain Butler, the Deputy Commissioner, whose title was in 1872 changed to that of Political Agent, had for some time past been urging upon Government the adoption of a bolder policy with reference to these tribes. He begged to be allowed to step in as authoritative arbiter between the clans, believing that he could with a moderate

show of force support his position and reduce the refractory to order. The Bengal Government was not unwilling to allow Butler to try the effect of mediation in stopping feuds between hostile villages, but neither the Local nor the Supreme Government was as yet prepared to undertake the complete administration of the Naga Hills. In March 1871, when reporting on raids said to have been committed by Nagas in Manipur, Captain Butler had offered to assume the direct management of the tribes, if a moderate increase were made in his armed Police. In forwarding this report Colonel Hopkinson, the Commissioner, wrote :

‘Before embarking on such an enterprise, I must say I would prefer to push non-interference to the utmost verge of forbearance, though it may be that I hardly hope for any other advantage from it than may result from the conviction it is likely sooner or later to bring, that interference is unavoidable, and being unavoidable, that a thorough business should be made of it when once it is taken in hand.

‘It is certain that our actual position with respect to the Naga tribes is most unsatisfactory, and that the complications arising from it are increasing in seriousness and magnitude. The prevention of their raids into North Cachar is no longer our chief concern. There is first the much greater difficulty, as this letter shows, that has arisen in keeping the peace between the Angamis and the Manipuris. I am satisfied that the Manipuris will spare no intrigue that may serve to foment disturbances along the boundary, to the recent settlement of which they have shown themselves so much averse, and, apart from their possible intrigues, they seem to have a right to attach responsibility for the conduct of those tribes over whom we refuse to allow them control.

‘I very much fear that affairs cannot remain as they now are, and that we shall be obliged to decide shortly whether we are to advance to the occupation of Naga Hills, or retire, letting the Manipuris complete the conquest of the Angamis on their side, and on ours withdrawing our frontier to a safe distance from the incursions of the tribes. As to the adoption of this latter course, I would only say that it seems like an abandonment of our duty, and that it is uncertain whether, even in a remote province like Assam, we could afford to make so great an exhibition of our weakness. Neither, may I add, would such a measure of retreat be very easy of execution, nor the

cost of executing it inconsiderable so long as a line of frontier would have to be guarded.

‘On the other hand, I see no reason to doubt the feasibility of the occupation and thorough reduction to our control of the whole of the country by the same means as were successfully employed under the same circumstances in the Khasi Hills some forty years ago. With a fine body of infantry properly posted in it, strong supports below, and a good military road traversing the entire country, there would probably be very soon an end of the Naga, as there has been an end of Khasi difficulty, and I am much mistaken if it will ever be perfectly solved in any other way.

‘In a subsequent letter Colonel Hopkinson asserted that the Government of India, by directing Lieutenant Gregory, on establishing himself at Samoogoodting, to refrain from any attempt to extend our direct rule, had entirely changed the character of the advance then contemplated by the local authorities. True, raiding upon the plains had for the time been stopped, but lawless violence was as rife as ever in the hills, and might at any moment spread over into the plains.’

Sir G. Campbell's Views of Policy

The Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Campbell, after much deliberation, came to the conclusion that the only satisfactory plan of dealing with the Naga tribes was to bring about gradually the establishment of political control and influence over them without any assertion of actual government. He proposed that this control should extend to the introduction of a sort of political police over the tribes. We were no longer to refuse to arbitrate between hostile clans, but to accept the position and, if need be, to enforce our awards. The Political Agent was to be removed to a more central site and authorized to keep the peace of the hills by the exercise of his influence, and if need be by the display of force. To enable him to give effect to this policy, extensive explorations were proposed, and the clear definition of boundary lines and local limits was postulated as essential to any proper working of the scheme. These views were in their broad outlines eventually accepted by the Supreme Government. The weaker villages very soon began to show

a desire to place themselves under our protection, and, although raids by one clan upon another continued to be reported, no hostility to the British officers was anywhere manifested.

In February 1874 the Naga Hills were made over to the charge of the newly-appointed Chief Commissioner of Assam. . . .

Extension of British Protectorate to Naga Villages

In the spring of 1874, Captain Johnstone, who was then officiating for Captain Butler at Samoogoodting, informed the Chief Commissioner that he had formally taken under our protection on payment of revenue two Naga villages which were in imminent danger of attack, and had ordered other hostile villages to leave them alone. He justified this action as the only one 'consistent with honour, justice, and sound policy'. In this view the Chief Commissioner agreed. He thought Captain Johnstone could not have allowed women and children who claimed his protection to be massacred almost within sight of his own bungalow.

Colonel Keatinge was fully aware of the importance of the precedent and of the responsibility we were incurring by assuming any such protectorate. But he thought that considerations of duty, of prestige, and of personal interest combined to force it upon us. The orders of Government upon his letter conveyed a very guarded approval of Captain Johnstone's action. The Supreme Government was not even yet prepared to assume the direct administration of the hills. But it clearly laid down the principle that absolute non-interference was not in all cases necessary, and that the acceptance of a protectorate might in some cases be justified by circumstances. This principle is one bearing so closely on our future dealings with the Nagas that I think it may be as well to quote the actual words. They were as follows :

'His Excellency in Council considers that Captain Johnstone ought not to have taken this step without consulting superior authority, unless, indeed, the necessity of protecting the villages was very urgent. And so far as the step, if approved, may involve us in the reduction of the country by degrees to a regular system of government regardless of expense, to that extent it certainly expresses a policy to which His Excellency in Council does not assent. Moreover,

you have described the complication into which the Government might be led by such proceedings and the inconvenient responsibilities that might arise out of it.

If such complications ensue, the Political Agent, whose action may have brought them to pass, will of course be liable to be called to account for his want of judgement and caution; and you will no doubt take some opportunity of intimating to the Political Agents in your province how far you intend them in future to use their discretion in such contingencies without first taking your orders.

'In regard, however, to the affair now reported, His Excellency in Council would, as it stands at present, desire to leave the management in your hands, to be conducted according to circumstances. His Excellency in Council does not understand that the affair must necessarily involve any question of large policy or definite acknowledgement of a principle so that it might be best to avoid the use of such formal terms as that of accepting from these Nagas 'their fealty as subjects of the Queen'. Our relations with these barbarous tribes will bear treating much more roughly and indefinitely. The Government of India have not hitherto objected to the establishment over the tracts bordering on British territory of so much influence as will enable our Political Officers to keep order on the frontier and to prevent raids on the British territory; and insomuch as such raids always grow out of turbulence and disorganization across the border, for that reason it is very essential to maintain peace within the scope of the Political Agent's influence on both sides of the frontier. Now the Government are aware that this influence cannot well be established without some kind of action or exercise of material authority. Captain Johnstone's act was an exercise of such authority, and the question for you to decide is, whether it was necessary for the maintenance of good order on the frontier, and also whether it was exercised with prudence and without greater risk than the object was worth. If you are of opinion that these villages are worth protecting in the interests of our own territory, that they can be conveniently and substantially protected, and that they are within easy range of your power to control, then Captain Johnstone's proceedings need not be disallowed. But if you think, after taking account of the localities and state of affairs, that the cost and consequence of this extension of our protectorate has been miscalculated, and that no adequate advantage is to be gained, in

that case you will possibly be obliged to take steps to withdraw from an embarrassing and perhaps untenable position. And I am to say distinctly that the Government of India would rather not extend their protecting obligations unless you are satisfied and can report that it is now necessary to uphold what has been already done.'

A few weeks after the dispatch of this letter news arrived that Captain Johnstone had taken a third village under his protection, and in submitting the administration report for the year that officer intimated that in his opinion the action taken by these villages was the beginning of a general voluntary submission on the part of the Nagas.

Change of Policy Proposed

The Chief Commissioner Colonel Keatinge, in March 1875, reopened the question of policy, advocating the gradual and systematic prosecution of the survey of the hills, not for mere purposes of exploration but as a continuation of our political occupation of the hills. In July 1875 he followed this up by recommending the transfer of the headquarters from Samoogoodting to Wokha. Colonel Keatinge pointed out that Samoogoodting was originally chosen as lying between the Naga villages of Mozemah, Konemah, and Jotsomah, and the plains of Nowgong, and it had effectually protected Nowgong from raids. He showed that in 1873 the Bengal Government was in favour of moving the officer in charge of the hills to a site more healthy and nearer to the chief Naga communities.

What was now especially required was a screen for Sebsaugor, and a move to Wokha would bring influence to bear on the Lhotas, Hathigorias, and neighbouring tribes who threaten that district. Though Wokha was further from the Angami Naga centres than Samoogoodting the road thence was easier. Samoogoodting would be kept up as an outpost, but was in any case too unhealthy for the permanent headquarters. The Government of India decided to await the result of the next season's survey operations before moving the headquarters of the district.

In November 1875 the Chief Commissioner reported that the number of Naga villages tendering revenue to our Political Officers was increasing. From villages within reach of Samoogoodting he had

ordered this to be accepted. From the more powerful and turbulent villages to the east such as Sepemah and Mozemah he had declined to receive revenue. The Government of India approved of his action, with a caution to the local officers about going too far. The policy laid down in 1874 was still to be maintained. During the cold weather of 1875-6 the survey went steadily on in the Hathigoria country, though encountered much opposition from the tribes.

Death of Butler

In December 1875 Captain Butler, the Deputy Commissioner, who was singularly qualified to acquire influence over these tribes, and was a most able and enthusiastic officer, was killed in an ambuscade at the village of Pangti, a Lhota Naga village not far from Wokha, while leading the survey party through the hills. Lieutenant Woodthorpe, who was in charge of the survey, promptly burnt Pangti, and the neighbouring villages remaining friendly, the work of the survey was carried on to completion. Although the weaker villages continued after this to seek our protection the leading villages of Mozemah and Konemah persistently held aloof.

Forward Policy Finally Resolved upon

In August 1876 the Chief Commissioner again drew attention to the continued aggressions of the Angamis, and specially of the villages of Konemah and Mozemah, upon Naga communities living under Manipur, and to the state of perpetual warfare in which they lived among themselves. No actual raids upon our villages in North Cachar had taken place of late, partly because the Kutcha Nagas usually submitted to Angami exactions, partly because they were able to shelter themselves behind the Kookies, whom the Angamis dared not touch; but from 1874 up to date six villages had been plundered, nine wholly or partially destroyed, and 334 persons killed, chiefly by Konemah and Mozemah.

Colonel Keatinge accordingly proposed to send the Political Officer, Mr Carnegie, with a strong escort in the cold season to meet

the Manipur Political Agent on the frontier and inquire into the state of matters and endeavour to pacify the tribes. The Government of India, while holding that measures to repress these outrages were certainly called for, decided in October 1876 to postpone any expedition until Lieutenant Colonel (lately Captain) Johnstone, an experienced frontier officer, who had just been appointed Agent in Manipur, had time to master recent local politics and confer with Mr Carnegy. Meantime Mr Carnegy was to use his influence to prevent outrage and push on road-making.

The Secretary of State, however, when the facts were reported home, deprecated any avoidable delay, remarking that no time should be lost in taking vigorous steps to prevent a repetition of these Naga outrages. Upon this authority was given to the Chief Commissioner to adopt any measures he might consider necessary 'for preventing future raids and exacting reparation for past outrages'.

Meantime, the Assam reports were full of accounts of raids by one Naga village on another, and at last in February 1877 the Mozemah people attacked the Cachari village of Gumaigaju within a short distance of Assaloo, formerly the headquarters of North Cachar. In this six men were killed, two wounded, and two guns carried off. Mozemah refused all reparation, and an expedition in force was arranged for the next cold season to settle the Angami question once for all.

Definite Orders as to Policy Issued

In June 1877 the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State on the subject of the policy to be followed in future in the Naga Hills. It was admitted that up to date the objects kept in view had merely been the peace of our own borders. No attempt had been made to civilize the Nagas, or maintain order among them, save so far as our own immediate interests were concerned. The local officers had all been anxious for authority to act as arbiters in inter-tribal feuds with power to enforce their awards, and the Governor-General in Council was now of opinion that the British Government was bound to acquire effective control and influence over a larger section of the hills.

It was proposed, therefore, to move the headquarters station to some locality in the interior of the hills, and to strengthen the administrative staff, so as to provide for the management, on the new and more active principles, of both the Eastern and Western tribes. The Secretary of State entirely agreed that the attitude of indifference to the internecine feuds and the raids of the Nagas on Manipur could no longer be maintained without discredit to British Administration.

Expedition of 1877-8

On the 6th December 1877 the Political Officer, Mr Carnegy, left Samoogoodting with the expedition. The force was commanded by Captain Brydon, and consisted of 196 rank and file of the 42nd Assam Light Infantry and 50 Police. The troops advanced on Mozemah on the morning of the 8th December. On the approach of the troops, the inhabitants of the village at once opened fire on them. The village was accordingly attacked and carried by assault, and the whole of it, with the exception of three or four houses, was burnt to the ground. This burning of the village was not intended. The Mozemah men, after having been driven out, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring jungles and hill crests, and did all they could to harass the troops by intermittent firing and frequent night attacks. They also adopted the tactics of operating in rear of the force and interrupting communication between it and Demapore, in the plains, on the road to Golaghat, at the same time frequently threatening Samoogoodting. An addition to the force employed was consequently deemed necessary to bring the expedition to a successful termination, and a reinforcement of 100 men from the 43rd Assam Light Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Macgregor, who was accompanied by Captain Williamson, the Inspector General of Police, was dispatched to the Naga Hills.

In the meantime, desultory fighting had been going on there, and finally, the Mozemah Nagas, being without food and shelter, and their village and all their stores of grain having been destroyed, made overtures for peace. These negotiations were, however, interrupted by the death of Mr Carnegy, the Political Officer, who was accidentally shot by one of his own sentries. On hearing of the

accident to Mr Carnegy, Captain Williamson hastened up from Samoogoodting, assumed charge of the Political Officer's duties, and commenced to settle the conditions to be imposed upon the Mozemah people. The following were the principal conditions :

1. That they should pay a fine of Rs 50.
2. That they should restore the arms and accoutrements of three constables who had been waylaid and also the contents of a plundered mail bag.
3. That they should surrender four of their own firearms.

Pardon was extended to Konemah and Jotsomah, on their Chiefs' formally tendering their submission.

These conditions were certainly lenient, but it was taken into consideration that an ample punishment had already been inflicted on the Mozemah people by the destruction of their houses and food-supply, and in the privations they had undergone, and it would have been futile, as well as inexpedient, to impose on them a heavy fine, which, all their property having been destroyed, they would not have been able to pay. It had not, however, been intended that Konemah and Jotsomah should have escaped comparatively scot-free. The omission to impose a fine upon these villages was due to the fact of Captain Williamson having no knowledge of the correspondence which had passed in connexion with the expedition. The requisite papers were not at hand in camp for reference, and Mr Carnegy was too ill to be consulted.

On the 18th January, the terms imposed upon Mozemah were fully complied with, and, peace being thus formally concluded, the expeditionary force fell back upon Samoogoodting on the 28th January.

Occupation of Kohimah

In March 1878 the Chief Commissioner reported that after personal exploration, he considered Kohimah the best site for the headquarters of the Political Officer, commanding, as it did, the principal Angami villages and the Manipur frontier line. Wokha was also to be occupied to control the Lhota country. Sixteen Naga villages had by this time accepted the British protectorate, thirteen of which paid a revenue of Rs 1,032. To protect them and maintain

order generally, a force of 450 armed police was considered requisite. It was anticipated that eventually we should, at Rs2 per house, draw a revenue of Rs26,000 from the Naga villages—Angamis (7,367 houses), Kutcha Nagas (1,286 houses), Rengma and Lhotas (number doubtful). But meantime a very heavy expenditure was unavoidable. Kohimah was occupied, without opposition, on the 14th November 1878.

In July 1878 the Government of India communicated to the new Chief Commissioner, Sir S. C. Bayley, its general views of the more forward policy advocated by Colonel Keatinge, and so far approved. It held that it was justifiable and should be systematically pursued, but at the same time enjoined caution in procedure, and the keeping in mind the object of securing a definite limit of administration and a fixed political boundary. Roads to open out the country were put in hand; and the Nagas began to come in from all sides tendering submission and promising to obey orders.

Mr Damant's Diaries

The diaries of Mr Damant, the Officer now in charge, were during the early part of 1879–80 full of encouragement; recording generally the arrival of deputations from distant villages with offers of submission, his efforts to prevent inter-tribal massacres, and his successful enforcement of fines and penalties on those villages which had been guilty of raiding in disobedience to his orders.

The first interruption to this peaceable state of affairs was in April 1879, when a policeman, who was (contrary to orders) singly escorting the mail-runner, was shot. It turned out that only one Naga was concerned in this murder, which was committed with a view of obtaining the policeman's rifle, but the mail-runner seized it, and pointed it at the Naga, who fled, while the runner proceeded with the mail to Piphimah. As the murderer failed to obtain the rifle, it was impossible to ascertain from what village he came, but representatives of all the principal villages in the neighbourhood came in and swore to their own being unconcerned in the matter.

It may be mentioned incidentally, as disclosing the relative value attached in these hills to arms and women respectively, that the same diary mentions Mr Damant's recovery from the people of one

village of the sum of Rs 80, which they had received as the price of an old musket stolen from Samoogoodting, and from another village of Rs 40, which they had received as the price of a Hathigoria woman whom they had captured and sold into slavery.

In May Mr Damant reported that the village of Konemah was acquiring arms and ammunition, and it subsequently appeared that the same information was given about the same time to the Political Agent at Manipur.

In June the attitude of Konemah was so decidedly threatening, that Mr Damant proposed to organize a hostile expedition against it after the rains; but even at this time Konemah was apparently divided against itself, for in his diary of the 11th June he reported that the Semmama Khel had sent their representative to declare that they would not assist the other Khels if they proved hostile to Government. In July the attitude of the village had so far changed that it quietly paid a fine which Mr Damant had inflicted on it, and in that month he reported it to be peaceably disposed, and that no hostile action would, he thought, be necessary.

From time to time Mr Damant reported that he had difficulty in procuring supplies, or rather in procuring carriage to bring in supplies, and this difficulty became so serious that in August the military authorities found it necessary to send up a special officer to arrange for the storing of adequate supplies for the military in the stockade.

Indications of Pending Trouble

There were not wanting at this time indications of an unfriendly if not absolutely of a hostile spirit on the part of the Nagas, but though it is easy to put this interpretation on them in the light of subsequent events, Mr Damant did not so interpret them at the time. Such petty insults as throwing stones at the stockade were attributed to the natural insolence of savages, which it was not necessary to notice. Late in September there was, it is said, an abortive demonstration made against the stockade at Piphimah. But this could not have been very serious, as it was not reported by Mr Damant, and no details were ever communicated to the Chief Commissioner.

It is quite evident that Mr Damant had no suspicion of there being anything to fear from the attitude of the Nagas at this time. In the beginning of October he went down with an escort of only ten policemen to visit Piphimah, Samoogoodting, and Demapore, and to bring up Captain Reid and the detachment of the 43rd; he also planned a lengthened expedition into the Hathigoria country to the eastward; but before carrying out this expedition, which involved taking with him as escort a considerable proportion of the Kohima garrison, he determined to ascertain the real intentions of those villages the attitude of which he had most reason to doubt. On the 11th October he wrote—'I intend starting on Monday for Jotsomah, Konemah, and Mozemah, as I want to find out what disposition they are in before starting for the Hathigorias.'

Mr Damant's Murder

On Monday, the 13th October, Mr Damant set out on his expedition accompanied by an escort of 21 military and 65 police. He halted for the night at Jotsomah, and thence obtained coolies to carry on the baggage of the party to Konemah. Before starting the next morning he was warned by a Jotsomah interpreter that the Konemah men meant mischief. One of the escort afterwards narrates that 'the interpreter begged Mr Damant not to go on, and on several occasions fell in front of the Political Officer and caught him by the hand, beseeching him not to proceed, but Mr Damant replied that there was no danger'.

On arriving at the foot of the hill, on the summit of which stood the strongly fortified village of Konemah, Mr Damant left his baggage and half his escort, and with the other half of the party advanced up the steep pathway leading to the place. This pathway is described as having a precipice on one side, and a high wall, which was lined by the young men of the village, on the other. The gate was found to be closed, and while Mr Damant stood before it, with no advanced guard and all his escort clubbed together, a single shot was first fired at him, striking him in the head, and then a volley was fired into the escort, who endeavoured as best they could to escape and join the baggage-guard below. The Nagas swarmed out and

succeeded in dispersing the troops, who broke up and attempted to return to Kohimah in twos and threes. The Jotsomah men joined in the attack, and the Chetonoma khel of Kohimah came out to cut off their retreat. Ultimately, of the 65 police who accompanied Mr Damant 25 were found to be killed or missing, and 14 more were wounded, and of the 20 military 10 were killed and 5 wounded. Three domestic servants who accompanied the party were also killed.

The news of the disaster reached Kohimah the same afternoon, and preparations were at once commenced in expectation of an immediate attack. The force there consisted of about 100 police, 32 of whom were recruits, and 80 military; and the civil charge of the garrison devolved on Mr Cawley, District Superintendent of Police. A message was at once sent to Wokha, a distance of 57 miles, and Mr Hinde, the Extra-Assistant Commissioner in charge, taking 40 sepoy, his whole available force, and 22 police, reached Kohimah on the 19th. Mr Hinde's action in himself going to the rescue was, under the circumstances, eminently courageous, and his march was exceedingly well executed. He managed, by marching through hostile villages at night, and by coming through the village of Kohimah instead of by the regular road, to bring in his small but welcome reinforcement without the loss of a man. Messengers were also sent to Samoogoodting, but these never arrived.

The Nagas made hostile demonstrations against Kohimah on the 16th and 17th, but did not commence any serious attack till the 21st. Thereupon a sortie was made under Native officers, in which the garrison lost two men killed and four wounded. On the 23rd the Nagas succeeded in establishing themselves close to the stockade, and attacked it with some persistence, but without doing serious damage; and on the 24th, having apparently heard that help was coming from Manipur, they commenced to treat. They offered the garrison a safe conduct to Samoogoodting, and the defenders, who were very sorely pressed for want of food and water, were glad of the respite which the negotiations gave them, but it became clear that their enemies were not acting in good faith, and, had they accepted the terms, they would all undoubtedly have been massacred. Before active hostilities could recommence, they were cheered by the news that Colonel Johnstone, with a force of Manipuris, was on his way to relieve them, and on the 27th Colonel Johnstone marched in unopposed, and the siege was at an end.

Colonel Johnstone had, as soon as the news of Mr Damant's death reached him, asked the Maharaja of Manipur to put 2,000 men at his disposal, and these men, under the command of the Minister and the Maharaja's two sons, started the next day. Colonel Johnstone had also with him his own escort of 30 men of the 34th N.I., and a small body of Cachar Frontier Police. The whole force accomplished the distance of nearly 100 miles, over a roadless and most difficult country, in five days, and the service thus rendered by Colonel Johnstone and the Maharaja to the Government was one which was not forgotten later on.

The news of Mr Damant's murder reached Shillong on the 18th October. The 44th S.L.I. were at this time at Goalundo, having been ordered to Cabul; but these orders had already been countermanded, and they were directed to return. In the meantime, a party of the 43rd A.L.I., under Major Evans, was dispatched from Dibrugarh on the 23rd, and marched from Golaghat to Samoogoodting, where they were joined by Lieutenant Maxwell, the Assistant Commissioner who had pushed on with a few Frontier Police. This party, making forced marches, arrived at Kohimah on the 30th, when they found that the garrison had already been relieved.

Punitive Expedition, 1879-80

To punish Konemah and reassert the supremacy of the British Government in these hills, Brigadier-General Nation determined to take the field in person with a force consisting of the 44th S.L.I., under Colonel Nuttall, C.B., a detachment of the 43rd A.L.I., under Major Evans, and two mountain guns under Lieutenant Mansel, R.A.

Thanks in a great measure to the exertions of Colonel Campbell, the Deputy Commissioner of Sebsaugor, carriage was collected, the troops were enabled to reach Sachimah by the 21st November, and Konemah was attacked on the following day. The place, which was by nature very strong, had been fortified with immense labour and skill, and was deemed by the Nagas impregnable. The assault lasted all day, and at nightfall only the lower portion of the village had been captured, after the severest fighting ever known in these

hills. In the night, the Nagas evacuated the upper works, and on the following day the British force occupied the position, having lost in the assault two British Officers and the Subedar-Major of the 44th S.L.I. killed, two British and two Native Officers wounded, and 44 of the rank and file killed and wounded. The Nagas retreated to a strongly-fortified position on a crest of the Burrail range, where, as their access to their fields and houses was cut off, the General with his small force deemed it inexpedient to follow them preferring to reduce them to terms by the slower process of blockade.

Subsequent Operations

Of the 13 villages hostile to us, Piphimah, Merramah, Sachimah, Sephamah, and Puchamah were attacked and destroyed before the attack on Konemah took place. Some fighting occurred at Sephamah which was destroyed by a party of the 43rd Assam Light Infantry, with a loss of Lieutenant Maxwell severely wounded, two sepoy killed and two wounded. Subsequently, the village of Konemah was destroyed and the site occupied by our troops, and Jotsomah, which is close by, was captured on the 27th November, and a portion of it was burned. On the arrival of reinforcements from Shillong, a detachment was sent out to punish a group of villages to the eastward, that had taken part in the siege of Kohimah, and this work was effectually accomplished; another party under Mr Savi was afterwards detached to the westward into the North Cachar country to cover the routes by which the Angamis generally visit the plains, either of Nowgong or Cachar.

During February and March 1880 there was a series of skirmishes, connected with our endeavours to prevent supplies being brought in by the enemy to their stronghold, known as the Chakka Forts, and to capture and occupy Popolongmai, while the Nagas maintained a guerilla warfare, constantly firing at sentries, convoys, and water parties, but making no sustained attack, save on the Nichi guard outpost, on which in one week they made three night attacks, without causing serious damage. Altogether in these petty onslaughts they inflicted throughout the expedition a loss of nearly 50 in killed and wounded.

Raid on Baladhan

One party of Nagas, however, executed a most daring raid, which, as it disclosed our weakness in an unexpected quarter, requires to be noticed. Late in January a party of 55 men of Konemah, with only seven firearms among them, started from Popolongmai, marched down the bed of the Barak through Manipur territory, requisitioning food from some of the Kutcha Naga villages on the way, crossed by a disused road from the Barak into British territory, and, hiding in the jungles during the day, surprised the Baladhan tea-garden at nightfall, slew the manager, Mr Blyth, and 16 coolies, plundered what they could, and burned everything on the place. They then marched back unmolested by the same route. The distance in a straight line cannot be less than 80 miles, and, even for Nagas, it was a good four days' march each way. The country through which they came is one of hill and dense jungle, so scantily populated that they might scarcely meet a single village in a day's march, and these villages, though in Manipur territory, are so profoundly dominated by terror of the Angamis, that no resistance was to be expected from them. The Baladhan garden was well known to the Angamis, being the furthest and most exposed on the line of road which they usually take in trading at the Lakhimpur Bazar. On that line, however, there are police posts and Kookie villages, and they could not have adopted it without the danger of an alarm being given, so they took the remoter line down the Barak. It is obvious that through such a country, small parties of Nagas travelling unhampered can vary their route indefinitely, can evade a police post, and can escape from a pursuing party.

Measures Adopted for Defence and Punishment

The Chief Commissioner himself visited Cachar shortly after this occurrence, and made such arrangements as he could for the protection of the frontier from a repetition of such attacks, and no further attempts took place; but it was some time before confidence was restored, and the success of the raiders on this occasion must necessarily cause serious anxiety lest it should lead to a repetition

of the attempt in future years. From Cachar the Chief Commissioner went on through Manipur to the Naga Hills, and remained at Kohimah from the 1st to the 11th March.

At this time further reinforcements were on their way, and, Popolongmai having been occupied successfully by Captain Abbott's detachment, it was possible to enforce a stricter blockade of the enemy's position in the Chakka Forts, and to make demonstrations against it with a view, if necessary, to taking it by assault; happily, this was not necessary, the Nagas having already shown a disposition to treat. On the 27th March they finally submitted, and on the 28th the Chakka Forts were surrendered.

Generally, those villages which took part against us were punished by fines in grain and cash and a certain amount of unpaid labour. The Nagas had to surrender without compensation the firearms they were known to possess, and those that stood out against us and had to be attacked were in most instances punished by the demolition of their village, and in some instances by a removal of the site from a fortified and inaccessible crest to a position more easily accessible. The village of Konemah suffered, in addition, the confiscation of its terraced cultivation and the dispersion of its clans among other villages. Two men were excepted from the amnesty by name. From all villages an agreement was taken to pay revenue in the shape of one maund of rice and one rupee per house, to provide a certain amount of labour annually for State purposes, and to appoint a headman who should be responsible for good order and for carrying out the wishes of Government.

Subsequently the Chief Commissioner found it necessary to sanction some modifications in these terms. The changes were all in the direction of greater leniency. The two main points in which the conditions laid down were relaxed were these—(1) permission was given to the dispossessed villages or *khels* to reoccupy their old cultivation; and (2) the terms of the revenue assessment were modified.

After the operations were closed the Political Officer reported that the punishment inflicted by our troops had been far more severe in its results than was at first supposed. The dispossessed villagers of Konemah and other communities had not only been deprived of their homes, but, by the confiscation of their settled cultivation, they had, during the whole of the past year, been reduced to the condition

of houseless wanderers, dependent to a great extent on the charity of their neighbours, and living in temporary huts in the jungles. The result had been great sickness and mortality among them, and a severe strain upon the resources of those who had had to supply them with food.

The object aimed at in the policy of Government was to induce the dispossessed clans to settle elsewhere, either bodily in Manipur, where land and an asylum had been offered them, or on fresh land in the Naga Hills, which was pointed out to them by the Political Officer. But in this we were disappointed. They could not be persuaded willingly to settle elsewhere, and from the nature of the case wholesale coercion was impossible. No other Nagas were willing to take up the confiscated lands, fearing probably future retribution; and the dispossessed clans, except in occasional instances, had, for the most part, been receiving such shelter and livelihood as they could obtain from the villages in the neighbourhood of their old homes.

Under these circumstances, finding the prosecution of the policy of dispersion impossible, Sir Steuart Bayley considered that the question was narrowed to one of the sufficiency of the punishment already inflicted. After learning where the dispossessed clans were, how they were living, and what was their condition and attitude, he came to the conclusion that their punishment had been terribly severe; that the risk of their supposing that we were actuated by weakness in restoring their lands was not great; and that the first step towards enforcing on them permanently peaceful habits must be to let them have not only the means of livelihood, but lands, the loss of which they would not again lightly care to risk. He therefore agreed to let the dispossessed *khels* return to their confiscated lands, on condition that they were not to be reoccupied till February 1881, when the cultivating season commenced, and, with the further condition, in the case of Konemah, that the village site would on no account whatever be restored to them, and that the three *khels* must build their houses on separate sites in the valley, aloof from their former strong position on the heights, to be marked off for them by the Political Officer.

These conditions were accepted, the new sites occupied, and when Mr Elliott, who had then succeeded Sir S. C. Bayley as Chief Commissioner, visited Konemah in March 1881, he found

houses already built, and the *khels* engaged in preparing for their cultivation.

Assessment of Revenue

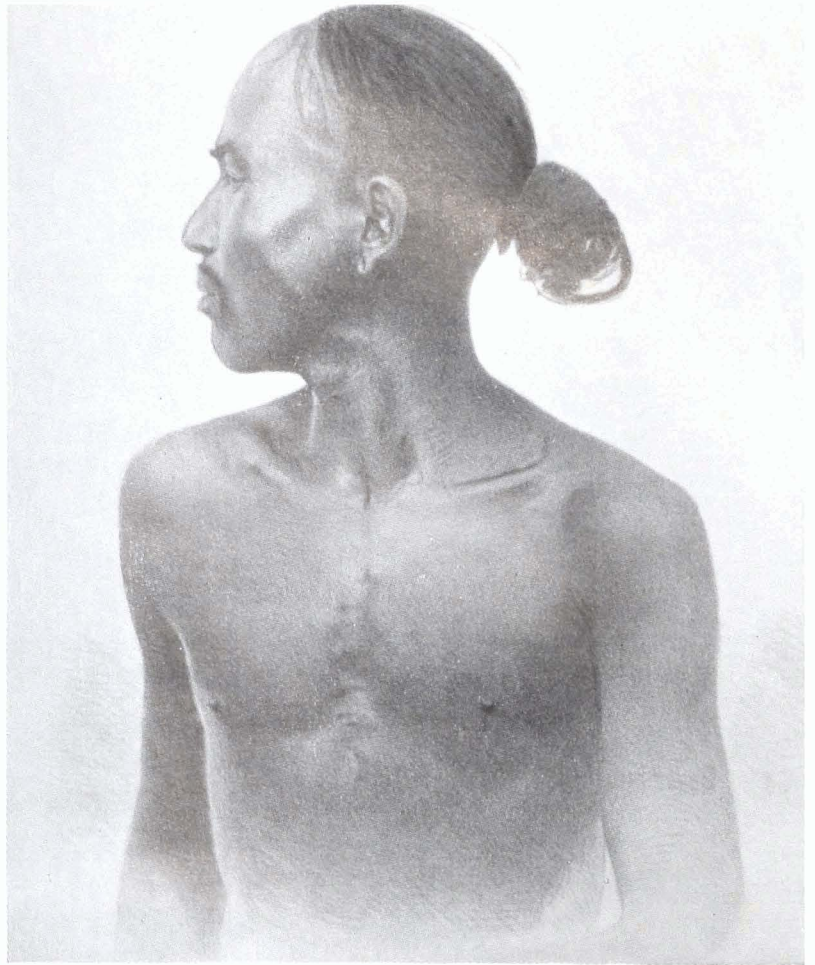
In regard to the rates of revenue to be assessed, the Chief Commissioner was of opinion that, in the first instance, the measure was important rather from a political than from a fiscal point of view; and he insisted on it as a public and well-understood symbol of obedience rather than as a valuable contribution to the revenue. Major Michell, the Political Officer, pointed out that, in his opinion, the assessment of one rupee, plus one maund of rice, per house was far too high, and that in the first year at all events it could not possibly be collected. The Nagas had not, he said, the rice to give, as much grain was destroyed in the operations of the troops. There were many more mouths than usual to be fed, and much land, especially in the neighbourhood of Kohimah, was uncultivated. Cash they had in greater plenty than usual, as our payments for labour and for rice had made money circulate largely in the hills; but they had not more rice than was necessary to feed themselves.

Sir Steuart Bayley, therefore, consented to the Political Officer changing the general rate of assessment from one rupee and one maund of rice per house to two rupees a house, which is the usual rate at which house-tax is levied from other wild tribes in Assam, and from the villages which have hitherto paid revenue in the Naga Hills; and he allowed him large latitude in dealing with the assessment of any particular village. These rates were readily accepted, and were paid punctually and spontaneously.

In the matter of forced labour, the conditions of the agreements were not formally abrogated, and labour was demanded and given in accordance with our requirements from time to time. But it was not found possible to regulate its incidence so that the burthen should fall equally on all villages bound to bear it: those far from Kohimah and the road down to the plains escaped, while those nearer were unduly pressed. In all cases, however, wages were paid at the full rate of four annas a day, instead of the subsistence rate of two annas. In the matter of fines, also, the Political Officer was lenient, not demanding the full payment when he had reason to think that it could not be paid without some hardship. . . .

5. Kachari Nagas

(From E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872)

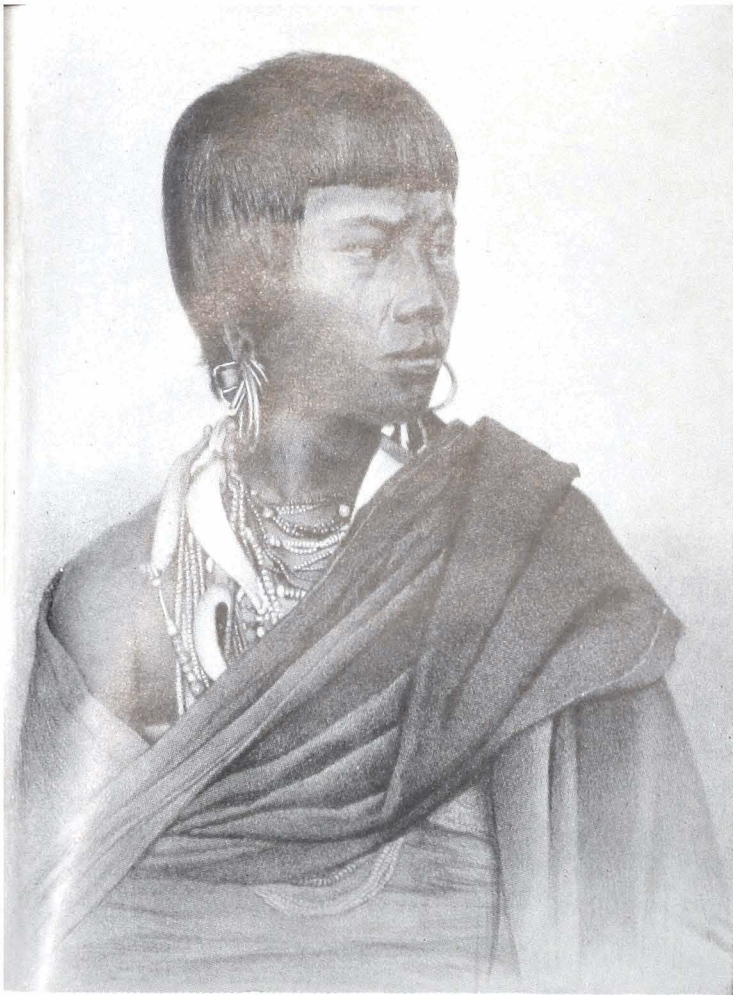




6. Kuki Nagas

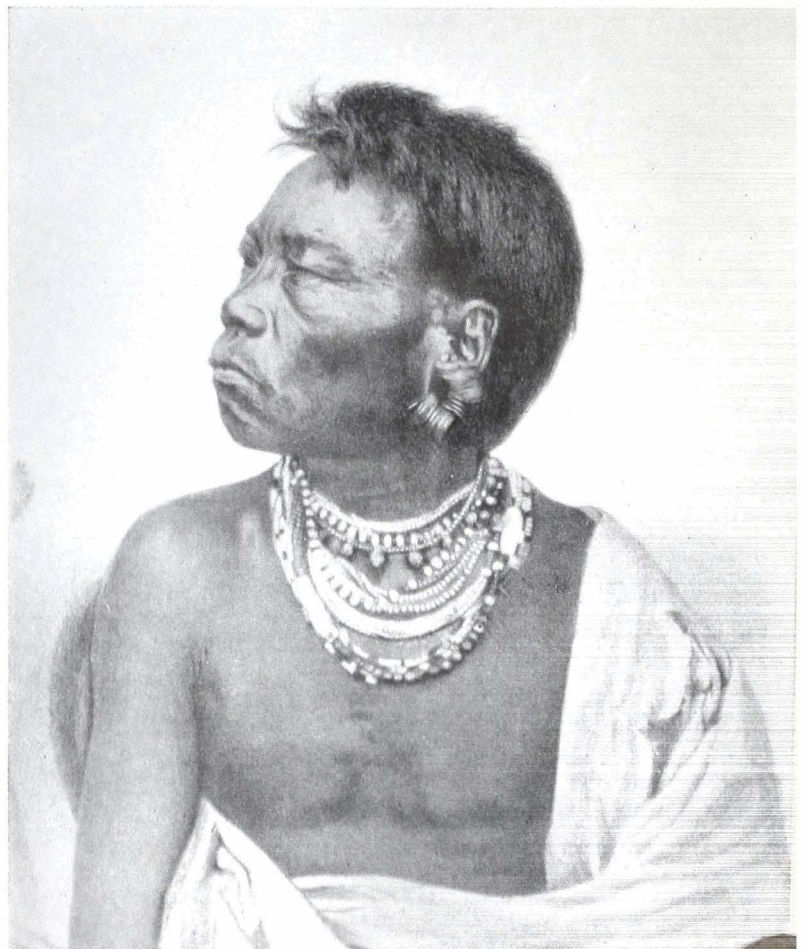
(From E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive
Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872)

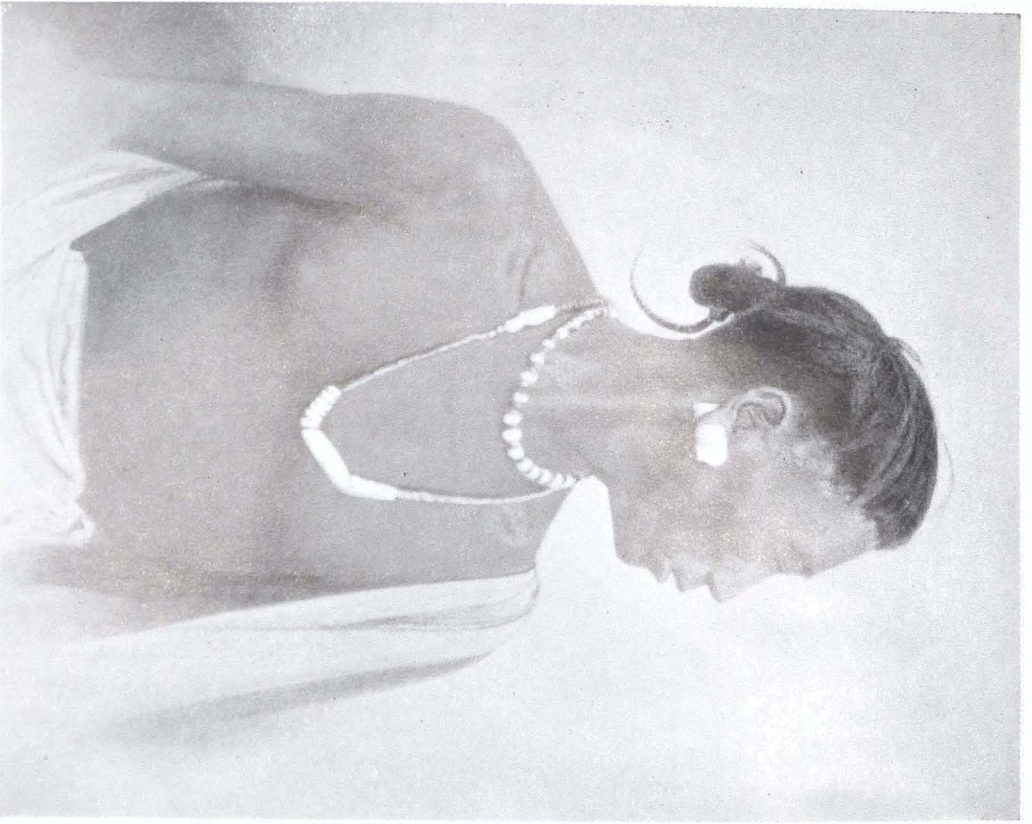




7. Hill Nagas, female and male

(From E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872)





8. Namsang Naga Muttock

(From E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872)

State of Affairs in 1880-1

The attitude of the tribes during the year 1880-1 was one partly of exhaustion and partly of expectancy. The indirect results of the war were far more grievous to them than the actual hostilities; and those on whom the blow had fallen hoped, by quiet and peaceable demeanour, to earn some relaxation in the stringency of the conditions to which they were bound. Accordingly, throughout the year there was little or no crime, no outbreak, and no necessity to employ force. There were many disquieting rumours, it is true, most of which originated in Manipur; but these gradually passed away, and no evil followed. Kohimah was again declared to be the most suitable headquarters station.

The difficulties with which the force occupying the hills had to contend were terrible: there was cholera on the line of communications and scurvy in the hills; great mortality and desertion in the transport train; bridges and roads washed away, with no local labour to fall back upon for repairs. But, so far, the policy pursued was apparently successful. The revenue was paid up, and the peace kept. Major Michell at the close of 1880 reported that officers could safely go about the hills unattended, and that sepoys visited the villages as freely as in the Khasi Hills; while he had had on more than one occasion to refuse revenue from distant villages, situated beyond the boundary fixed by Sir Steuart Bayley.

Of deeds of violence, the Political Officer reported only (1) an affray at Kigwemah in December 1880, where two clans contended with two others with sticks and stones, and two persons were killed: the village was fined Rs 200, which amount was paid; (2) a murder near the village of Kekrimah of a Naga of Viswemah, the perpetrators of which had not up to the close of the year been detected; and (3) the murder of a man of Kohimah at Chajubama, a village outside our frontier, whither he had gone to trade. This last event resulted, in April 1881, in an expedition being led by the Political Officer against Chajubama, which was burnt.

The revenue, as already mentioned, was got in from the Angami Nagas without any necessity for using force. The Lhota and Rengma Nagas (except those of the latter tribe living across the Dhansiri in the Mikir Hills) have not yet been assessed to revenue. Their attitude during the year was one of complete tranquillity. . . .

On the 2nd May 1881, the Chief Commissioner, Mr Elliott, submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the administration of the district, in which he took a hopeful view of the future, and insisted on the advantages accruing from free intercourse between our officers and the Naga tribes.

State of Affairs in 1881-2

Of 'political cases' the record of the year 1881-2 is fortunately brief. An attack by certain Lhotas of Lakhuti on the Hathigoria village of Nungatung, where they killed two persons, was punished by sentencing the guilty parties to two years' rigorous imprisonment. An inter-tribal dispute at Kigwemah, in which one man was killed, was settled by demolishing the defensive works raised by the *khels* and the house of the murderer, compelling the guilty *khel* to work off a fine of Rs 200 in labour contributed to the Public Works Department, and posting a police guard at the village till the murderer was hunted down. A man of Mozemah, who was accused of having sold a girl of Kerumah to the Kookies, was compelled to procure her restoration, and did so. There was an undiscovered murder on the North Cachar frontier at Langtingbra, where a shop was plundered and six men killed. The place was solitary, and the crime remained undetected till it was too late to track the murderers, regarding whom nothing is as yet known.

But the most successful and satisfactory exploit performed in this branch of the administration was the reparation exacted from a Sema village named Philimi, which had raided on the Lhota village of Chingaki, killing two persons. An expedition, consisting of about 50 men of the 42nd Regiment under Captain Abbott and some Frontier Police, was skilfully and suddenly led against the aggressors by Mr McCabe, the Political Officer, the resistance of the village anticipated, and the site occupied. The inhabitants were kept out of their houses for two days, and finally Mr McCabe threatened to burn the village unless the principal culprit, a headman named Kenilhi, was surrendered. This demand was complied with, and the man brought into Kohimah and sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.

This result seems to prove that prompt and ready action, backed by sufficient force, is now adequate to procure respect to law and authority, and that the barbarous expedient of village-burning which confounds the innocent and the guilty, is not essential to the enforcement of order in these hills.

Chapter IV

EARLY TOURS AMONG THE NAGAS

IN THIS CHAPTER I give extracts from a number of tour diaries or journals written by early visitors to the Naga Hills. Two main periods of literary activity can be distinguished. The first was between 1839 and 1845 when officials had all the excitement of breaking new ground and the Asiatic Society of Bengal opened the pages of its journal to them and encouraged them to write. The second was roughly from 1873 to 1876 when we have a number of valuable descriptions of the country and, in some cases, of the people from officers of the Topographical Survey of India.

E. R. Grange, of whom more later, was the first to give a detailed day-by-day account of his travels. As Assistant Commissioner at Nowgong he was given in 1838 the task of raising a small levy to preserve order in the hills. In the following year trouble in the Angami country led to his taking the first expedition of its kind into the Naga villages. Grange, however, only got as far as Berema, though he visited Samagudting where he made the first recommendation, later strongly condemned, to establish it as a regular military post and later as the first headquarters of the District. In 1840 Grange went out again to receive the submission of various Angami villages and to define the country between Assam and Manipur. He had a rather troubled tour, but his visit stopped raiding for some years.

During the cold season of 1841-2, Captain Brodie, who was then in charge of the District, was directed to visit that portion of the Naga hills which lay between the Dekhoo and Bora Dehing rivers; the object of the deputation being to take measures for the prevention of the inroads of the Nagas, and to put 'an end to the system of exterminating warfare, which had existed from time immemorial among these rude tribes'.

Captain Brodie entered the hills at the gorge of the Dekhoo, and from thence marched to Jeypoor on the Bora Dehing river; he had interviews with the Chiefs of the different clans en route, inquired into and settled existing disputes between rival clanships and induced

the Chieftains to enter into an engagement to abstain from outrages in the plains, refrain from hostilities among themselves, referring disputes that might arise to the British Government for adjustment, and to discontinue the practice of exporting Naga children as slaves to the British territory, a custom that formerly prevailed to some extent. Again in the cold season of 1843 and 1844, Captain Brodie was directed to visit the remaining portion of the Naga hills lying between the Dekhoo and Dyung rivers, and on the occasion of this visit similar engagements were exacted from the Chiefs of those clans.¹

Another visitor was Lieutenant Bigge, to whom some writers (Colonel Shakespear among them) give the homely name of Biggs. He does not seem to be an altogether sympathetic type. He was the first to meet the Lhotas and did not think much of them. In the Angami Hills, however, he got on better and was able to open a salt depot at the Nagas' own request at Dimapur. In 1842 he marched through the hills to Manipur and in consultation with local officials there laid down the final boundary.

Extracts from Major Butler's book should not perhaps really be classified as tour diaries though, since they are based on daily marches, I have included them.

John Butler, author of *A Sketch of Assam* (1847) and *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam during a Residence of Fourteen Years* (1855), first visited Assam in 1837, when he spent three months at Goalpara. He was a soldier, belonging to the 55th Regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry, and in November 1840 he was appointed second-in-command of the Assam Light Infantry. His journey from Calcutta to the 'desolate and remote' station of Saikwa took no less than sixty-five days, of which thirty-seven were spent travelling upstream to Gauhati, 'the metropolis of Assam'.

From Gauhati he travelled in a canoe (formed of a single tree hollowed out and propelled by eighteen 'merry paddlers') up the Brahmaputra to Saikwa, 'the north-eastern frontier military post in Upper Assam'. Saikwa had been established in 1839 after the station of Sadiya on the opposite bank had been surprised and burnt in a tribal attack. At Saikwa the Light Infantry was posted 'to afford

¹ Moffatt Mills, *Report*.

protection to the Tea Gardens from the sudden aggressions of the numerous wild, fierce, border tribes'.

Here Butler settled down in a mat-and-grass cottage plastered with mud 'in comfort and solitariness'. He had many adventures; one night his house was invaded by a great python, and he was constantly in trouble with the Brahmaputra River.

His stay did not, however, last very long, for in the following year he was appointed to the civil branch of the service as an Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier; and after a residence of about three years in Lower Assam, in the month of February 1844 he was placed in charge of the hill tribes subject to the Political Agent of Upper Assam. Now again he had to go to Saikwa, this time with his family, and in June of that year his house was washed away by the 'merciless river'. But Butler was never left in one place for long; indeed, as he says, 'during a period of twenty-seven years' service it has seldom been my lot to enjoy, at one place, an undisturbed residence of more than a few months,' and the 'perpetual motion' in which he lived now took him to Nowgong in charge of the Cachar Levy. In 1846-7 he visited the Naga Hills and received tribute of ivory and hand-woven cloth from the Angamis who took solemn oaths to stop their raids on the villages of the plains, and in 1848 he again visited Khonoma. He founded a small Levy Post and a market at Samagudting and opened cart-tracks to Dimapur. He came to the opinion, however, that Government should abandon any attempt to administer the hills, considering that official intervention in internal disputes had been a failure, and for a time his advice was followed, though a different policy was, of course, adopted after a few years.

Butler was evidently what we would now call a 'character'. Wherever he went he carried with him two glass windows, one of a sitting-room and another for a bedroom, which he used to insert in the reed walls of the thatched houses which were usually allotted to him. Once, finding himself being carried down the Brahmaputra in the middle of the night with only one servant to attend him, he was not dismayed but hastily donned his red woollen nightcap and a pea-coat, seized a paddle and rowed most heartily until the skin peeled off his hands. Many other adventures make entertaining reading.¹

¹ This account of Major Butler is taken from my *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (OUP, 1960).

Major Butler's son, Captain John Butler, wrote a number of first-class diaries but the relevant passages in them are mainly included in his 'Rough Notes on the Angamis', later printed in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

In the later period we have extracts from the writings of what Mackenzie called 'the untiring officers of the Survey, for whom no peak is inaccessible, no jungle impenetrable and no tribe too rude to be faced'. The first is an account by Woodthorpe, whom I have already described. Then we have brief extracts from Dr Brown who had been Political Agent in Manipur, and passages from Hinde and Ogle who were at the time Assistant Surveyors. Ogle, who worked with Godwin-Austen from 1869, was described by Colonel H. L. Thuiller as 'the most zealous and efficient member of the Department ever ready to devote himself to any duty, however difficult and over any description of country'.

Some of the paragraphs in this chapter may appear trivial and some irrelevant, but I have given them complete in an attempt to catch the atmosphere of this life lived so enterprisingly long ago before the coming of motor transport under enormous physical difficulties and sometimes in danger of life itself.

EXTRACTS FROM A TOUR-DIARY OF 1839

(E. R. Grange, 'Extracts from the Narrative of an Expedition into the Naga territory of Assam', *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 445-70)

I

JANUARY 27TH, 1839. Leaving our encampment at 8 A.M., we crossed over some low hills by a good path, and crossing two streams, the Yah and Yhoo, which empty themselves into the Mahoor, passed some more low hills and entered the bed of the river Hah, the banks of which were covered with the foot-prints of wild elephants and deer. Along this stream we continued for an hour, and then ascending a very steep hill reached the large Naga village of Rangai, then completely deserted in consequence, as I was informed, of the Angamees having attacked it, and having, it is stated, killed 107 persons and carried away 30. I however think the number stated to have been killed is exaggerated.

A fine view of the country is obtained here, and the hills towards the Assam side appear mere undulations in comparison to the gigantic ranges on our right. From this we had a fine view of the Deoteghur mountain, which hitherto had appeared to be a part of the main range, but now we had a full sight of it, shewing itself independent of any other hills. Large patches of brown clearances for cotton cultivation were visible; the wind was very high and cold on this mountain. We went along its summit, and descended winding round another very high hill till we came to cultivation, from whence we looked down upon Semker, on the foot of a hill beneath us. By a very steep path we descended to the encamping huts erected by Toolaram Senaputtee, who had previously arrived with the Shans I had attached to him. He had not been up to Semker for many years, and therefore was ignorant till now where the Angamees were located, which to my astonishment I found to be eight days' journey further on. I applied to Toolaram Rajah for a statement of the depredations committed by the Angamees on his people, and found

several of his Naga villages, had also been sufferers ; and on inquiring the reason of these attacks, I was informed that they were merely to extort conch shells, cloths, &c. and that the Angamees seized as many people as they could, to obtain ransom from their relatives, and killed all that attempted to escape, cutting off their heads (with the blade of their spears) which would be ransomed by their relatives also, this being one of the barbarous customs of the Nagas.

I also applied for a statement of the sufferers of the village of Rangai, but the Rajah could not furnish one, as the people had all fled into the jungles, he knew not whither. I was told that the people of Semker also were thinking of leaving their village for another place, till they heard that troops were going against the Angamees, for they also were in daily fear of being cut up, which they certainly would be the moment they refused to bribe them with salt, dried fish, &c.

The Semker people are not great cultivators, but live chiefly by the produce of their salt springs, and by traffic with the peaceful Nagas around them. They bring dried fish, beads, conch shells, and brass ornaments from Oodarbund Haut, and barter them for cotton, wax, ivory, chillies, &c. ; and an extensive and infamous trade is carried on in slaves, who are stolen indiscriminately by all in that quarter, and sold to the Bengali merchants who go up for cotton. I hear that a slave can be procured for twenty packets of salt, seven of which are to be had for one rupee. I saw many Muneeporees, who had been thus seized whilst young, and sold both amongst Kookees, Cacharees, and Nagas.

II

February 23rd. Left at 8°5' A.M. by a tolerable path, and entered the great range which we had hitherto skirted, and went up and down hill till we suddenly diverged from the continued forest to a most noble opening, which disclosed to our view an extensive valley surrounded by partly cleared mountains, with topes of firs, these were in solitary groups and in ravines ; the large village of Beren appeared on the summit of a high mountain across the valley. The encampment of the Shans was visible on a knoll below the village. On arriving nearer to what we supposed to be cleared ground, we found extensive wastes of low grass, such as is met with in the

Kassyah hills. Winding over several ravines, and passing a river flowing south, we met the Mohurir, Ram Doss, and a party of Shans who had come out to meet and warn us to keep together, as the Angamees had the night before attacked them and wounded one man, and were prowling about in parties to catch stragglers.

On further inquiry, I was sorry to find that it was through their own very great neglect, and to their total inattention to the warning I had given them, to keep their bayonets fixed on guard and sentry duties, that one of the party, the Shan sentry, was speared in the leg. I believe there were ten or twelve Angamees about the camp, and two of them crawled up through the grass at 12 P.M., and actually speared the sentry who was sitting down, and most probably asleep. After being speared he attempted to fire his fusil, but the powder being damp it missed fire, whereupon he had time to butt him, but the Naga forced himself away and ran off; the second sentry came up and fired, but missed; had the bayonets been fixed, the fall of the Angamee would have been inevitable. I found the camp built on the remains of an old circular fort, erected formerly by Raja Krishna Chunder of Cachar, who was driven out of the country by famine, after losing one or two men by the spears of the Angamees; he came up to revenge the attacks made on his subjects by those banditti. He brought up a long ten or twelve pounder to frighten these wild people with, but he found an enemy that made his great gun useless, and was obliged to leave it behind in the jungles. The chief of Beren, Iquijimpo, was most accomodating, and offered to sell the old cylinder for one hundred rupees. On arrival, finding the dried grass around the stockade had not been removed, I set fire to it to save our enemy the trouble of doing it for us, and had the good fortune to drive the fire away from three sides of the stockade, when deeming all danger passed from the fourth side I left some persons to finish what I had begun; but from carelessness, or a sudden gust of wind, the fire spread, and the cry of houses on fire, soon made me aware of what had happened. I seized first the magazine and placed it out of danger, then the grain was all removed, and just as the last bundle was rolled over the paling the flames devoured the store house. A little cordage was burnt, but no material accident or loss occurred, and all parties behaved very well. The troops were drawn up in line after the removal of the stores, ready to have repelled any attack the enemy might have made. I sent up to the people of Beren, who were

all assembled on the height, to come down to re-build the camp, but they would not do so; I therefore sent up some Shans to fire a few shots to frighten any wandering Angamees from the neighbourhood, when the Beren people came down and re-built our camp on the ground of the circular fort. This fort was a raised knoll of earth, built up with stones to the height of three feet, with a gradual slope all round. I was perfectly astonished at the fine athletic mountaineers we now had to do with, and was much amused at their accounts of the Angamees. The chief of Rassam and Sarralo who had met us at Umbolo came down from the village, and in a most mysterious manner pointed to the stream and said the Angamees had poisoned it; I replied with a smile, and the gravity of his countenance ceased. I imagine the Angamees had instructed him to try and frighten us out of the country by some such story.

The two chiefs also hinted at the retreat of the Cacharee and Munipooree forces sent against the Angamees, and the absurdity of our attempting it. In fact they tried in every way to talk us over, and boasted of their superior cunning in the most barefaced and at the same time ridiculous manner. The evening we arrived, suspecting the Angamees might favour us with a visit, I remained close to the sentries till 10 o'clock, when the jingle of a shield in the jungle warned us of the vicinity of our enemy. I foolishly fired a couple of shots in the direction of the noise, which drove the Angamees away; had they not been thus alarmed, and had they approached, we might have then punished them for their intrusion at such unreasonable hours.

They remained in the neighbourhood all night, but deeming it waste of powder and shot firing at sounds, I directed the sentries to adopt a rather primitive mode of letting them know of our watchfulness, and that was, to pelt stones into the jungle when they heard any thing in it, and only to fire when they saw their enemy; this order had a very good effect, for the enemy remained at a distance all night, and retired before daybreak. Whilst at this place the chief of Gopelo, a larger village than Beren, came to pay his respects in order to prove that he was friendly; the chiefs of Moolooke, Jalooka, Balaka also came. The jealousy existing amongst the different villages is very great, and after the Beren people had built our huts, they said—'There's such a village has done nothing, make them build the railing.'

On the 26th the brother of Impaisjee, one of the two greatest chiefs of the Angamees, came to the village of Beren, but would not come down to the camp until I had sent Ram Doss Mohurir accompanied by a Naick and five Shans and the interpreter to assure him on oath of his safety, and to receive his oath of amity in return. On seeing the party approach however he ran off into the jungles, notwithstanding the chiefs of Beren and Rassam were with them, and assured him that nothing would be done to him. The Shans were then left behind, and Ram Doss went out to meet him, but he objected to the sword and shield the Mohurir had with him; these being left behind he came close, and the oath was taken in the following manner—A chicken was produced, the head of which the Mohurir held, and the Angamee the body; they both pulled till they severed it in two, which was to signify, that if either was treacherous his head would be divided from his body in the same manner. They then held a piece of a spear at the ferule end, which was cut in two, and each retained the bit in his hand;—this is one of the most sacred oaths amongst these wild men. The chief then came down to the camp, and I assured him that his brother need have no fear for his life, if he would come in, and swear not to molest the Honourable Company's subjects any more. He agreed to every thing proposed, and volunteered on condition of their lives being spared, to pay a tribute of ivory, slaves, &c. He said his brother had gone to fetch the articles referred to. I showed him a watch and a telescope, and told him I could see every thing he did in any villages, and after frightening him by firing at a pumpkin, I gave him some presents and dismissed him.

I waited till the 1st March for his brother's coming, as also for grain from Semker, but neither arriving, I got coolies from Beren and started for Balaka, a village six miles on our route, and to which the Beren people had agreed to take our traps and the little grain we had. The road was good the whole way, with only one or two hills. We encamped on a flat piece of ground near a well below Balaka, which is always built near villages for the cattle to drink out of. The chief of Ungolo came in with eggs, &c. and said his young men had joined Ikkaree in the incursions into the Cachar Hills; that they were forced to go, but should not do so again. The term 'youths' is applied to all able-bodied villagers. I deemed it needless to bind the smaller chiefs, who stood at the beck of the greater ones, to oaths they could

not keep. The chief of Jykama (or as it is written in Captain Pemberton's map of the North-East frontier, Yueekhe) sent in a person of his village to know whether his coming in would cause the loss of his life; I assured him that we were most desirous for peace, but that his not coming in would be a sign of his enmity, and that in that case I should attack his village; the chief departed quite satisfied.

III

We found the Malhye people assembled and prepared to protect their village had there been any attack from us; but with a hog and some grain laid at the entrance we pacified them, and got what we wanted. It was rather amusing to see them assembled with their spears, looking very fierce and warlike, whilst we were aware one shot would have sent them flying over hill and dale, and proved to them their weakness. They are however very persevering in their mode of fighting, viz. wandering behind bush and stone, on the look-out for an opportunity to spear their enemy when off his guard.

Whilst standing making inquiries for a convenient encamping place, Keereebec, chief of Jykama, or Yueekhe, bounded down the hill side and presented a piece of cloth and a spear. A finer specimen of a wild mountaineer was never before me; he wore the blue kilt, ornamented with cowries, peculiar to the Angamees, which set off his fine, powerful figure very much. I told him to come to camp and receive some presents, which he did; but he refused to accompany me to Ikkaree's village, as he said he was at enmity with that chief and if he caught him he would kill him.

IV

March 8th. Ikkaree sent word to say he feared coming into camp, on which I sent the Mohurir Ram Doss and the chief of Umponglo, who had been trying to allay his fears. They returned after about an hour's absence, and said they could not persuade him to come down to camp, but that he would meet me half way between the village and the camp. Seeing that we had no grain for that day's consumption, and fearing that if I should be obliged to attack any of their villages

I should only be put in possession of an empty place, as all the grain had been previously secreted in the jungles (as indeed it had been in those we had passed, for they had long been aware of our coming) I determined on going to meet him in his own den. Placing a pistol in my pocket and a sword by my side, and giving a pistol to the Mohurir, I sallied forth with an Assamese Mohurir to take down the questions and answers; a quarter of an hour brought us through an open vale to five or six men watching on a slightly rising ground, beyond them were more men scattered about in an open plain or dale of about five hundred or six hundred yards wide; in our front stood the village on a hill, behind which were the high peaks of the great range; on our left were more low hills, and on our right, a wood with a river behind; in the centre of the plain there was a stone Chubootar to which I advanced and sat down. I then perceived Ikkaree, whom I knew immediately by the red collar round his neck edged with human hair. I had heard that this was the distinguishing marks of these chiefs, from their villagers. Ikkaree was sitting on a heap of stones ready to fly up the hill, if there was occasion; he did not however come till after many calls from his people and my threatening to return, when he came up rather sulkily, with a red spear in his hand, which I commanded him to leave behind. This being done, he came along cautiously and sat on the Chubootar, continually looking behind for a clear coast for a bolt, and had I given but a single halloo, he would have been off like a shot; his own men even abused his timidity. On getting a little confidence he commenced boasting of his cunning, &c. which I soon stopped, by telling him that if I chose at that moment I could walk him off to the camp, but that I had promised him safety, and that he need have no fear; on this he seemed very anxious to depart, but I made him take oath not to molest in future the Honourable Company's subjects, which ceremony was administered in the most simple and the rudest manner, for it merely consisted in his holding one end of a spear and I the other whilst it was cut in two, each retaining his bit. Ikkaree was wanting to be off before it took place, but I made him remain, and thrust the bit of iron into his hand when half cut, and made him hold it till it was cut through so that he might have the full benefit of the sanctity of the oath;—it is considered one of the greatest oaths amongst these savages. He promised to send rice next day, and departed much like a jackal, looking round every second step. He is

a fine specimen of a brigand, tall and slight, and made for activity, of a brown colour; he has small black eyes, in one of which there is a cast, black whiskers and moustaches, and a savage sneer always playing on his lips. He is at variance with many of his own tribe, and is a most cold-blooded murderer; he wore on his neck a collar made of red coloured goat hair, and ornamented with conch shells and tufts of the hair of the persons he had killed on his expeditions. I returned to camp, and the Tukquogenam people brought us rice, but said they could not afford any more.

March 9th. Bahoota came down, and said something about Impaisjee having arrived, which proved false. On the Mohurir Ram Doss going up, he reported that he had met the interpreter on the road, who feared to go up to the village as there was a body of men on the road who threatened him; Ram Doss however went on with Bahoota and the interpreter, and met 200 men armed with spears, who attempted to obstruct the passage, but Ram Doss pushed on, and they retired. Ram Doss said they belonged to Ikkaree, and that that chief had sent word to say, he would give us grain if we went to his village, but that he would not, or could not, send it, (as he had promised to do) if I did not move forward. My chief object being accomplished, viz. that of settling affairs amicably, and discovering the locality of these brigands, moreover having found the exit to Assam, via Sumoogoding, and deeming it a rather dangerous experiment remaining any longer in a country where the roads ran chiefly in the beds of rivers sure to be stopped up in the rains, which had already commenced on the upper parts; doubting also the word of Ikkaree to supply us with grain, and the consequent likelihood of a quarrel had we gone to his village, I determined to return.

We had not a grain of rice for that day, so I marched off towards Sumoogoding, where it was most likely we should get provisions, that village being in communication with Toolaram's Cacharee subjects at Dheghna, leaving a message to the two chiefs Impaisjee and Ikkaree to the effect that, as they had taken oaths not to molest the Honourable Company's subjects I should not trouble their villages, and hoped they would attend to their oaths. We left camp at 9 A.M. and by a very good path reached Cheremee at 11 A.M. it being about five miles from Tukquogenam. It is a small village of about fifteen houses, situated upon a middling sized hill; the silly people assembled

to prevent our going into their village, armed with spears, little imagining that one volley as they stood would have blown them off their hill. We pacified them, and got a little rice, but it not being enough, I threatened them if they did not bring more to camp, to return. From the hill several other villages were pointed out to the east, but I did not observe them, Papamee and Jingpen were among their names. The great range seemed to take a turn to the south of east from beyond Tukquogenam. The directions of Moongjo and Sookamjo were also shown, the former a village of Ikkaree's consisting of five hundred houses, and the latter belonging to Impaisjee of eight hundred houses.

Leaving Cheremee we descended to a small river bearing the Naga name of Ompoa; we continued down its bed for about a mile, and then encamped on its left bank in a newly burnt jungle, opposite the village of the same name, which stood about a mile off on a hill, and was hid by the tree jungle. In the valley we were in the huts had just been erected, when a lad belonging to the Shans came running in breathless and said he had seen two Nagas with spears and shields. I immediately took a couple of Shans and went out in the direction, but only met a couple of sepoy and coolies cutting wood.

Returning and recalling all stragglers, I found the chief of Umpoa with grain, which greatly relieved the spirits of the party, as there was a good chance before that of their going without their usual allowance. I gave him some presents, and he returned to his village. About an hour afterwards, it being evening, the men were all cooking in the bed of the river, when two Nagas sneaked up through the jungle from the opposite bank and threw two spears at the right flank men, one of which lodged in the thigh of the dhobee and the other grazed the skin of a sepoy; the Nagas instantly fled, and several shots were fired in the direction they had gone, which was all that could be done, as evening was too far advanced to pursue them. Our Tukquogenam guide, who had promised to show us the road to Sumoogoding, said that it was the people of the village of Pepamee and Cheremee that had attacked us, but I very much suspect that Ikkaree was at the bottom of it, and fearing for his own village he had ordered these two small villages to annoy our return; but it is very difficult to speak with any degree of certainty, as the Angamees are all in clans, and each village is its own master as long as its doings do not affect the great chiefs.

As far as I can learn in regard to the two great chiefs, Impaisjee, who is the greatest, is wishing for peace, but his more adventurous countryman, Ikkaree is unwilling to give up his predatory habits and his attacks on the Cacharees, who yield him much plunder in cloths, conch shells, &c. besides what he forces them to give to release any of their relatives who may have been captured in an inroad, and also to ransom any skulls of their relatives;—for leaving the latter in the hands of the enemy is considered amongst the Nagas a very dishonourable thing.

V

From the difficulty of understanding the Angamees, and from my requiring interpretations through the Cacharee-Hindoostanee, Cachar-Hill, Naga, and Angamee, dialects I found it no easy matter to get information regarding the Angamee customs; besides, the impatience of the wild Angamee to remain any time in one place or attitude is a great obstacle to obtaining such information. The Angamees, or as they are termed by the Assamese the Cachar Nagas, are a very different race from the Nagas of the Cachar Hills; they are a much finer and independent set, and have for some time exacted tribute from their pusillanimous neighbours of the lower hills, and collect from Mahye to Gumegoogoo, obliging the Semker Cacharees even to give them salt, &c. to preserve peace.

The young men in particular are fine, sleek, tall, well made youths, and many are very good looking; they pride themselves much upon their cunning. The formation of their joints struck me as being singular, they are not bony or angular, but smooth and round, particularly those of the knees and elbows. They are continually at war with each other. Their dress is that peculiar to most other eastern highlanders, but of a more tasteful make than most others. It is a blue kilt, prettily ornamented with cowrie shells, and either a coarse grey or blue coloured cloth thrown over their shoulders, which in war time is tied up in such a manner as to allow of a bamboo being inserted to carry the person away, should he be wounded. Their defensive weapon is a shield, of an oblong shape, made of bamboo mat work, with a board behind to prevent any weapon from piercing it; their offensive weapon is a spear of seven or eight feet long, which they throw or retain in their hand in attacking. Their villages

are generally good sized ones, built on the high hills below the great range, which appear most difficult of access, and are usually in two parallel lines, with the gable end of the houses towards the front, in a diagonal position to the street. Their houses are commodious, being one large roof raised from the ground, with mat walls inside; the interior is divided into two apartments—a cooking apartment and a hall, in which all assemble. In this last every thing they possess is kept, and equally serves for a sleeping apartment, sitting room, or store room, large baskets of grain being generally the furniture of one side. There are always two large fires, round which are benches of planks forming a square seat for all the gentlemen and ladies of the family; one fire is set apart expressly for the youths and children, who are not allowed to mix with the sage old people. In front of their houses are either round or square stone pigsties, on which, of a morning and evening, the villagers sit sipping with a wooden ladle from a gourd bowl a kind of spirit made from rice flour and Bajara seed. Their main street is a receptacle for all the filth and dirt in the place, and is most offensive. In front of the houses of the greater folks are strung up the bones of the animals with which they have feasted the villagers, whether tigers, elephants, cows, hogs, dogs, or monkeys, or ought else, for it signifies little what comes to their net. They have very fine large straight backed cows and buffaloes; they have also goats, hogs, and fowls, but no ducks or geese. On each side of their villages are stockades and a ditch, which is filled with Pangees, or pointed bamboos, and on the sloping sides of the ridge the earth is cut away and a wall built up; these fortified villages, would make a formidable resistance to any force without fire-arms, but they are generally overlooked by neighbouring heights, which disclose the whole interior economy of the place. They cultivate rice in the valleys between mountains, and several other kinds of grain (names unknown) also a very fine flavoured kind of purple vetch. I was informed that cotton did not grow in the higher mountains, and that they got what is procured from the lower hill Nagas. The peach tree grows in a most luxurious state round the different villages, I also saw an apple tree off which we got great abundance of fine large wild apples, which were greedily devoured by the whole party. The Angamees get all their iron instruments from the Munipore Nagas; they are great wanderers, and make incursions into Munipore itself, and carry away children, who are sold up in the Hills. I met

several who had been seized in that manner, and who had adopted the wild Naga customs, and were unwilling to return; Semker is a great mart for this kind of trade. The Angamees have no idea of ploughing or agriculture, or of preparing the ground, and sowing crops, in the way civilized nations do. The poorer classes make their cloths from the pith of a nettle which is procurable in great abundance, and which makes a very fine fibred hemp. The bay leaf is a native of the higher mountains, as also a small species of wild orange. The country between the Sumoogoding ridge and Dhejna is remarkably fine, particularly so on the banks of the Dhunsiree which much resembles the species of forest scenery found in America, and remains uncultivated only from the fear that is entertained by all the ryots, &c. of these wild Angamees. The Dhunsiree, I should think, would be navigable for canoes at parts of the year up to the point I crossed.

2

INTO THE NAGA HILLS

(E. R. Grange, 'Extracts from the Journal of an Expedition into the Naga Hills', *J.A.S.B.*, 1840, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 947-53)

LEAVING NOWGONG, agreeably to instructions, on the 3rd of December 1839, I proceeded to Dhoboka, which I reached on the 5th of the same month. The country to that point being well known, requires no further description.

I left Dhoboka on the 6th of December, at about 7 A.M., and arrived at Oopur Jumonah, at about 11 o'clock. First crossing the Jumonah river about half a mile above the Dhoboka village, we entered Tularam Senaputtee's boundary line. The route lay through a forest, called Rungaghora, from whence most of the villages on the banks of the Jumonah procure their fuel. There has been an attempt at a clearance in the forest, but much difficulty is experienced by the Ryots, from the great number of wild animals which infest this part of the country; viz. elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, buffaloes and hogs. The path for the whole way is tolerably good. Oopur Jumonah is a hamlet of about twenty or thirty houses, scattered

along the banks of the Jumonah river ; it is fast decreasing in number, in consequence of the people having suffered much from the destruction of their crops by the wild animals in the neighbourhood.

7th December.—Marching at about 7 A.M., I reached the Cacharee village of Nermolea, the distance being about ten miles. . . .

8th.—Departing from Nermolea, and passing considerable cotton tracts, we reached the village of Bokolea, four miles distant, where I found some of the lime burnt by Mr Martin for Government, in store. The country along the banks of the river between this village and Ramsa (a small village six miles west of Mohong) is uninhabited, and is composed of large grass wastes with patches of forest at intervals ; the greater part of the low lands below the falls of the river, are liable to inundation. Passing through Bokolea, we continued on till we came to the huts erected for us, on the Tutra river, a small stream, which issues from the Mikeer Hills. To this point most of the Kyahs and other traders trafficking in cotton come in the cold season ; there is high ground about it for a Haut (or fair), and there is a Mikeer village two miles inland. A short way above is the Oogeroo Chokey, established by Tularam, who exacts a toll from all his Ryots who frequent the Tutra mart. . . .

10th.—Left Ramsa, and marched through fine open forest ; three miles distant crossed the Jumonah into Tularam's country ; one mile further on recrossed it, and in half a mile reached Mohong.

11th.—The Nagas of the village of Gafaga came in, and gave me the following account of themselves : They formerly belonged to the tribe of Nagas called by them *Chokannew*, and by the Cacharees *Dewansa*, living south of the Sumoogoding range, and on account of the frequent quarrels and oppression they had been subjected to from their own tribe, they had been obliged to emigrate : they first took possession of the high hills on which the present village of Tokophe is situated, but even there, not being free from the attacks of their persecutors, they again fled to the lower hills upon which they are now.

The following is the information I have been able to pick up regarding the wild tribes hereabout. The villagers of Gafaga, Mezattee, Badolasong, Kola, Muzals, Tooroofen and Gesinga, are all of one tribe, and have separated into a number of villages in consequence of quarrels amongst themselves ; not acknowledging any regular chiefs, and every man being his own master, his passions

and inclinations are ruled by his share of brute force, his dexterity with the spear, to which arm they have immediate resort for the adjustment of the slightest quarrel, and in consequence, villages are continually at feud.

In addition to this, the Tokophen Nagas, who are of a different tribe, and speak another dialect, in league with the Nagas about the Sumoogoding range, pay them occasional marauding visits, and take advantage of their flight on their appearing, to pillage their villages. The Nagas of the village of Gesinga, or as it is called by some Rengma, are at feud with those Nagas on the eastern bank of the Dhunsiri, in the Jorhat division, called by the Assamese, Lotah. The former village is under charge of an half Assamese and half Naga, Gesinga Phokun, who exercises some rule over the village. The latter tribe, from the different accounts I have heard of them, appear to be of a more civilized character than the Nagas on the west bank of the Dhunsiri, having regular chiefs, whose orders they regard, and trading largely with the Assamese at Cacharee Haut.

The Tokophen Nagas came in, and declared that they had no evil inclinations towards the Majutee and Gafaga Nagas, but that they had heard that the Dewansas intended making an excursion against them at the full of the moon. I gave them clearly to understand, that if they persisted in their present mode of life, and would not leave off their marauding habits, they would be punished severely, and not allowed to remain in their present locality; and nothing more of the intended excursion was heard.

It is a common practice with Nagas, when they are going to make an excursion against a village, to set reports afloat that other villages or tribes intend an excursion against the same village, which blinds the villagers of the place attacked as to who the real assailants are, as their excursions are generally performed at night. The Nagas hereabout procure their brass ornaments from the village of Gesinga, and their spears and daws from the Dewansa or Chokannew Nagas. Their villages are of inconsiderable size, and they have but few domestic animals; some cows of the hill breed, pigs, and fowls, for the purpose of sacrificing to their gods.

They acknowledge the power of three gods, viz.

1st. Zanghuthee, or Janthee, the most powerful, to whom they sacrifice cows, bullocks, or bulls. His power prevails in all serious illnesses, and can kill or cure.

2nd. Hyeong, to whom they sacrifice fowls only, his power is of slighter extent.

3rd. Dherengana, to whom they offer hogs.

The two latter are the tutelar gods of the village of Gafaga, each village having different ones; some of them think it necessary to sacrifice at one time, for any great worship, a cow, or bullock, a hog, and a chicken a few hours old; the former are eaten, but the latter is thrown away. Zanghuthee is acknowledged by all of them. Goats are not allowed as offerings.

The physiognomy of the Nagas about here partakes a good deal of that of the Cacharee, in consequence of the admixture of the two tribes. I saw some Assamese who had been kidnapped when young, and who had become so accustomed to the idle, uncouth life of the Nagas, that they refused to leave them.

Matrimony amongst these Nagas is a civil contract, unattended by any religious ceremonies. The damsel is courted, and is presented with fowls, dogs, and spirits, according to the fortune of the lover, and after her consent and that of her parents (for they have the right of refusing) is obtained, the accepted lover gives a feast to all her relatives. A day being appointed for the union to take place, the whole of the villagers are feasted; they in return are obliged to present the new married couple with a new house in the village. Any breach of marriage vows is punished by a fine of a cow or hog, by the council assembled for trial of the culprits. One of the most singular customs is, that after the birth of the first child, the parents and relatives of the new married couple are prohibited from touching any other villagers, or any other villagers from touching them, for two or three days; should a villager infringe the rule, he is obliged to remain two or three days in the house of the parents and not to mix in society; but if the relatives of the party are in fault, they are punished by a fine of a feast.

On the occurrence of a death, they howl their lamentations, feast, and bury the corpse, placing the deceased's spear in the grave, and his shield, and a few small sticks like forks, with some eggs and gram, on the grave, as an offering to ensure them good crops. I could get no reasons from them why their doing so would ensure them fertility of the soil.

They are not very martial at present, having been generally the party attacked and subdued by the other Nagas. They have very

little trade, and not much inclination that way, being too fond of idleness to exert themselves for their own improvement; they cultivate small quantities of cotton, and exchange it for salt. Many of them have taken refuge in the Mikeer villages, and may in time adopt the industrious habits of those cultivators, but their unruly, independent inclinations would be a great obstacle to any attempt at improving them. Mohong Dejira now consists of about 50 or 60 houses; in former days it enumerated about 300. The emigrants have formed the villages of Bokolea and Nerondlea, and many are gone to Dhurumpore. The cause of their flight, it is stated, was owing to some Nagas a few years ago having killed two of their tribe; that may be partly the reason, but the itinerant character of the Cacharee, may have influenced them greatly. The Cacharees here, till within two years past, have been obliged to pay tribute to the Nagas of Sumoogoding, to preserve peace. The tribute consisted of a cow or bullock, and one maund of salt per annum.

3

A TOUR IN 1840

(E. R. Grange, 'Extracts from the Journal of an Expedition into the Naga Hills', *J.A.S.B.*, 1840, Vol. IX, pp. 958-66)

HAVING RECEIVED INTIMATION that no grain had arrived at Mohong since my leaving it, and the quantity I had brought on with me not being sufficient to authorize my moving forward (only a day's grain being in camp), I returned to Mohong to urge on the large quantity which had been dispatched from Raha in November, but which from unforeseen difficulties had been detained at Sil Dhurmpore. I reached Mohong in two days, and returned to Dhemapore on the 17th [January], and grain arriving on the 19th, I was enabled to start from Dhemapore on the 21st, but not having a sufficient number of coolies to take the whole of the party on, I was obliged to leave the Assam Militia which had arrived from Jorhat behind, to follow me up when I sent back the coolies for them. The distance from Dhemapore to Sumoogoding I should say, in a straight line, would be about

fifteen miles, but by the route I followed, not less than twenty-two or twenty-four miles, which I accomplished in $2\frac{1}{2}$ days.

Having built a stockade independent of the villagers, and part of the Jorhat Militia having arrived under their Subedar, I left them in post here to guard any grain that might come up, and quitting Sumoogoding on the 2nd February, reached Razapamah or Jykamee that day, the distance being but six miles. We did not pursue the route followed by Captains Jenkins and Pemberton, but descended to the southern foot of the Sumoogoding ridge, and went along the stony bed of the Desem Unurue, or Kooki river, till we reached the eastern base of the low ridge on which Razapamah or Jykamee is situated.

As we reached the village which stood about a quarter of a mile from the river Keruhee, an influential chief came down with all his war accoutrements on; upon my inquiring the reason of his being thus equipped, he said, had we intended any harm, they would have fought us. They had piled up stones on their small circular towers, by the path side, to throw at us as we advanced, which proves how ignorant they still are, some of them, of the effects of fire-arms. He offered me his house, and several houses of his party for the night. He informed me that the village was divided into two parties, and that he could answer for the peaceful intentions of his own party, but not for the other. He said he had suffered much since I had last seen him, having quarrelled, fought, and found his match in a fellow villager, who had burnt his house and grain, and made him almost a beggar.

In the evening, over a brisk fire, I succeeded in obtaining some of their martial ideas; bringing his shield, which was covered over with the hair of the foes he had killed, and carefully unwrapping a cloth off two pieces of ratan covered with the hair of his sisters, he placed them on each side of his shield, and commenced springing about with very great agility, spinning his spear round all the time. He then showed me, with an air of very great pride, the two ratans covered with hair, and said that they could only be worn by warriors who had killed many of their enemies, and brought in their heads, who are then entitled to receive some locks of hair from each sister, tied on ratan, which they are obliged to wear on their shield, in the manner above described. They consider certain Nagas their natural enemy, over whom gaining any advantage would be great honour. On my

inquiring who his enemies were, he very innocently replied, the Beren Nagas, and those about Simkir; his feud with the Beren Nagas having arisen from a quarrel he had had with some of the Nagas of that village, at the salt wells near Sumoogoding. On my telling him that I had come up on purpose to suppress the aggressions committed in that quarter, he replied that he was aware of it, and had not been out since I was last up on their hills, and that he had assisted the Dakwal, who had foolishly gone up after me. The latter case was true, but whether the former was, or not, was impossible to say; though as no aggressions from this quarter have been heard of this year, it is probably true.

Leaving Jykamee on the 3rd [February], we followed the route by which Captains Jenkins and Pemberton came, for a short way, and then turning to the left, entered the villagers' cultivations, on which we found the tea tree growing in the most luxuriant manner, uncared for, and unknown; in the rice fields it springs up in all directions in fine bushes, from the roots of old trees which had been cut down by the Nagas in clearing their lands for cultivation; the leaves of the plants found in the rice fields were much broader, and of a deeper green colour (some leaves tinged with yellow) than those obtained in the forest. It grows in many places on the low hills in this neighbourhood, and appears a very hardy tree. The greatest size which the trees I saw attained, were from two or three inches in diameter and fifteen or fifty feet high; the jungle causing them to run up this way to get at the air and light. The country it is found in, is very like that about the environs of the falls of the Jumonah, where there is but little doubt that tea would grow equally as well as it does on the Naga hills. I am informed by a Burmese who was formerly on the frontiers of China, that in the districts of Taongbine and Taongmah, the Polong inhabitants cultivate nothing else but the tea tree, and that from one description alone four varieties of tea are obtained, which he described in the following manner—First kind, from the buds, called in Burmese *Shuabee*. Second kind, when two leaves only have shot forth, called *Kugengoo*. Third kind, when five and four leaves have shot forth, called *Kugeyenka*. And the fourth kind when in five and six leaves, called *Kyeot*. The latter is drunk only by the common people. In appearance it is exactly the same as that found about Jykamee. The hills on which the Polong people live, are much higher than those we discovered the tea on in the Naga Hills.

Passing over these low hills, we came to a small plain, on which we found ginger growing wild. It was quickly dug up by the Shans for medicinal purposes, who said it was to be found growing in the same state, only in the Singpho country. Crossing several feeders of the Desem or Unurue river, we ascended to the village called by the Munipoorees, Ookusuha, and by the Nagas about this part, Terriamah, or by the Nagas on the Cachar Hills, Umponglo. The villagers, as they did last time I passed their village, offered us no opposition, but showed us a place to encamp upon, and assisted to clear away the jungle for that purpose, for which I gave them presents. There is no good ground near the village for encamping on, but before ascending to it there is a small stream on which Captains Pemberton and Jenkins formed their camp, which is a good place for halting at coming from Jykamee, and prior to crossing the great range. There is also another spot beyond the ridge Terriamah is situated on, which is immediately beneath the great range on the Desem or Unurue river.

4th February. Ascended the great range by the path followed by Captains Jenkins and Pemberton. The ascent was extremely steep and harassing to the coolies, and we did not reach the small river beneath the Haplongmee, till 3 P.M. Haplongmee is called by the Nagas about here Konomah, which is equivalent to the Sinpalo of the Nagas about Beren, and the Cachar Hills.

5th. We started from Haplongmee in search of the Muniporee detachment, which was to have met us there, and encamped on the Toobool or Tzupfoo river, in the fence erected by the Munipoorees on their return route; but my party only taking up one quarter of the ground they did, I was obliged to make the fences much smaller. I calculated the force of the Muniporee detachment at 400 men, judging from the extent of ground it covered. The Nagas after promising to show us the route to the place where we might find the Munipoorees, or at any rate to the next village, began to slip off one by one, after we had moved a short way from their village.

6th. Passing a short way up the bed of the Toobool, or Tzupfoo river, we turned to the right, and ascended a slight ridge. The country about this is extremely rugged and repulsive in appearance, being composed chiefly of high rocky ranges, with but little flat ground at their bases. The sides of the ridges are covered with low bushes, and

small quantities of grass, and here and there a stunted fir or two. I saw some apple trees which had been planted by the Nagas; also, in the vale in which we encamped, willows growing along the ditches, as in parts of Europe. The climate I should say was good, it was moderately warm in the day, and cold at night, with sharp hoar frosts on the ranges. All the water in our mugs and pots was thickly frozen during the night we remained at this place.

7th. Not thinking that I should find the Munipoorees by advancing further, after the misrepresentations we had received, I turned to retrace my steps to Konomah or Hoplongmee, hoping to be able to make a detour and visit Ikare and Singpagee; and proceeded down to our former encamping ground on the Toobool, or Tzupfoo river. The fences and huts had been destroyed by the Hoplongmee Nagas, but we soon erected others.

8th. Advanced to the heights before entering Hoplongmee. I found some difficulty in procuring information regarding the customs of the Nagas of these parts, on account of their suspicious character, and fear of answering my questions, which they think might tend to discover some of the exceeding cunning habits which they possess. They are very fond of argument, and have recourse to it immediately they become aware that they are not able to cope with their enemy *vi et armis*, and do not scruple to resort to the most absurd falsehoods to try and intimidate their opponents.

They are, like most mountaineers, very uncleanly, and their habitations are seldom or ever cleared of the filth of ages. The houses are large, and are generally divided into two apartments, in which they live and keep their grain, animals, &c. One family only resides in one house. When not obliged to work, the men are lazily inclined, and spend their mornings generally in sipping a species of fermented liquor, but when pushed to labour, they are very active, and work very cheerfully to some merry song. Their reaping song in particular struck me as being exceedingly wild and pretty. They form a line of men, women and children, and advance together, singing in chorus and cutting down the crop. They cultivate several kinds of vetches and peas, and have four or five species of rice, some grown on the mountains, and some in the vales. The latter are produced on lands that have been shaped out in steps and are irrigated by the innumerable streams, rivulets, &c. found at the base of nearly all the mountains.

They breed cows, pigs, goats, fowls, and dogs, and eat of nearly every living animal; in fact I do not know of a single exception, rats, snakes, monkeys, tigers, elephants, being all equally tasteful to them. I was informed that Konoma, or Hoplongmee, is composed of 300 houses, half of which are Angamee and half Dewan Nagas, but they unite and join in all pillaging expeditions with the two Angamee villages of Mozomah (Ikaree) and Khamona (Impagee), both of 500 houses strong. The three villages, to keep up their tie of alliance, are required to give a united feast once a year, each village sending a cow and other articles for the occasion. The villages at the northern base of the great range are an admixture of the Angamee and Dewan tribes. The Angamees are known to the Nagas by the name of *Khunomah*, and the tribe known by the Cacharee name of Dewansa, is called *Thungeemah*: a difference must be observed between the names of *Khunomah* and *Konomah*, the latter being the name of the village of Hoplongmee, and the former of the Angamee tribe and of an Angamee village.

I could not obtain any accounts of the origin of this singular tribe, who appear to have been a small colony established in the midst of a number of tribes, who, from their daring and martial character, have held all the surrounding tribes in awe, and after increasing itself into three or four villages, has completely gained a supremacy over its neighbours, and although the latter boasted of a much greater number of villages, though not so large as the Angamees, and a larger tribe, they are not able to attack them in return, from their want of unity and confidence. The attacks of all these wild tribes are looked upon in no other light than authorized martial exploits against their natural enemies, which singular to say, they consider all Nagas not of their own tribe. Now however that they are attacked by them in return, they are becoming less inclined to continue their former distant marauding expeditions, and confine themselves merely to the revenge of any injury they may have, or fancy they have, received. The Dewan tribe, I imagine has obtained that name from having formerly either resided on, or come from beyond the Doyang or Dewan river.

From the village of Yang, another tribe springs up, whose dialect is different from either the Angamee or Dewan Nagas, and who are called by the former tribe *Zamee*. Beyond the Doyang, other large tribes of Nagas exist; Lotah, Nemsang, &c. &c. these tribes I am

informed differ from those to the west of that river, and are under their respective chiefs, whose authority they acknowledge, which is contrary to the system of the Thungeemah (Dewan) and Angamees. The latter tribes when about to undertake any expedition, assemble the aged and fighting men of their villages to discuss the matter over, and the greatest bullies generally succeed in getting their wishes adopted.

The Nagas of these parts acknowledge the power of three gods. The first is known by the name of *Rapoo*, to whom they sacrifice cows and bulls only. He is the chief, and has the power of killing or curing. The second is called *Humaadee*, to whom they sacrifice dogs; and the third *Rampaow*, to whom they sacrifice cocks and offer liquor. They said, they had all three the power of killing or curing in different diseases. Their marriage ceremony is nearly the same as that of the Rengma Nagas.

Landed property is hereditary, and is cultivated for ages by the proprietors. In building houses, neighbours are required by custom to assist each other, for which they are feasted by the person whose house they are building. On deaths of fathers occurring, the property is divided, and all the family share, the house going to the eldest son, unless he has one of his own, when the mother retains it.

The barter value of different articles at the village of Hoplongmee was as follows, a cow is valued at 10 or 12 conch shells.

A pig	..	..	..	2 ditto
A fowl	..	..	..	1 packet of salt
A goat	..	..	..	2 conch shells
A male slave	..	..	..	1 cow and 3 conch shells
A female ditto	..	..	..	3 ditto, and 4 and 5 ditto

The children of slaves are slaves.

The climate of Hoplongmee is in the month of February very fine, the days are mild, and the nights very clear and cold, and a strong hoar frost rests on the ground till 8 A.M. — I found wild raspberries growing on the hills in the vicinity, and some nettles resembling those found in Europe. The hills are of considerable altitude, and those in the immediate neighbourhood of Hoplongmee covered with stunted grass, with wooded patches on their sides. The alpine scenery is extremely fine, and few sights could exceed the grandeur and fearful appearance of a storm rolling slowly through these mountain chains. We experienced some very high bleak winds on them.

The Nagas have several ways of prophesying the success of any expedition they are going on. One is by cutting a soft reed with their spear head into flat pieces, and if the slices fall to the ground one way, success is sure to fall in the opposite direction intended; according to the number fallen that way, so will be the proportion of ill luck; success by another mode is by the means of the flight of a cock. If he flies strong and far, it is a favourable sign; but if, on the contrary, he should fly weakly, and to no distance, ill luck is sure to ensue. In going on an expedition, if a deer cross their path they return, and defer their trip till some other day. This same superstition prevails also amongst the Shan tribes, with the slight difference, that if a deer cross their path from right to left, they proceed, but if in the opposite direction, i.e. from left to right, they return immediately, considering it a warning not to proceed upon any expedition.

Leaving about 9 A.M., we crossed the great range, and after a very fatiguing march, did not encamp on the Unurue or Desem river till dusk of evening; we this day reached a stream, three miles to the south of Jykamee, the distance from that village to the base of the great range being rather too far for the coolies.

15th February. Quitting at 6½ A.M. an hour's march brought us to Jykamee. We encamped this day on the Desem river, at the southern base of the Sumoogoding hill.

We discovered the tea tree growing in the neighbourhood of camp in a very luxuriant manner, the country is of the same description of low hills, as found in the vicinity of Jykamee.

19th. Marched round the village, to avoid going through it, as the Nagas seemed to have much objection to it, and met some Nagas from other villages.

20th. Leaving Pepamee, and proceeding for about a mile, we came to some trees, in which I halted the party; we encamped upon a small stream about four miles from Pepamee. In the evening we observed their beacons alight (on high hills) in all directions, which I found out were signals of our position, and movements; the number of beacons burning at the same time, being the signal of our advance, retirement, or halting place; the path was very good, over a ridge of low hills.

21st. Our progress was very slow, and although the distance to Juppamah was four or five miles, we did not arrive there till 3 P.M. We entered the village through a narrow lane, with a stone wall on

either side, and a bamboo trellis work over it, and a single plank of considerable thickness as a door. This village was a very old one, of about 300 houses, although report always augmented the number to 500; it is composed of half Angamee and half Dewan Nagas. Some of their stools or bedsteads were very large, cut out of a single tree, and they held them in great esteem; their iron instruments being of the most inferior description, it must have taken them considerable time and labour to cut out the trees. We found a great quantity of rice in the jungle, of four or five different kinds.

The Rengma river winds past the western foot of the hill this village is situated on. On a hill on its right bank, bearing from Juppamah $55\frac{1}{2}$ is the village of Bephomee. The country about this is composed of good sized mountains, though of much less altitude than those of the great range, averaging from two to three thousand feet high. The Sumoogoding range, after admitting the Desem river through it to the east of that village, continues in a north-eastern direction till it is again broken by the Rengma river passing through it, and it finally ends at the Doyang river; the hills on the eastern bank of the latter river extending down its course to about the parallel of latitude of Mohong Dhejooa. The mountain on which Juppamah is situated, overlooks the Sumoogoding ridge, and the whole country is visible up to the Rengma Naga hills, to the west of the Dhunsiri; the eye extending over a vast dark looking forest plain, with the course of the Rengma winding through it, till it is lost sight of in the distance. The hills to the east, between the Rengma and Doyang river, are of a far less height than those to the west of the former river, and run in parallel ridges, east and west. The largest mountains lay in detached ridges to the south of the great range.

It appears to me that the latter range would form a well defined boundary between Assam and Munipoor, running in an almost uninterrupted straight line from the Meghpoor valley up to the Rengma river, a slight bend only taking place to the southward, of not much consequence, about Beren.

I regret extremely I was not able to prosecute my examination of the country further to the eastward, which I was obliged to give up on account of the delay that I had been subjected to in the plains, and the lateness of the season at which I entered the hills. Sickness had commenced in camp, which made marching very harassing with the limited means I had of conveyance.

27th. After much difficulty in providing conveyance for the sick, I left this ground, and returned by the path we had come.

We encamped in our former fences of the 20th.

On the 28th, reached Meyepamah; and on the 29th, arrived at Sumoogoding, and found that the whole of the stockade, grain, and property left behind, had been destroyed by fire, through the carelessness of a sepoy.

2nd March. Deeming it imprudent to trust a post at such a distance from any civilized population with only a few maunds of grain in a weak stockade, and fearing the ill will of the villagers, I brought the whole party down to Dhemapoor, where we found 200 maunds of grain assembled.

4

LIEUTENANT BIGGE'S¹ TOUR IN 1841

(Dispatch from Lieutenant H. Bigge, Assistant Agent, detached to the Naga Hills, to Captain Jenkins, Agent Governor-General, N. E. Frontier, communicated from the Political Secretariat of India to the Secretary to the Asiatic Society, *J.A.S.B.*, 1841, Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 129–36)

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO REPORT MY ARRIVAL at this Post (Demalpore), where I am happy to state large supplies of grain, &c. &c., are now daily arriving for the use of the troops about to accompany me to the Naga Hills.

Having been prevented, from the total want of population on the road between Rangalao Ghur and Kasirangah, of Mehal Morung, from passing up that line of country, I crossed to the north bank of the Burrampooter at Bishnath, and passing through the villages of Baghmaree, Rangasalli, Goopore, and Kolah Barri in the Luckimpore district, crossed the Maguli Island to Dehingeahgong, and so through Deergong to Cacharri Hath, where I fell in with the detachment of the Assam Lt. Inf. which Captain Hannay had sent off, to await my orders at Nogorah.

¹ Lieutenant Bigge left Nowgong on 26 November 1840 and entered the Naga Hills on 22 January 1841.—N.K.R.

From Cacharri Hath I passed to the Dhunsiri river at Golahghaut, where I was glad to find that the greatest portion of the supplies of rice, &c. dispatched by me from Nowgong, had all arrived safely, and that a large portion had been sent forward; the remainder was speedily transferred to smaller boats, and is now close at hand, having been brought by water to a small river called Daopani, one march on this side Hir Pathor, and from whence a path through the forests had been previously cleared to the nearest point to this.

From a demi-official letter, received at Golahghaut from Captain Hannay, I was led to believe that large supplies had been collected for the use of his detachment at Nagorah, but in this there must have been some mistake, as the Jemadar in command informs me that but very little rice has been collected, and not much more may be expected at present.

Never having previously relied on any other arrangements than those I made when at Nowgong, but little, if any delay will result from these circumstances, and the detachment was ordered to leave Nogorah on the 1st instant at latest, and will, probably, should the heavy rains we have had not detain them, arrive here on the 5th or 6th instant [January 1841].

I remained 3 or 4 days at Golahghaut, superintending my arrangements, and was present at a sort of fair, held there, on the arrival of a fleet of boats, laden with cotton from the Lotah Nagah Hills on the Dogong river, which falls into the Dhunsiri a short way above; about 70 of the Nagas came down, with two of their sykeahs, many of them understanding the Assamese language, and were engaged the whole day in bartering their cotton, for salt, dried fish, dogs, fowls, and ducks, with a few brass rings, of which they seem very fond, suspending them one below the other from holes bored in the ear.

The general average of prices was about

1 Seer of Salt	..	..	4 to 5 of Cotton
1 Dog	..	..	3 (They eat this animal)
1 Fowl or Duck	..	..	1½ to 2

On visiting their camp a little above the ghaut, I found several of them lying on the ground, intoxicated from the effects of a most disgusting sort of spirituous liquor they make from rice, and which they drink hot; they are a very sullen race, and it was with some difficulty I could get any replies to the few questions I asked them.

Regarding the madder, with which the hair on their spears was dyed, I tried a long time to gain some correct information, but in vain, the sykeah told me, they had none in their own hills, but what they used was brought to them by the *Abor Nagas*, a tribe I have not yet heard of, but believe it will be found to mean the *Angamees*, of whom they seemed to stand much in dread, and from whom they said they received a large portion of the cotton, they brought down for sale, acting, it would appear from this, more as merchants than the actual growers.

The country of these Abors, they described as being due south from their hills, but they said distant 2 months' journey, an obvious error, as such a distance would take them far to the south of Munnipore. As the name of this tribe was also made use of by the *Rengmah Nagas* (inhabiting the hill between those of the makers of Nowgong and the *Dhunsiri*) I may hereafter be able perhaps to make myself better acquainted with their position, though this tribe also seem to fear them fully as much as the *Lotahs*.

In appearance, the *Lotah Nagas* are of a short, though stout build, and some of them by no means ill-looking; they wear no more clothing than their brethren of other parts, and are alike filthy in their persons and habits, and have a pompous mode of addressing one, which might in some cases be interpreted as insolent. I showed them some clasp knives I took down with me for the purpose, at which they laughed, and sneeringly remarked, 'of what use were they? Naga requires only a *dhan*, and his spears; such things are of no use or value to us'; before quitting this race, I may as well observe that they carry away about 1,200 or 1,300 maunds of salt annually, in exchange for cotton, so that their trade may be deemed equally to near 10,000 mds. of cotton in all.

There are several merchants, chiefly *Kyahs*, from *Marwar*, established at *Golahghaut*, besides *Musselmans* from *Goalpara*, but so little trade is there for any thing besides cotton, that I was unable to procure a brass pot of any sort; woollens and every other descriptions of cloth are alike unsought for, their stock in trade being composed entirely of salt.

A large quantity of iron being found and manufactured in the neighbourhood of *Golahghaut*, the *Nagas* obtain their *dhans* chiefly from hence, the price of which appeared to me very high, being as. 4 each, and the iron fetching as much as Rs 8 per maund,

unwrought; the quantity annually manufactured, I was unable to ascertain.

Through all the desolate jungles that I have hitherto travelled, and they are not a few, I never met with one so completely abandoned by life as this (the area of the Dhunsiri river); no animal of any kind was seen, nor was a bird heard from morning till night, the death-like silence being only broken by the heavy fall of the *Otengah* fruit, these trees composing the entire forest or nearly so. The marks of the river left on the trees was everywhere visible from 1 to 9 feet in height, forbidding all idea of making this line, that of communication with this post, save during the cold season, and that too at a late period from the number of impassable swamps which everywhere intervene, and render all attempts at rendering the present path any shorter, or much more practicable than it is, alike unavailing.

Fodder for cattle, especially elephants, is remarkably scarce, my men finding the greatest difficulty in obtaining the smallest supply, and that too of a very poor description.

The vast number of trees, which are sunk in the river and on the sands, render the navigation for boats almost impossible, beyond the Daopani, unless perhaps during the rains, and even then, it is not without the greatest care, that boats can proceed, either up, or still more so, down the river; a very large one last year was swamped close to Bor Pathor, while passing down empty, being entangled in a large tree, one of the men being drowned, and the rest with difficulty saved, the boat being lost.

Such being the state of the country on the North side, it will be necessary to open a better communication, than at present exists towards Mohong Dezoah, and for that purpose, I intend engaging a large number of coolies, if possible, from Tuli Ram Senaputti's country, to construct a regular road from Mohong Dezoah to this part, unless a better site can be shortly discovered, clearing away the jungle, and if he will agree to it, locating 10 or 15 families of Meekirs, at this place who shall be kept up for the purpose of clearing the roads, &c., for the future.

Should he agree, I shall further propose that the revenue of these persons shall be for the present defrayed by government, either by a direct payment to the ryots themselves of the amount demandable from them by the Senaputti, or in case of their objecting, a trifle

more, or by crediting him that amount from the annual tribute paid by him to government in ivory.

Should I be able during my present expedition to reduce the Nagah chiefs to any state of order, it would be desirable further, to try and settle a few of these men in the neighbourhood, on the East bank of the Dhunsiri, allowing them to occupy any lands they choose, exempt entirely from all rent or taxation, until such time as matters shall be so changed as to seem to call for fresh arrangements; as however this is mere speculation, I shall pursue it no further at present.

While at Bor Pathor I was visited, on invitation, by the Phokun or chief of the Rengmah tribe of Nagas before mentioned, who complained of the loss he had sustained, together with his tribe, by the abolition of the former establishment of *kutkees*, or, I might call them, supercargoes, who were formerly the medium of communication between this race and the merchants, in all their dealings, through whom all orders and communications to the Nagas passed, begging their restoration, together with the small quantity of lands, &c. which these persons enjoyed as a remuneration for their services.

From the short conversation I had with the Phokun, he was anxious not to stay, on account of some religious festival which commenced 2 days afterwards; he stated that the lands and pykes were bestowed on his grandfather and father, for services done in the time of the insurrection of the Muttacks or Moamarriah tribe, in preserving the property &c. of the then Bor Gohain of Assam; that he had applied to Mr Scott, on the subject, at Gowhattee in person, and had received assurance that his claims should be considered as good, but that now the whole lands have been taxed, the *kutkees* abolished, and that his authority and rank have fallen so low, that scarcely his own tribe acknowledge him.

I regret that I am not acquainted with the reasons, on which the arrangements now in force were adopted, sufficiently, to enable me to enter into a full detail of the case, but you may be able from what I have stated, to refer to the documents, I have now with me, and form an opinion, whether on payment of a small tribute in ivory, which they are, I was informed, ready and willing to pay, the remission to the extent required might not safely be effected.

The Phokun further expressed a desire to be taken under protection from the attacks of the Lotah tribe of Nagas, with whom there has been an enmity existing for a long time, and he asserts, though

I fear without any direct proof (he promised to produce witnesses before me at this place to depose to the fact) of the village called Beloo, not far from Mohong Dezooah, having been attacked by a party of Lotahs from the village of Tagdie, last year, and one man and a child murdered. On this subject I shall again address you when the evidence shall have been adduced, but may observe that the trade of the Lotah Nagas being completely in the power of the Principal Assistant Commissioner of Seebpore, some injunctions might be conveyed to the Naga Hazarri of that tribe holding him responsible for any repetition of such acts.

5

BROWNE-WOOD'S TOUR IN 1844

(Extracts from a report of a journey into the Naga Hills in 1844. By Mr Browne-Wood, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, in a letter to Captain A. Sturt, Principal Assistant Commissioner, Nowgong, dated 14 April 1844, Golaghat, *J.A.S.B.*, 1844, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 771-85)

ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED in your letter No. 108 of the 27th of January last, I proceeded on the 4th February on my way towards Dhemapoor; my first day's march being to the Namber nuddee: my second to Bor Pathar; here is a fine open plain with about 300 *poorahs* of *roopeet* (not all cultivated), and a large populous town. The Dhunsiri river flows on its eastern side. The ryots appear to be a thriving people, and during the cold season are generally employed in cutting out boats from the fine timbers to be found in the jungles in the vicinity of Bor Pathar, and Dao Panee river, which boats they dispose of to the ryots and traders to Golaghat and Morung, taking in lieu cash enough to pay their rent; the balance they take in such articles as they require: salt, oil, and cloth.

The 3rd march brought me to the Dao Panee river; a river coming from the Rengmah Naga hills, and flowing into the Dhunsiri a few miles (15) above Bor Pathar; the next day Hurreiogan nullah, from this to the Diboo Panee river; and the following day, the 9th February, I arrived at Dhemapoor.

Dhemapoor, 9th February, 1844.—Arrived at this post about 2 P.M., and found some huts erected for me by the coolies, whom I dispatched a few days previous to my departure from Golaghat, for the purpose of clearing the path from Golaghat to this post. Went over to the old fort of Dhemapoor, on the south bank of the Dhunsiri, but the place was so covered with jungle, I was unable to distinguish any thing, excepting some pillars and a gateway; these pillars are of a composition of sand, lime, and goor, &c., extremely hard and durable; several of them are in a perfect state of preservation, others have been split asunder by large trees falling across them; their general height is about 12 feet and diameter 4 feet, some of them very neatly carved. These pillars I am told, formed the ground-work of an extensive building, the distance between each post about 10 feet, and on these pillars, was the platform or *mechaun*. The gateway is of brick, quite perfect at present, but must very shortly fall to pieces, as huge trees have taken root on the top of it. Some of these trees are very large, from one and a half to two feet in diameter. How they thrive up there I cannot imagine; there is also a wall of eight feet high by four to five feet deep surrounding this fort. This wall, I suppose, is half a mile square, excepting the eastern side, where the gateway is; a double ditch surrounds the wall. There are some fine trees in this fort.

10th February.—Remained today to inspect the stockade godown, godown accounts, &c. The stockade is on the North bank of the Dhunsiri, and around it is a clearance of about 80 *poorahs*, cleared by Captain Bigge in 1841; it is however again becoming a heavy jungle of grass and underwood. From the several clusters of plants and trees scattered over this spot, I should say that the whole of this cleared land had been cultivated. On my inquiring of the Subadar the cause of this falling off, he informed me that the sepoy had formerly cultivated the greater part of this land; but their being now moved about from place to place, has prevented their taking any further interest in its cultivation, and they consequently have given it up. I hereupon ordered the Subadar to relieve the guard but once in six months, instead of once in four months: this arrangement will allow of the sepoy cultivating the land at Dhemapoor and at the other posts. They will sow in June and July, and reap in November.

11th February.—Started this morning at 8 o'clock A.M. for Summagoding, the heavy rain of last night has made the pathway

very wet, and swarming with leeches. Summagoding being too great a distance for my coolies, I determined to encamp on a sand bank in the Diboo Panee river, about three miles from the base of the Summagoding hill; from this spot I could distinctly see the houses of the Naga village; here the river is rather broad, huge stones and the wrecks of large and small trees lie in a confused mass. The Diboo Panee is a fine river, much broader and more rapid than the Dhunsiri, its banks are very low, and during the rainy season, the country for several hundred yards inland is inundated. The path from Dhema-poor runs in a S.S.E. direction for about five miles, when meeting the Diboo Panee, it followed its banks to my encampment.

12th February.—At 8 o'clock A.M. started, and arrived at the foot of the hill in about an hour and a half, the path tolerably good, but blocked up in some places by fallen trees and *bet* jungle, the latter strewed across the road by wild elephants, &c. On my way up, came upon two or three spots of cultivation, belonging to the Summagoding Nagas; another hour's march brought me up to the village, which is on the very summit of the hill. About a quarter of a mile from the village, I was met by the two Gaon Booras, who received me most civilly, and welcomed me to their village. I had thought of remaining here this day, but finding that water was very scarce, it being brought up in bamboo *chongahs* from the Diboo Panee, at the Southern base of this hill, I determined to proceed down to the river and there encamp.

I remained in the village for a couple of hours, to rest my coolies and people, and to hear any complaints the villagers might have to make against the other tribe of Nagas. The Gaon Booras on this informed me, that about two years ago, some Nagas of the Kohema tribe had seized two men and one woman of their village, who were going to their field for rice; they had since offered to ransom them, but their offers were so exorbitant, they could not agree with them. Having told them I would investigate their complaints, and having given them some presents, I took my leave; they appeared much pleased with their presents, and went away in high spirits. Summagoding is a fine high hill, height I suppose 2000 feet. On the very summit of it, is the village 'Summagoding', it contains about 100 houses; the men I found to be civil and obliging, but very independent in their notions; they are, however, tributary to the Khonoma Nagas. The river at this point is very narrow, and runs through two

high perpendicular walls of rock ; the rush of water during the rains is very considerable, width of river not more than 60 feet.

13th February.—Started at half-past 8 o'clock A.M. for Rajapiama, to inspect the tea lands reported to be in those hills ; round along the bed of the Diboo Panee, stepping very slippery on the large stones in the river, hardly a pebble or grain of sand to be seen, the bed of the river being filled with large round stones. An hour and a half brought us to the foot of the Raja-piama hills, water nearly the whole way very shallow. Here I directed my people to remain and encamp, whilst I proceeded to the Raja-piama village to look at the tea, accompanied by my *teeklas*, and guard. On arriving at the village, I was met by Jeereebie Gaon Boora ; as unfortunately for me this was a grand festival day with them, the whole party was more or less intoxicated, the Gaon Boora, as head man, more so than his brethren ; he nevertheless received me most cordially, and invitingly pressed me to taste of his '*futtica*',¹ which to humour him, I put to my lips. After a little further conversation, I requested to be shewn the tea ; Jeereebie immediately escorted me to the spot, where I saw the tea plant growing most abundantly and luxuriantly immediately near to the village ; I followed the tea for some distance, and saw very many spots covered with it. Jeereebie gave me to understand, that the whole of his low hills were covered with tea. I think this may be possible, for tea has been found among the Bazee-piama hills, but in small quantities. The leaves of the plant are large, and of a finer kind than what I have generally seen in the Seeksagur and Muttuck division. I asked Jeereebie if he had any objections to my sending up Assamese tea-makers to manufacture the tea on the spot, telling him that I would give him *monees*,² salt, daws, &c., to which, he replied he would be very happy to accommodate in any way, and that I should be welcome to send up the Assamese tea-makers, and that he would protect them. He agreed also to supply them with provisions on my giving him *monees*, salt, &c. In return I cannot say how much tea there may be in these hills, but I am of opinion, that it extends over a great part of these low hills. The late Mr Grange mentions having met with it among the Jappama and Jykanee Nagas. The Mazepamah and Bezepamah have it also on their hills.

¹ A fermented liquor from a grain.

² Beads.

On my asking him for the fine cloths he had engaged to pay annually to Government, he asked me whether his neighbours and other Nagas had given me in theirs; I told him that some had, and that I was going round to the others, to collect. He told me that he could not give me his fine, until the Konoma and Mozoma (his superiors), had given in theirs; to which I replied, I should remain in his village, until he gave me the fine cloths he had agreed to pay to Government, and that I could not go away without them. On this, he had a conference with his chiefs, and presently afterwards Jeereebec brought me his fine cloths, but with a very bad grace. I gave him and his four Gaon Booras some presents, with which they were highly pleased, and we parted very good friends. Some of the Naga ryots brought me to my encampment some tea seeds, which they bartered for salt and *monees*. I endeavoured to procure some rice from the Nagas, but they told me, that they had a bad crop that season, and had not a sufficiency for themselves; having been obliged to purchase a supply for their present consumption, they could not afford to give me more than one maund; this of course could not go very far among my people. I had only brought five days' provisions with me from Dhemapoor, half of which was now expended; I therefore determined to return to Dhemapoor, where I expected certain Naga chiefs, whom I had summoned, awaiting my arrival.

14th February.—At 8 o'clock A.M. started from Summagoding, and arrived at 4 o'clock P.M. at our first encampment on the Dibad Panee, this was a long day's march; the route for six miles ran in the bed of the river, sometimes water up to our waists, and extremely cold, coolies very much distress, footing very uncertain here. On arriving at the south-eastern base of the Summagoding range, we were unable to proceed further along the bed of the river, owing to the deep pools, walls of rock, and rapids. We here came upon Captain Bigge's road across the hills east of Summagoding. This road or pathway crosses three or four of those hills, average height from 500 to 600 feet, it is tolerably good but jungle (grass and under-wood) has been sprung up in it; the bridges and embankments then made by Captain Bigge, have given way, the wood with which they were made, having rotted. Distance across these hills about three miles; having crossed these low hills, we came again on the Diboo Panee river on the northern base of Summagoding, and having

followed it about three miles further, we came to our first encampment on this river, coolies, followers, nay all of us, much fagged. On my asking the coolies which route they preferred, they gave the preference to the Naga route across the Summagoding hill. I am also of opinion, that the latter route is preferable to foot passengers; and Captain Bigge's for elephants, horses and cattle; the Naga route is passable throughout the year, whilst the road made by Captain Bigge is passable for only three months in the year when the river is low, and the route can be taken along its bed.

On my return from Raja-piama today, a Maun sepoy pointed out to me some tea plants; he took me up a nullah for about 200 yards, we then came upon some high land, and on both sides of this nullah saw the tea plant. On my asking him how he came to know this spot, he informed me, that he had accompanied Captain Bigge in his late expedition, and that they had encamped somewhere near here; that he came here searching for fuel and fell upon the tea; the plants were rather thinly scattered, but there were plenty of them round about in the jungle, some of the trees were large, 20 feet high, and 4 to 5 inches in diameter. This nullah falls into the Diboo Panee river, on its north side, and is about two and half miles from the southern base of the Summagoding hill.

15th February.—Started at 8 o'clock A.M., and arrived at Dhema-poor at 11½ A.M. No Naga chiefs had arrived; coolies I had left behind me here, hard at work at the godown and stockade, grass for thatching very scarce, and is only procurable about two miles distant from the stockade.

16th February.—Chiefs of the Mozoma and Bezepama tribes came in to pay their respects, gave them some presents.

17th February.—As the Upper Rengmah Naga chiefs had not arrived here at my calling, I propose going to Mohung, there to meet them, visit the *pharree* there, and have a conference with Tularam Seenaputti, regarding the very irregular and lawless conduct of certain of his Kacharee ryots, who are constantly embroiling the Nagas in quarrel one with another, taking the part of the stronger party, and assisting them in looting the weaker one, taking for themselves a good share of the spoils; they go armed with muskets, consequently have very great advantage over the unfortunate Nagas. If also two Naga tribes wish to fight with one another, the richer party purchase the assistance of a few Kacharees (armed with

muskets), and are sure of becoming the victors; the Kacharees receiving a handsome reward, are always ready to give their assistance to the richer party.

20th February.—Mohung is a town of about 45 to 50 houses on the north bank of the Jummoona, the river is in front of the village, which is here from 80 to 90 feet broad; population Ahoms and Cacharees. Here is a *pharree* under the Jummoonah Mookh thannah, consisting of one Police mohurir and two *teeklas*. On the low hills to the north of Mohung are several villages of Meekirs; they are a fine hardy set of men, and make civil and obliging coolies. These people seldom remain more than three years on the same piece of land; they prefer clearing new tree jungle to remaining longer, as by that time grass and ekra jungle overrun their clearances, which they find more difficult to eradicate than clearing new tree jungle; they cultivate vast quantities of cotton, which they dispose of to the Assamese ryots and traders for cash and salt. Cotton thrives beautifully in almost all these low hills. On the higher range to the north of the Meekirs, are the upper Rengmah Nagas, some of their villages are but one, and others two days' march from Mohung. Dispatched the Kutkees to summon in the chiefs with their cloths, and also a messenger to Tularam Seenaputti, requesting an interview with him at Ramsah, a small village to the west of this a few miles.

21st February.—Not wishing to remain idle here until the arrival of the Naga chiefs and Tularam Seenaputti, I proceeded to the falls of the Jummoona, a distance of about five miles below Mohung, passed through the small village of Ramsah on the north of the Jummoona, and from there, half an hour's walk took us to the falls. Here I encamped for the day, and went to inspect these falls; chalk, coal, and lime, said to be in their vicinity, these falls are of one continuation for about half a mile. The first of about 30 perpendicular feet; 2nd, about 20; 3rd, of 12; 4th of 10 feet, and so diminishing until they settle down into the rapids. The river above the falls is full to its banks, below very rapid, with many deep pools. Its banks here are of rock and of hard red sandstone; some of the rocks in the bed of the river are of immense size. During the rainy season, the body of water rushing down this spot, must be very considerable. There are small hills, height about 150 feet on each bank of the river at the falls. About half a mile from the falls I came upon the chalk as mentioned in the late Mr Grange's Journal, I found it in the bed

of the river, and also two small nullahs falling into the Jummoona. There is a large quantity of it; but I am of opinion it is pipe clay and not chalk. The coal too I saw; it is in a small nullah at the eastern base of these small hills on the north bank of the river. The stratum is small and in the bed of this nullah; but not having the necessary instruments for excavating, I was unable to get any good specimens, I however brought away with me a few pieces; the upper seam was of a soft blackish substance and easily crumbled in the hand; below this, the coal was brittle, and broke into many small pieces. I had nothing but a Naga spear with me, so could not reach the solid coal. I told the Ramsah Gaon Boorah who was with me, to send me some good specimens, and I would reward him. The lime was some few miles below the falls, and too far away for me to visit to-day. I was told by some Meekirs that a small quantity lay in store, or rather had been in store there, but the house in which it was stored, having been burnt down, the lime lay exposed, and became one hard mass and spoilt. Cotton traders from Mohung Ramsah above are here obliged to change boats; the cotton is carried over the small hills below the rapids, and there put into other boats. Thunder storm and rain all night.

22nd February.—Returned to Ramsah to await the Seenaputti's arrival. Ramsah is a small village on the north bank of the Jummoona with about twenty houses, population Ahoms and Cacharees. Here I met five Cossiyahs, they had come from Amoepoonjee, and had brought with them daws, kodals, and a few brass utensils, which they barter with the Nagas, Meekirs and Cacharees. I thought the articles very cheap, considering the distance they bring them from. Daws four annas, and kodalees seven and eight annas; they tell me some of their people come over yearly to trade and barter with these Nagas (Rengmas), Meekirs and Cacharees.

23rd February.—Waited till 12 A.M. for Tularam Seenaputti, but he not arriving, I left a message for him to follow me to Dholung, and then started for that village; drizzling rain the whole day. Path very wet.

24th February.—Tularam Seenaputti arrived last evening, and came to-day to pay his respects. Informed him of the frequent disturbances created among the Nagas by some of his Cacharee ryots, residing at and near Semkur, and requested he would have a stop put to such proceedings. I at the same time told him, that I had given

orders to the Maun Subadar to seize all such parties and to send them down to Golaghat, when they would be dealt with as my superiors would direct, that these aggressions were illegal, and if he did not put a stop to them that he would be answerable for these aggressions of his ryots. On this he replied, that he was as anxious as myself to put a stop to such proceedings, and had dispatched some of his people for that purpose, but these Semkur Cacharees minded not his orders, and he had not the means at hand of enforcing them.

The Upper Rengmah Naga chiefs now arrived, bringing with them their *lall bundee* of cloths, all excepting seven ; which seven I directed the chiefs to give to the Subadar at Dhemapoor, who would forward them on to me. All the chiefs but one were present ; the absent chief's village being three days' march from Mohung, the Kutkees did not reach that distance. I however told the others, (his brethren), to tell the absent chief to take his cloth to the Subadar at Dhemapoor. These chiefs complained against those of the Jokophang tribe, for allowing the Abor Nagas, when the latter came in their marauding expedition against the Rengmahs, to rest in their (the Jokophang) village, and showing them the route to the Rengmah villages, and in some instances joining these Abors, and fighting with them. I here-upon took the Jokophang chiefs to task, and informed them, that I would hold them responsible for any further aggressions against these Rengmah Nagas, for without their assistance, I was firmly of opinion, that the Abors could not come thus far to commit these marauding expeditions. The Jokophang Nagas replied, that they were a small village, and when the Abors came, they always came in large numbers ; and that they, to save themselves, had shewn the route to the Rengmah villages, but had never once joined such parties of Abors with the intention of looting. I told them that when the Abors again came to their village not to allow them to remain, but to inform the Subadar at Dhemapoor, who was but one day's march from Jokophang, and who would protect both them and the Rengmah Nagas ; they agreed to this arrangement. I gave them some presents and their dismissal. The Rengmah chiefs were willing to accompany me to Golaghat, but said that now it was too late for them, as they were about to commence their crops, they would prefer therefore paying me a visit at Golaghat early this approaching cold season. The whole of the Rengmah Nagas were formerly under one chief, but about the time of the Burmese invasion, separated.

Seven villages remained in their old hills, and seven villages went over towards Mohung; the former trade with the Assamese at Golaghat, the latter with Assamese, Cacharees, and Meekirs at Mohung, and below that village. Having now executed all I had or wished to do at Mohung, I propose starting for Dhemapoor to-morrow morning; a severe thunder storm with torrents of rain this evening. Here is a guard of one Naick and four sepoy. No complaints made by any of the Assam Militia either at Mohung or Ramsah. On my asking if they had any complaints to make against them, the ryots said, No.

25th February.—Started from Mohung on my return to Dhemapoor, and arrived at my former encampment on the Pokorijhan; drizzling rain the whole day. On crossing the Jummoona, we found that river had risen upwards of a foot since our previously crossing it; water nearly breast high, obliged to ford, no boat at hand, path very wet, leeches in abundance, rain all night.

26th February.—Started from Pokorijhan and arrived at three o'clock P.M. at Dhemapoor. No Naga chiefs having arrived, and the season being far advanced for further proceedings, I propose returning to Golaghat by water, surveying the Dhunsiri down to Golaghat. The stockade is now completed, and the godown and guard house repaired. I left instructions with the Subadar to send up Kutkees to the Konoma Naga chiefs, summoning them to Golaghat, there to meet me, as they did not think proper to meet me at Dhemapoor. . . .

The Dao Panee river takes its course from the Rengmah Naga hills; it is very rapid, about 100 feet wide, with a fine sandy bottom; its banks are covered with small timber, water shallow, during the cold season it falls into the Dhunsiri, forty-five miles above Golaghat, and sixteen miles above Bor Pather. The Rengmah Nagas were formerly settled on its bank, close under the hills, but were driven from thence by the inroads of their enemies, the Lota, Tokophang and Abor Nagas; from being once a populous and powerful people, they have become weak and scattered. I have intimated to the Rengmah Naga chiefs, that if they will again settle on the Dao Panee, I would allow them a guard to protect them; the guard will also be convenient in keeping open the communication between Golaghat and Dhemapoor during the rains. Since my return to this station, I called together the chiefs of the Rengmah and Lota tribes, and am happy to say, that I have succeeded in

settling their former differences amicably ; they have agreed to trade together at Golaghat, and for the future to be friends, their differences were settled over a grand feast that I gave them ; three villages of the Rengmahs have since this, commenced clearing lands on the Dao Panee for their habitation. This is a good beginning, and I am in hopes the remaining villages will soon follow their example.

Roads

By the present route, the total distance from Golaghat to Dhemapoor is about 60 miles ; this might be considerably shortened, say by 10 miles, and a good open path 10 feet wide through the heavy tree jungle, be cut for Co's Rs 40 per mile, total expense would be Co's Rs 2,080. The path at present from Golaghat to the Namber is very inferior, for the most part running through broken ground, distance 10 miles ; from the Namber to Bor Pather, path tolerably good, through open tree jungle and high country, intersected by many small nullahs, which require bridges, distance eight miles. From Bor Pather to Dao Panee tolerably good, many swamps and nullahs intersect the path, distance nine miles. From Dao Panee river to Hurreeojan, very inferior, the path is more like a wild animal's track than a road, distance 12 miles. From Hurreeojan to the Diboo Panee river again very inferior, swamps and nullahs are in abundance 13 miles. From the Diboo Panee to Dhemapoor no route, except in the bed of the Dhunsiri, and this only passable during the three months of December, January, and February, when the water is shallow ; distance nine miles, total distance by present route 61 miles. By the route I have sketched in the map, this distance may be shortened by 10 miles. I should prefer the road from Golaghat to Bor Pather running through Nagorah and across to Bor Pather, to the Namber Nuddee route ; the land is high and better adapted for a road, besides being the means of opening a direct communication between Golaghat and the large Mousahs of Nagorah Geladharee, Mackreong, &c. which is at present much required. The road from Dhemapoor to Summagoding made by Captain Bigge is rather circuitous, and leads for three miles along the south bank of the Diboo Panee, it then enters the bed of that

river and proceeds thus for three miles, when it reaches the hills on the eastern base of the Summagoding range; the road crosses these hills (distance three miles), it again enters the bed of the river for another two miles and then comes to the southern base of the Summagoding hills; from here to the foot of the Rajah-piama hills, the road is in the bed of the river, and there stops. Captain Bigge had a path cut in the jungle (grass) along the edge of the bank, but this has been entirely cut away by the encroachments of the river. The route along the bed of the river is very tedious and fatiguing, being for the most part over large stones and rocks, stepping exceedingly slippery, and the remainder through the water, which in some places is up to a man's middle. The path by which the Summagoding Nagas and others come to Dhemapoor, is the more direct of the two. I went to Summagoding by the Naga route, and returned by Captain Bigge's; the coolies and people who accompanied me preferred the Naga route, and I also gave it the preference; for although the ascent to Summagoding is rather tedious, it is far less fatiguing of the two. The distance direct from Dhemapoor to Summagoding by Captain Bigge's route is 18 miles, by the Nagas, 15 miles. To persons wishing to proceed to the Konoma Naga hills and beyond, Captain Bigge's route would be preferable. Elephants and horses can also go by this route, but to Summagoding the Naga route is the better of the two; neither horses nor elephants can ascend the Summagoding hills, as in some places the rocks are so steep, that steps have been cut in them to enable persons to go up by. For 3000 Rs a good pathway might be made from Dhemapoor to Rajah-piama, passable throughout the year. I would take the path over the low hills in preference to trusting to the water-course. If this sum were sanctioned and I permitted, I should be most happy to superintend the road. Early in December is the best season for road-making, the country is then passable, and the ryots have finished with their crops, and willing to work.

CAPTAIN BRODIE'S VISIT IN 1844

(T. Brodie, in a letter of 6 August 1844 to Major F. Jenkins, from *Selected Papers*, pp. 299–307)

ON THE 9TH [FEBRUARY 1844] we marched to Asringiya. We first descended for about an hour by a narrow precipitous path to a stream called the Teeroo, which falls into the Jazee; after crossing this we began to ascend, and another hour and a half brought us to Laso, and in an hour more we reached Asringiya. The road between the two latter villages is good, and tolerably level. They and Compoongiya are nearest to the plains, than any Naga village we met with.

At Asringiya, besides the chiefs of that village, we met those of Laso, Booragaon, Compoongiya, and Moonsingh, who all entered into the engagements required of them.

On the 10th we moved to Kolabaria, which we reached in about 2½ hours, having passed through the village of Nowgong about midway. For the most part of the road is good with no very steep ascents or descents; in some places it is narrow, with heavy reed jungle overhanging it. On our arrival we were told that there was no good water to be had; but after searching for about an hour, we found a very nice stream, and encamped on it, on some ground that had been cleared for cultivation.

After meeting the Kolabaria and Karee chiefs, and taking agreements from them, we moved on the 11th to Samsa, reaching it in about three hours. This is a considerable village, standing on the ridge which separates the Jazee and the Deesae. Passing through the village, we descended rapidly, and in about an hour reached the huts that had been erected for us on the Sohopanee, a pretty large stream flowing into the Deesae. The road from Kolabaria to Samsa is easy.

We remained encamped on the Sohopanee for the three following days, during which I met the chiefs of Nowgong, Soomtiya, Samsa, Bor Doobiya, Jafoo, Moonjee, and Aliepa. The Nagas came down here in very large numbers, and I was somewhat fearful of an outbreak, for a great many of the chiefs were in a state of intoxication,

and appeared to have very little control over their followers. We saw a marked difference in this respect here, and as we went on westward. Hitherto we had found the chiefs sober and their orders readily obeyed, but henceforward we were to meet with nothing but drunken rabbles. In each village there are dozens of aspirants for power, and we had daily to witness brawls between them that threatened to be serious, and perhaps lead to collision with us; by great forbearance, however, on the part of my escort, things went on as well as could be hoped for, and we completed our tour without any untoward occurrence.

It may be right to mention here an unfortunate circumstance that happened last year at Taratolla in the plains. Some Nagas of Samsa had been down to trade, rather late in the season, and on their return had to cross a small stream which had been dammed up, and at which about 30 or 40 persons of the Noa Cacharree Khel were fishing; on the Nagas driving a bullock over the dam, a squabble ensued, and a poor Naga was killed. At the time this occurred, a rumour reached me that something of the kind had happened, and very particular inquiry was made into the matter. The reports of the police sent out to investigate it, and of the mouzadars, led to the supposition that the man had died a natural death; and as the Nagas would not then come down, I was obliged to put the case by till the cold season. Even when I was close to the Samsa village, I could get no one who was with the deceased to appear before me; but subsequently they came down, and I have no reason to think that their statement as given above is otherwise than true. Every exertion has been made by myself and my assistants to find out the individuals concerned, and a reward has been offered under your authority. These Cacharrees, however, are the most obstinate people possible, and it is but too probable the guilty parties will not be discovered. Should it be found impossible to bring any of the parties to justice, I would ask permission to make some suitable present to the family of the deceased to the extent of Rs 100 or 150 when communicating to them the result of the inquiry. The matter is still under investigation.

On the 14th February we moved in the direction of Mikilae. We started at 7-30 A.M., and kept winding down the Sohopanee till 2 P.M., when we again encamped on that stream. About an hour after leaving our former encampment, we came upon a small piece

of rice cultivation, called *boka pathar*. I was informed that many Assamese ryots took refuge here to avoid the exactions and oppressions they were subject to in the late rule of Rajah Poorunder Sing. A few still remain, but they complain of the incessant demands made on them by the Nagas; and it seems probable that in a short time they will return to the plains.

On the 15th we continued our course along the Sohopanee, crossing and recrossing it continually. After leaving it we came upon frequent swamps over which some frail bridges were thrown. On losing the swamps we began to rise rapidly, and in about an hour reached the Mikilae. The whole distance occupied about four hours. We passed on and reached Mohom in little more than half an hour; immediately under it we found an excellent spot to encamp upon, with good clear water on every side.

Mikilae is a very large and strongly stockaded village, and being high and openly situated, it commands a good view of the country round about; this village has a feud with the Soomtiya Nagas, which will be presently alluded to.

We were obliged to halt for two days at Mohom to get up supplies. While here, I had interviews with the chiefs of Mikilae, Akook, and Mohom, and after the usual interchange of presents, they gave in their engagements. Mohom is a small village with no defences.

On the 18th we started at 7-30 A.M., for Lokotee, which we reached at 10 A.M.; at 8-15 we reached Akook a long straggling village, and passed out of it at 8-35. The road is pretty good, and for the most part level. About a mile beyond Akook it is narrow for some distance, with thick reed jungle on both sides. After getting out of this, it began to improve, and as we neared Lakotee, it became wide and open.

Lakotee is a very extensive village, with good wide roads about it in every direction. Its height, taken by a mountain thermometer, was found to be nearly 4,000 feet, the greatest height reached in our tour. We remained here for two days, during which I met the chief of Lakotee, Jangpang, Burgaon, Mahisee, Loongjang, and Kareegaon.

We left our camp on the morning of the 20th at 7-15, and reached the end of Lakotee at 8, Kareegaon at 10, Saneegaon at 11, and our encamping ground under Misangaon at noon. With the exception of one narrow precipitous path, about a mile from Kareegaon, the

road between it and Lakotee is good; it is wide and good from Kareegaon to Saneegaon, which are both villages of considerable size. After leaving Saneegaon, the road continues good for some distance; it then goes down a steep narrow path, and rises gradually to Misangaon; the latter part of the road had been cleared, or it would have been very bad.

Saneegaon is stockaded, but not very strongly, and there are no ditches; it is the first stockade we met with after leaving Mikilae, and this is said to have been put up in consequence of a misunderstanding with Lakotee, which has been adjusted. We met with no other stockades to the westward, except one recently made at Nowgong in consequence of an incursion said to have been made on them by some of the Abor tribes who live between the Bagtee and Dyung, and which will be noticed hereafter.

Our march on the 21st was very long and fatiguing, and leaving our camp at 8 A.M., we proceeded down a steep rugged descent, and at 9-20 reached the Bagtee, a fine stream which falls in to the Dyung. Shortly after leaving the Bagtee we came upon one of its feeders, called the Kumede, and waded up its bed till 11-30. We then passed over some narrow, steep, slippery ridges till 1 P.M., when we crossed a stream called the Sufedee, and after ascending for an hour reached Bhedaree; passing through this village we again descended to the Sufedee, and encamped on it between Bhedaree and Kaboong. A portion of the coolies did not get up till next morning, and this and bad weather obliged us to halt on the 22nd, on which day I received visits from the chiefs of Bhedaree, Kaboong, Durria, and Tilleegaon.

On the 23rd we started at 6-45 A.M., and passing through Kaboong at 8-15 and Durria at 9-35, reached at 10-40 our halting place on a stream called Durriapanee between Durria and Rangagaon. The road throughout this march was bad, and had been made worse by wet weather; it rose to Kaboong by the side of a precipitous hill, with scarcely room for the footing of a single person. From Kaboong to Durria it is pretty level, but narrow and through dense reed jungle. The descent to the Durriapanee is by a precipitous path of the same description.

On the 24th we moved about 7-30 A.M., and passing through Rangagaon and Kergaon, and between Sunkah and Teelagaon, encamped about 3 P.M. on a small stream under Sonaee, at a distance

from it of about half a mile. This march was a fatiguing one, from the slippery and muddy state of the road, which would have been tolerably good had not rain fallen. The ascent to Rangagaon is steep; between it and Kergaon the road is level; it then descends gradually to a stream which is crossed three times at short intervals. On leaving this there is a fine wide road up an easy ascent to Sunkah, and from thence the road lay over undulating hills to our encampment.

We were halted on the 25th, and I received visits from the chiefs of Rangagaon, Kergaon, Seeka, Kharagaon, Talagaon, Sonareegaon, and Feetagaon, the two largest of the Lotah villages. They probably contain about 4,000 inhabitants each. The other Lotah villages are comparatively small.

The Chief of Nowgong brought to my notice the aggression [already mentioned]. There is no doubt that an incursion had been lately made in which one of the Nowgong Nagas was killed, and another wounded; but it is doubtful what tribes were concerned in it. The chief of Nowgong accused the Nangchang and Pengsa Abors, but admitted that it could scarcely have happened without the connivance of the Sonaree and other Lotah chiefs. . . . If these chiefs had been so inclined, the attacking party would in all probability have been cut up in their retreat. Nowgong is visible from Sonaree, and also from Teelagaon, and as these villages would be instantly aware of the attack, and could immediately communicate with Teelagaon and Sunkah, had they turned out in force, it is nearly certain that the party would have been intercepted. The Sonaree chiefs denied all knowledge of the matter; but I may mention that they were generally in a state of intoxication, and that it was not easy therefore to deal with them. Conformably with the views expressed by his Honour the President in Council in paragraph 4th of Mr Assistant Secretary P. Melville's letter, No. 36 of the 1st February last year, I requested the chiefs to give me their aid in obtaining an interview with the Abor tribes, which they promised to do, but it has not been accomplished as yet.

Our tour was necessarily a very hurried one. I could have wished to remain longer in almost every place, but we started in rain and had a good deal of it in the hills, and I was fearful of being driven down before I had completed the tour; and in fact continued and heavy rain set in immediately we left the hills. We have now, however, a knowledge of the localities of all the tribes on our borders

and for some distance in the interior; and they can be visited at any time there may be occasion for it. It is hardly to be supposed that a barbarous people, who have lived and gloried in war for ages, will at once leave off their wild habits, and no doubt we shall have to remonstrate with them frequently; but I have every reason to think that less bloodshed now takes place than formerly, and it is to be hoped that all these tribes will fall gradually into more peaceful habits.

I beg to submit a bill for the expenses incurred on the present expedition, which I beg you will recommend being passed.¹

7

CHRISTMAS IN THE FOREST

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 61-2)

25TH [DECEMBER 1845.]—WE MARCHED at seven A.M., and passed through the deserted villages of Deelong and Koodeerong, situated on rather high hills. The path was execrable the whole day, passing through dense heavy grass and *kuggra*, or reed jungle, as well as high bamboos and tree forest alternately, and our view was confined to the narrow path overgrown with jungle ten and twenty feet high. We crossed the Par river, and walked up the beds of four other streams; the first, five furlongs; the second, two miles one furlong; the third, four furlongs; and the fourth, two miles and a quarter. We were all much fatigued by climbing over huge boulders and round rolling stones, in and out of the water, ankle deep, for so many miles, and did not reach our camp near Semkur, till four P.M., distance sixteen miles. As usual, we encamped in a dense jungle of bamboos, and, though it was only four P.M., we could scarcely see.

¹ Even in those days officials had difficulty in drawing their travelling allowances. Captain Brodie's bill for his expedition came to what seems today the fantastically low sum of Rs 22.8.28 but Major Jenkins, to whom it was submitted, recommended that it should be passed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General and be transmitted to the Civil Auditor for audit and return. This must have taken time.

Our surveyor came into camp completely exhausted, and we thought he was attacked by fever; the fact, however, was, that he was a very abstemious man, and was always boasting of the inexpressible delight he experienced in satisfying his thirst from every limpid stream, and eating sweet biscuits. By his own account, on this distressing march he had swallowed a quart of cold water, and he came into camp pale as death, and talked of going to bed directly. Perceiving, however, very clearly the position he was in, we gave him a pint of warm porter, and he rallied instantly, and, with a dish of hermetically sealed soup, and a slice of ham, he soon got over his fatigue, and ever afterwards he failed not to join our party in a substantial luncheon on cold fowl and bacon, or beef, with a glass of brandy-and-water.

Whilst leading a sedentary life in the plains, a sweet biscuit and a glass of water may be wholesome enough, but the wear and tear and exposure to wet and cold in the damp jungles, united with excessive fatigue in climbing steep hills, certainly require a more generous diet; for I am persuaded that half the sickness on these trips is generated by bad living and over fatigue. In the evening we all sat down together, and mutually sympathized in each other's sufferings over a glass of grog and a cheroot; and, before we retired to rest, we wished each other a happy Christmas night, but no more returns of such a trying Christmas day's journey, through a country swarming with wild elephants.

8

AN UNFAVOURABLE PICTURE

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 56-60)

SOME IDEA MAY BE FORMED of the impassable nature of the country we travelled over this day, when I state that we only came eight miles one furlong, by the perambulator, in eight hours. It is perfectly wonderful to observe the hardy little hill Kookie and Meekir porters, with their loads, wend their way over these steep hills and precipices; each porter carries a spear, the handle of which being pointed with

iron, he places on the ground, and advances steadily and safely over the most fearful places, with greater facility than people of the plains can without any load or incumbrance. Indeed, Assamese porters would be perfectly useless in this hilly country. The Nagah guides and our interpreters seemed determined to take us by the most impassable routes; almost every high hill might have been avoided, if we had known the country, and had cut a path previously to our advance; but to this the Nagahs seem averse, and their endeavour always is to go over the summits of the highest hills in a straight line, forgetting, or being ignorant, that the longest way round is generally the shortest way home. On this day we saw the snowy mountains of Bootan, close to Tezpore, at the incredible distance, I imagine, of not less than 100 or 150 miles in a straight line; we were all struck with their magnificent grandeur.

21st.—We marched at nine A.M., and after a long, tedious, fatiguing ascent, through fields of rice and cotton, we gained the summit of the high hill on which the village of Beereh-mah, consisting of 117 houses, is situated. The entrance to the village was over a single plank laid across a wide ditch, and the hill was steep and *pangied*¹ in every direction, and rendered inaccessible to any sudden attack. Having been greatly fatigued by the previous day's march, although we had only some three miles to go, we deemed it prudent not to proceed further, and encamped at the foot of the hill. The Nagahs here, as in most other places we passed through, seem to lead most idle lives, lounging about their court-yards, basking in the sun throughout the morning, and drinking the usual beverage, a fermented liquor made of rice.

The inhabitants of Beereh-mah are in person the most filthy set of Nagahs we ever met with. Their bodies are literally covered with dirt, and in dealing or bartering they practise many mean and petty tricks, in order to drive as hard a bargain as possible. They are totally devoid of a spark of generosity, and will not give the most trifling articles without receiving remuneration. They are great traders in brass ornaments, conch shells, and beads; and it is said that, till very lately, it was the great mart on these hills for the sale of slaves. The atmosphere here was particularly clear, dry, and bracing, the thermometer standing at 36 deg. at eight A.M. The low hills close to

¹ *Pangies* are a species of sharpened bamboo struck in the ground, and forming an effective defence against any sudden incursion of the enemy. [Butler's note.]

Beereh-mah appear to have all been under cultivation, as they are covered with grass three or four feet high, and are very free from tree jungle.

22nd.—We left Beereh-mah at eight A.M., and encamped at two P.M. in the midst of a heavy tree jungle by the side of a small stream, barely sufficient to supply our wants; but as there was no water, we were informed, for many miles beyond this, we were constrained to encamp, although we had only come seven miles in six hours.

The first ascent from camp was long, steep, and fatiguing; a blind path led us over undulating hills, covered with tree jungle, and confining our view to a few paces before us, which rendered the march dull, gloomy, and monotonous. We met with the coffee plant growing under the shade of large trees most luxuriantly, and we picked up gallons of apples, but they were miserably small and excessively sour.

23rd.—Our route today was very tortuous over low undulating hills, or skirting round the base of high hills for three or four miles. We then traversed a comparatively level country, and crossed the Longting and Langjillee streams, at this time five or six yards wide; but in the rains they cannot be less than twenty or thirty yards broad. Besides these streams we crossed two small rivulets, and after ascending the high hill of Bosompoe-mah, a village of twenty houses, we encamped close to it, having, by the perambulator, come thirteen miles three furlongs in about seven hours. Between Beereh-mah and Bosompoe-mah, a distance of twenty miles, an uninterrupted heavy tree jungle prevails, devoid of a single human habitation; at least, if any exist, they were hidden from our view. A more dreary, gloomy, desolate wilderness can scarcely be imagined. We served out two days' provisions to each individual in camp today, and directed the spare porters to hasten on in advance to their homes in Northern Cachar by forced marches, as we could not tell how many days we should be in reaching Cachar, or whether we should have any surplus provisions, if not supplied in that district.

VISIT TO A NAGA CHIEF

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 27-43)

FROM THE 28TH NOVEMBER [1845] to the 5th December, we were busily occupied in cutting open a foot-path through a dense forest to the Deeboo river, and clearing a piece of ground to encamp on at the foot of the Sumokhoo-Ting range of hills. Three hundred Coolies daily carried up supplies of rice, dall, salt, oil, &c., to our depot, near Rojapo-mah, on the banks of the Deeboo river, as we intended to make this point the base of our operations. This being effected, we marched to the entrance of the gorge or pass east of Sumokhoo-Ting on the 5th, and encamped in an open plain of high jungle in little grass huts at two P.M., after crossing over to the right bank of the Deeboo river.

6th December.—Setting out from our encampment at eight A.M., we wended our way along the eastern bank of the Deeboo river, over some high precipices and many steep acclivities, for two miles; but at last there was no possibility of climbing over the perpendicular ledges of rock in our front; we were obliged, therefore, to take to the river, and a ludicrous scene occurred. It was a bitterly cold day, and a slight drizzling rain was falling; to add to our discomfort, the water was two and three feet deep, extremely cold, and running with extreme rapidity over a stony bed. The Sipahees, and all of us indeed, immediately relieved ourselves of our trowsers, which each threw over his shoulders, one leg dangling on each side as far as the breast, and with short cotton drawers and naked feet we all cheerfully entered the water, and crawled along slowly for a mile and a half. On each side the banks were very precipitous, and many bluff high projections were surmounted with the utmost difficulty. The rolling stones in the bed of the river were as slippery as glass, and some of the boulders were particularly sharp, cutting our feet like a knife. Scarcely one of us got along without an unhappy fall; but no matter who fell, whether officers, Sipahees, or Coolies, hearty shouts and laughter repeatedly proclaimed that another luckless

wight had fallen, and had been saved the trouble of a bath. No one heeded the sufferings that we were obliged to endure, for all were anxious to quit the bed of the river as quickly as possible. We had now been a long time in the water, and our progress seemed exceedingly slow, and we were becoming excessively cold, and shook to such a degree that we could hardly stand; but we persevered, and at last quitted the river, put on our clothes hastily, and trudged over a succession of low hills for three miles and five furlongs, which brought us to our encampment on the west bank of the Deeboo river, near Rojapo-mah. Our feet were terribly lacerated and bruised by walking barefooted over the rolling stones; and few of us, in a long life probably, will easily forget the pain and suffering of this day's march.

In the evening, the chief of Rojapo-mah came into camp and presented a few cotton cloths as a present. In return I gave him a bottle of brandy and saw him clear out of camp, with which condescension he was quite delighted; but, being still apparently suspicious of his safety, I perceived that he kept turning round every minute to see if any one was pursuing him. A few hours enabled us to erect small huts for the Coolies, Sipahees, and ourselves, and, as the rain had set in heavily, we passed that evening over a good log-wood fire, though almost suffocated by the smoke.

7th.—We were in a wretched predicament today, as we could not leave our leaky frail huts. We appeared enveloped in darkness, even at noonday, and a drizzling rain never ceased. We made huge fires with wet wood, and were nearly blinded and almost suffocated by the smoke; but the cold driving wind, and excessive dampness of the atmosphere and ground, were very trying; more particularly as many of us were laid up with severe colds from walking in the river Deeboo for so many hours on the previous day; nevertheless, the whole party was in good spirits, and no grumbling voices were heard.

8th.—In the course of the day the sun came out, and several of our party proceeded to pay the chief of the village of Rojapo-mah a visit, who resided only about a mile and a half distant from camp. They were all treated with great civility, and the chief invited them into his house, and offered them, out of a trough placed in the middle of the house, a ladle of fermented liquor as thick as mud, the smell of which was quite sufficient to debar them from partaking of the proffered cheer. I was much amused by the action and gesture made

by the chief on his being asked by me to allow his children to go to Now-Gong to be taught in our schools. He declined the offer, and said that he would rather part with his life than his sons, though I promised good treatment and plenty of handsome cornelian beads, the first consideration with a Nagah. The chief got up several times to reply to questions put to him through our interpreters, and evinced much fear of our having a design of kidnapping his sons; but, after quitting my presence, they presently returned to camp to gratify their curiosity and barter something with the camp followers, and their suspicions seemed considerably abated.

In the vicinity of Rojapo-mah great numbers of tea trees were observed growing luxuriantly in the jungle, some twelve or fourteen feet high; but we did not discover that the Nagahs ever drink tea. We were unsuccessful in collecting tea seeds; for, although the Nagahs have no use for them, and are ignorant of their value, this was not the case with the pigs, for the shells were seen in abundance under the trees.

The afternoon was passed in receiving visits from the chiefs, and accepting their presents of elephants' tusks, spears, and cotton cloths, as tribute, or mark of allegiance to the British Government. We were much amused by the Nagahs performing their martial exercises for our diversion, and throwing the spear as if in action with an enemy. They are particularly dexterous in holding the spear in the hand, spinning it round with great rapidity, and then suddenly throwing it with considerable precision at an object fifteen or twenty paces distant, hallooing, yelling, and jumping about with the greatest agility, as if in the presence of a foe.

9th.—Leaving a guard with our provisions in camp, near Rojapo-mah, we rose early to adjust the loads of the two hundred Coolies who carried our baggage and provisions, and, by nine A.M., each porter having received his load of about twenty seers, or forty pounds, and arranging them in a long row in rear of the main body of our force, we pursued our course up the stony bed of the Deeboo river, for six miles in and out of the water, ankle and knee deep, over slippery rolling stones and immense boulders, for upwards of five hours. The latter part of the route was over some gentle ascents and descents, through thick tree jungle, till we reached the long high hill on which Cheereh-mah was formerly situated. We then descended into an open rice valley which had just been reaped. Here, by the

side of the roaring rivulet, the Deeboo (for it had now become a small stream), we encamped for the night, having only progressed nine miles in about seven hours.

Throughout this day's march we were compelled to keep to the bed of the river, for the country was so impenetrable from high grass and tree jungle; but, if we had delayed a few days till a path had been cut, we should have been saved much suffering in walking in the water for so many hours with bare feet.

10th.—Just as we were preparing to set out this morning, my cook was found to be unable to accompany us to the next encampment; he was a great opium eater, and, his stock of opium having failed, sickness prostrated his strength. We gave him some medicine, and left a Coolie to bring him along after us slowly; but, as soon as we had started, he refused to be carried, and was accordingly left by the Coolie in the encampment. We marched at half past eight A.M., and our route to Tokojinah-mah was first over low hills, and then through several narrow valleys beautifully cultivated with salee, or winter rice, which was just ready to be gathered in. The ascent to Tokojinah-mah was tortuous and precipitous, over huge ledges of rocks and innumerable stone steps. We wended our way up to the summit of the hill with great fatigue, and entered a wooden gateway on the edge of a precipice by climbing up several steps. As soon as we passed through the gate we found, on our right hand, a small piece of table land about 100 yards square, and on this spot were situated twelve Nagah huts. On turning to the left we commenced another ascent of 200 yards, to gain the summit of the range, on which were twenty houses. The chiefs of both villages attended on us, and presented cotton cloths, spears, fowls, and eggs, as tribute or token of submission, and in return for their civility a little salt was distributed. After a few minutes' halt we proceeded on our way for some distance over most difficult ground, abrupt ascents and descents, through grass and tree jungle; and meeting with no streams for some time, we were all greatly distressed with thirst. By persevering, however, we at last reached the Rengmah river, called by the Nagahs, Deeyong, and the joy we all felt at getting a drop of water to assuage our burning thirst, can only be appreciated by those who have been similarly situated.

It was now past three o'clock P.M.; and, although we had been seven hours on the trudge, still we had only come seven miles by the

perambulator. The Coolies, or porters, with our baggage and provisions, were a long distance in the rear, and we were all completely knocked up. To proceed further in the attempt to reach Mozo-mah that night was quite out of the question; we, accordingly, bivouacked for the night in the midst of bamboo jungle, about two hundred feet above the river Rengmah on the side of a hill. We cut down the bamboos, erected small huts, and made ourselves as snug as the rough sloping ground would admit; but our camp was confined, damp, and gloomy in the extreme; hoar frost covered the ground, the wind was high and very cold, and, what with hourly patrols to be ready for any attack of the Nagahs, we passed a sleepless night.

11th.—At nine A.M., the thermometer stood as low as forty degrees, when we commenced our march towards Mozo-mah. After two hours' sharp ascent over precipices two thousand feet high, by a path eighteen inches wide, we traversed a frightful gorge, and began to descend to the low hills, on which Mozo-mah and Kono-mah are situated, and encamped on the sloping side of the high range, opposite Mozo-mah, in the midst of terraced fields. We were truly glad that we had met with no opposition whilst in the pass, or many lives must have been lost; for the Nagahs could have attacked us by rolling down stones upon us, whilst making our way through the pass, with perfect impunity; and, on this account, in future, if open hostilities are ever resorted to, this route should be avoided.

The views yesterday and to-day, as we crossed over the high range to Mozo-mah, about 5,250 feet above the level of the sea, were very beautiful. We were delighted to see numerous villages east of Mozo-mah, and a good deal of rice cultivation. On our first arrival in camp, it was pleasing to notice with what cheerful agility the Nagahs ran off with their peculiar yelling noise, skipping over the walls three and four feet high, to the wooded hills, to bring us in a supply of firewood, as well as bamboos, and we were not long in constructing little sheds or huts with the rice stubble of the fields. Daily did the Nagahs resort to our camp in great numbers, without the slightest fear, and bartered their pigs, fowls, cotton cloths, and cloths made of the bark of the nettle plant, for salt, cornelian beads, &c. Every endeavour was made to induce the chiefs of the village of Kono-mah to deliver up the persons who were concerned in the surprise and destruction of the outpost at Lunkae, in October, 1844, and for

which a portion of the village of Kono-mah had been burnt by Mr Sub-Assistant Wood, in January, 1845, but all in vain. The chiefs came into camp frequently, and represented the state of affairs; half of the inhabitants of the village, they stated, had fled to the jungles with their property, expecting that the *lex talionis* would be momentarily enforced against them by our troops as before. They were perfectly at our mercy; we might reduce the village again to ashes, destroy their grain, and bring them to the utmost verge of distress,—still they, as chiefs, could not deliver up the delinquents. The community did not allow them to exercise such a power; nor were they acquainted with the names of the criminals, for a small body had gone on the foray from their village, and committed the massacre, and, consequently, it would rest with us to punish the whole community for the misbehaviour of the few; they (the chiefs) had restored the four muskets carried off on this occasion, and while they pretended to deplore the customs of their country, in sanctioning and approving these inroads, they implored the clemency of the Government, and begged that their tribute and submission might be accepted.

The arguments used by the chiefs being correct in regard to their inability to apprehend and deliver up the culprits, and the village being deserted, and three villages having being burnt in the previous expedition, without any good resulting from it, it appeared perfectly impossible to hunt down the Nagahs in these mountain fastnesses; and it seemed highly inadvisable to retaliate on them for past outrages, by seizing their grain, destroying their houses, carrying off their cattle, and having recourse to other severities necessarily attendant on open hostilities, in the present crisis when the names even of the culprits were not known. In fact, such proceedings would only tend to exasperate and close the door to reconciliation, as well as defer to an indefinite period the cessation of these barbarous practices; as conciliatory measures were also the positive and primary object of the mission, we did not feel justified in rejecting the submissive demeanour and proffered tribute of this treacherous, savage clan, for the prospect of waging an unsatisfactory and hopeless war, without any hope of ameliorating their future condition. The chiefs were accordingly again taken into favour, and the assurance that their past misdeeds were overlooked, was received with manifest feelings of joy and confidence.

All the chiefs were summoned to witness the taking of the oaths administered to them according to their own most solemn ceremonies. Written agreements were drawn out by us (for the Nagahs have no written language), and thoroughly explained to them, and, to show their assent to the proceedings, they placed a double-barrelled gun between their teeth, after this a sword and a spear, and declared that, if they swerved from their oaths, they would fall by the one or the other. In their agreements, they promised not to molest their neighbours in future; to abstain from plundering excursions, and cutting off the heads of any Nagahs or other clans; to refer all disputes to British authorities; not to commence hostilities with any clan without their sanction; and annually to pay tribute as a token of allegiance to the British Government, who, in return, would redress their grievances, protect them from aggressions, and secure their general welfare by such measures as would conduce to their happiness.

12th.—I visited the village of Mozo-mah this morning in company with Mr Thornton, who continued his survey from the camp and throughout the village. On the summit of a hill joining the main high range leading to Poplongmaee and Yang, we counted 165 houses, and, as the hill is cultivated from the base to its summit in plots or walled terraces, it would be a most formidable place to assail, as each house is surrounded with a stone wall, and a street with stone walls on each side, four and five feet high, extends from one end of the hill to where it joins the principal range. From the top of the Mozo-mah hill, we had a fine view of many villages in the distance, to the north-east, and innumerable cultivated patches on the hills. Their cultivation is managed with the hoe, and every terrace is irrigated by water being carried along narrow trenches a great distance in every direction, so that these narrow-walled terraces at first sight, look like steps ascending to the villages, till a nearer approach shows the cause of the labour bestowed in their construction.

On our way up we saw twenty black and brown cows grazing in the stubble; they were of a larger breed than those found in the plains of Assam, and were in excellent condition. The Nagahs do not consume milk, and cattle are not used for tilling the ground, but are kept chiefly for sacrifices and feasts. They have many pigs and fowls, and eat every kind of flesh. That of the elephant is highly

esteemed, and a dead elephant is a glorious prize for a whole village. It is also said that they are not averse to tigers' flesh. We were treated with great civility, and invited into their houses, which are gable-ended, and about thirty or forty feet long by twelve or sixteen feet wide. Each house was divided off into one or two rooms; the pigs, fowls, wife, and children, were all huddled together, with the grain in large bamboo baskets five feet high and four in diameter, in the same room. In one corner was a trough filled with some kind of fermented liquor made of rice, which was thick and white, and most offensive to our olfactory nerves. In this trough they dip their wooden cups or gourd bottles, and all the morning the Nagahs ounge about in the sun in their little court-yards, and, seated upon a high stone commanding some extensive view, sip this abominable beverage. The gable ends of the houses are generally built up with planks of wood fastened with cane and bamboos, one above the other. The houses are built with no preference to regularity; they are unconnected, have distinct court-yards surrounded with stone walls, and a little bamboo railing. The eaves of the houses are within two feet of the ground, to prevent their being blown away by storms, and the walls are made of split bamboo interwoven together. The inside of the houses is exceedingly filthy, and some of the old men and women were so dirty in their persons, that I should say they had not washed themselves for years, and this, perhaps, is not much to be wondered at, for this morning the thermometer at seven A.M. stood at thirty-six degrees, and the night was exceedingly cold. Water left in a pan froze one-eighth of an inch in thickness, which quite astonished our camp followers; and one gentleman, who had been born in India, exclaimed, that for the first time in his life he had seen ice and hoar frost on the ground, but he never wished to see it again. The climate, indeed, at this time, was very fine; a strong, bracing dry wind and hoar frosts every night seemed more like England than actual residence in the East.

The Nagahs of Mozo-mah manufacture a strong thick cloth well adapted for their changeable and cold climate; it is made of the bark of the stalks of the nettle plant, and is of a brown colour with black and red stripes, or quite plain, and is generally used by the Nagahs as a chudder, or covering thrown over the body. The climate here is not favourable to the growth of cotton, but they procure abundance from Sumokhoo-Ting.

SURVEYORS IN THE HILLS

(R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Extract from the Narrative Report', *General Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1874-5, pp. 56-9)

ON THE 20TH JANUARY we sent off all the coolies and baggage we could spare direct to Lakhuti, the headman of which had received orders to build huts for us, and marched ourselves to Change, very glad indeed to be once more on the move after our long period of inaction, and crossing the Coiang on the 21st arrived at Nunkum the next day about noon. This is a fine large village, the first of the Hattigoria villages we had seen, and we were very favourably impressed by the inhabitants who received us in a very friendly spirit. They visited our camp in the afternoon, and appeared to think our camp fires had been lighted expressly for them; crowding round and turning their backs to the warmth, they held up the little scraps of cloth which with them do duty for coat-tails in the most civilized manner. I shall leave a description of their houses, &c., for another part of the report. In the afternoon Mr McKay and I visited a small bare peak not far from our camp, and put up a signal there, and the next morning going there at dawn we got all our work done satisfactorily, and joined Captain Butler at Nungatong, a village four miles from Nunkum.

On the 24th we crossed the Chebi River and halted at Allibar about midnight. We were aroused by a shot; this astonished us, as the villagers had received us well. The sentry who had fired said he had seen several Nagas in war dress flitting about in front of him in the moonlight, and as they took no notice of his challenge he had fired. Nothing further happened, and the villagers who came down in the morning told us the Nagas seen were men from the interior, who were returning to their village from an intended trading excursion, which had been cut short by the news that their village was to be attacked during their absence; they therefore were hastening back.

On the 25th we crossed over to the outer ridge, camping at the village of Chanki on a beautiful grassy spur overlooking the valley and hills away to the east. It was, however, rather an exposed

position, making great-coats and big fires necessary in the evening.

The next day's march to Mekula was a most fatiguing one, though only about 9 miles in length. The path ran along the top of a very narrow ridge, following all its natural features, now ascending through long grass interlaced overhead about 4 feet from the ground, which annoyed and hindered our coolies greatly, now descending steeply over wet and slippery moss-grown rock, where one false step would have sent us over the precipices into unknown depths of dark jungle below. Again, the path meandered on through tangled breaks of low thorn bushes which obscured it and tore our legs, while, to crown all, the path was thickly studded with 'panjis' for two-thirds of the way, necessitating continual checks to pull them up, and notwithstanding every precaution, many of our number were wounded by them. Outside Mekola on either side of the path were very nasty pits about 5 feet deep and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, and bristling with 'panjis' 3 feet long. These had been dug in the long grass and covered over, but their positions were perceptible to the suspicious eye and we unmasked them all.

It was late when we arrived at the village, but the villagers (we were once more among Lhotas) came down and assisted us, and our camp was soon pitched. The next day we marched on to Lakhuti, where we found huts built and our coolies arrived. The reinforcements from the detachment of the 44th at Golaghat had arrived at Wokha, we heard, and as Lieutenant Austin had been very unwell from continual attacks of low fever which he could not shake off, and as we were moreover going into the low jungle-clad valley of the Disoi River through which we should have to wade a good deal, Captain Butler thought it would be advisable that Lieutenant Austin should return to Wokha to recover and rejoin us afterwards, when we returned to that place from our trip up the Patkai.

This officer accordingly left us on the 28th, taking his men with him, and we halted at Lakhuti till the detachment of the 44th joined us on the 30th; in the meantime we had not been idle; we had taken observations from Lakhuti Peak and completed the plane-tableing of all the adjoining country, connecting it with the work I had already done in December.

We proceeded on the 30th January to Boragaon, and the next day to Jampang, passing through Lungitung. From Jampang we

looked down the valley of the Disoi, a broad, flat valley, bounded by the high ranges on the east, and a long low range to the west, bordering the plains. This low range and the whole of the valley which in the full sun-light looked almost a dead level, was densely wooded, unenlivened with a single patch of cultivation, and no paths whatever existed through it; our only road therefore was the river itself.

We left Jampang on the morning of the 2nd February and descended to the valley. The path was choked up in many places with fallen bamboos, and being very steep and slippery, our coolies were some time getting down, sliding about here and there, dropping their loads or catching them in the overarching bamboos. At the bottom we found ourselves in the Sengda, a pretty shady little stream, running beneath the overhanging bamboos and between tall, dark rocks covered with dripping moss and ferns. All these small streams in the lower hills are very deceptive; in some places they are only two or three silver threads running among the smooth stones and boulders, barely covering our ankles, broad sweeps of dry sand and pebbles occurring at every bend; a little further they suddenly deepen and widen till they are knee-deep and many feet broad with every appearance of having had a long course; a few hundred yards further still and they have shrunk again to their original dimensions. Two people crossing only such a stream at two different places would give apparently entirely contradictory accounts of its size and probable previous length of course.

After two or three hours' walk down stream, we came to a junction with another, and thence the two flow on together through hot, open reaches of long grass, or shady sweeps between tall, dark trees till they meet the Rongdu flowing from the west. A long narrow tongue of sand and grass at the confluence offered good camping ground, and there we halted for the night.

The next morning while the chilly mist was still low in the valley, clad in the scantiest raiment, we stepped into the still more chilly water, and after a mile of wading we found ourselves in the Disoi river, from which we had hitherto been separated by a long span from Jampang. The Disoi is a broad and tolerably deep stream, taking us above the knee throughout the day's march.

When we stopped about noon for breakfast, the Nagas, who were hunting about, discovered two very fine specimens of the Iguana

(water lizard); one was 6 feet 2 inches, and the other 5 feet 7 inches in length. They were black on the back with markings of yellow, and the whole of the underpart of their bodies, legs, &c., was of a most brilliant yellow. We noticed a large number of ticks on them, which were also black, with yellow markings, and were hardly distinguishable from the spots on the lizards' backs. They were skinned and stuffed when we arrived in camp. Their flesh is much prized by the Nagas; it was beautifully clean-looking and white, like veal, with large rolls of clean fat. Our interpreters carried the whole off with lively anticipations of a delicious repast.

The next morning as we were leaving our camp on the river, a large party of Nagas, male and female, appeared suddenly round the bend, of the stream above us; they seemed rather startled at first, but were speedily reassured and gave us accounts of their proceedings; they had been on a trading excursion to Jorhat, and were on their way back to their village Nunkum; we ascended the hill to the small village of Lungmi Khaba, and having visited Japu, crossed the valley to Chotemsan. The ascent from the Scopani river to Chotemsan was very long and steep, the road in many places being cut or built up into steps. . . . On the 6th, passing through Buragaon or Dibua, we crossed the valley of the Tiru, and after another steep and very hot ascent through bare dry fields, the glare from which was very distressing, we found ourselves late in the afternoon at Assiringia. The Nagas themselves looked upon that as rather a pull-up, and some I passed taking a rest asked me in Assamese: 'Do you call this a hill or not?' These men very anxious that we should go to their village, the headman saying to Captain Butler,— 'We are on our way to Jorhat, but if you will pay us a visit we will return with you at once.' Captain Butler replied that we hoped to be at their village in about ten days, but at present we were obliged to go on to Kanching. They then left us saying they should have time to get to Jorhat and back before we should be at Lungchung.

Unfortunately, circumstances which had then occurred in the Eastern Naga Hills, but of which we were still ignorant, prevented our paying them this promised visit.

We halted at Assiringia on the 7th to enable me to visit the villages of Chang-chang and Lakhu, and complete the survey of that range towards Japu. We marched on to Kampungia on the 8th; the day was very foggy, and we did very little work. Our next march

was to Deka Haimong, and as we were running short of supplies, two villages we had lately visited having been unable to give as much rice as we required, Captain Butler determined not to remain at Kumpangia, but to go on to Deka Haimong, whence he could send down to Amguri tea garden for rice to fill up all our spare bags, a proceeding all the more necessary, as you had told us that in the country we were about to visit, no rice was grown, the Nagas there subsisting principally on 'katchus' (a species of yam).

I found that three young planters from Amguri had just arrived to spend a day in camp with us; we were very pleased to see them, and not less so, as they brought up a large supply of beer, potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables for us, all of which were absolute luxuries to us, and a pleasing change on the monotony of 'jutchus', the only kind of vegetable we can rely on getting in these hills. We should have been a very happy party had they not also brought up the news of the sad disaster¹ to the other survey party, of which only vague accounts had then reached Amguri, the only thing certain being that poor Holcombe was killed. No one knew where the attack had been made, nor what had become of you.

On the 11th I visited the mark which Mr McCay had put up, and in the afternoon went to Baru Haimong. On the 12th Captain Butler having arranged the day before for daks from Amguri, started for Sibsagar to find out further particulars of the massacre and to offer the services of our party if required to assist your party. He returned again on the 13th, but the same evening's dak brought letters from the Chief Commissioner, the contents of which made Captain Butler anxious to see him if possible, and on the 14th he again started for Sibsagar, remaining there till the 17th. Mr McCay and myself had taken all our observations and finished all the plane-tabling we could get in the neighbourhood by that date. Captain Butler brought with him instructions to close our survey work and join the punitive expeditions about to proceed against the Eastern Nagas.

In the evening our coolies celebrated the order to march by a grand dance before our camp fire. The Khasias first set the example; two or three of the youngest personated females, arranging their clothes in admirable imitation of the Khasia women's dress, and demurely casting down their eyes began the dance *à la femme*. The

¹ This is described in my *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 70 ff.

motion is very slow, the body and arms being kept perfectly steady, and the feet seeming to ripple about; a dozen men danced round these ladies with a much more energetic movement of arms and legs, waving cloths in the air and at intervals bursting into a few wild snatches of song. While this was going on, we heard the notes of a small drum accompanied by low deep singing, rather chaunting, gradually approaching, and I recognized these sounds as the prelude to a Kuki dance, the Lushais having once favoured us with an entertainment. The Kukis to the number of about 150 came slowly, but irresistibly onwards, swamping two unfortunate Khasias, who from performers suddenly found themselves deposed to spectators. Only three Kukis engaged in the dance, all the rest standing round, beating the drums (which they had borrowed from the villagers with whom our coolies had become extremely friendly) and keeping up a continuous and slightly monotonous but singularly impressive chant the whole time. The performers were supposed to be two women and one man; the latter danced face to face with one of the women, while the other kept close behind him, following his every movement apparently with the object of not being seen by him. Whether—she was supposed to be his wife—jealously watching his flirtations—with the other *danseuse*, or his mother interested in the success of her son's courtship, I did not discover. After some time the music and dancing became quicker, and at length amid shouts which were interpreted to mean 'let them be united' the performance came to a close. The night was very fine with a bright moon, and the scene was a most picturesque one, the moon-light and fire-light struggling together on the crowd of figures, representations of many tribes and races in the foreground, the quiet village with its tall 'morangs' standing up above them sharply defined against the clear sky. The Kukis drummed themselves back again to their huts just within the stockade, and soon all was still, save when at intervals during the night the village watchers sounded the big drum. They say this is beaten occasionally in case any enemy is approaching to attack the village. On hearing the drum the foe remarks: 'They are on the alert there, it's no use going on any further to-night,' and returns to his own village.

CROSSING A RIVER

(R. G. Woodthorpe, in a letter to Captain W. F. Badgley dated Shillong, 15 June 1876, *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, p. 58)

AT GOLAGHAT we soon heard that the survey was to go on, and that Mr Hinde was to join our party. On the 12th Colonel Tulloch, fearing that in our absence the Nagas might be tempted to attack the Wokha guard, returned to the hills, whither Mr Ogle and I followed him on the 15th, having made the necessary arrangements for rissud, and left a guard and instructions for Mr Hinde. We found Colonel Tulloch encamped on the Doiang, below Sanigaon, where a fine open flat piece of land afforded excellent camping-ground, overlooking a fine pool. While bathing in this, some Nagas came down on the opposite side and amused us by the original way in which they crossed the river. Taking large stones in their hands, they waded in up to their neck, and throwing up their legs and lowering their hands, the stones carried them to the bottom, along which they crept on all-fours till they reached the shallows on the other side.

NAKED NAGAS

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 36-8)

FEBRUARY 26TH 1874.—THESE MOLAMAH NAGAS resemble somewhat in face the Lhota Nagas to the north of us. Their hair is cut in a similar manner also, but unlike them, they expose their persons freely, being quite uncovered. They wear cloths wrapped round the body and a small string like a waistband: all below is perfectly uncovered. Coiled earrings of brass are worn: these are

small and inserted in the middle cartilage of the ear. Smoking seems universal, and the pipe is made of bamboo, shaped much as the ordinary Kookie variety: they do not seem to use tobacco-juice.

I had no opportunity of seeing their women; but I am informed that they wear a cotton kilt-shaped petticoat, and partly cover the bosom with a sheet; no ornaments in the ears, hair combed behind, and tied as with the Angamies.

The villagers, although we had heard sundry rumours as to their unfriendliness, turned out perfectly quiet, and worked manfully in putting up huts and bringing in firewood for the party. We managed to secure an interpreter in the village who could talk with the Angamies.

Anxious to ascertain something definite, if possible, regarding the final course of the Lanier River, Captain Butler, Lieutenant Ridgeway, and myself, accompanied by the interpreter and several villagers, walked a considerable way down the declivity to the east to get a good view. The statement of the villagers was pretty clear and unanimous, that the river, after flowing east for some distance further, made an abrupt turn to the south and eventually reached the base of the Sarameti range (which was plainly visible to the south-east): after that they could not say what became of it. They also spoke of a large river flowing to the north, not far from where the Lanier turned off south. Nothing could be seen of the course of the river distinctly from where we were, and we returned to camp, the confidence of those who had believed in the identity of the Dikhoo with the Lanier being considerably shaken.

Height of camp, 4,200 feet; thermometer minimum, 52 deg.

February 27th.—Marched to the village of Preemie, about seven miles. Before starting we were informed that the Preemie people were bent on opposing us; but nothing very positive could be ascertained. After proceeding along the road, which was very good, until a ridge was reached overlooking the Preemie village and the steep hill and road leading to it about two miles off, it was evident that something unusual had called the inhabitants out, as numbers of them were seen in groups on the road, and, borne on the breeze, the sound of their war-cries could be heard.

All this looking like opposition, an advance was made with care, and the hill gradually ascended without a soul, however, being met with. On nearing the village it was seen that no opposition was

intended, and it was entered, passed through, and the camp formed outside on a steep incline in the jungle, well situated as regards water.

The village of Preemie is a pretty large one, containing some three or four hundred houses. It is surrounded by a stockade, not very strong; however, the houses are not quite so large and good as those of the Angamies; they are a sort of compromise between them and those of the Lhotas. For the first time slate in some houses is used for roofing,—apparently the ordinary roofing slate, but without iron pyrites in it; the slate slabs are well cut and attached to a wooden plank base. In a central position in the village were four lofty bamboos, three of them topped by fresh skulls; one with an arrow still firmly imbedded in it, the other with an inverted groud.

The inhabitants of this village, although of the same clan as the Molamah men of yesterday, are a little more modest in their attire; they cover their nakedness either with a small apron-shaped piece of cloth, or a small dhoti tightly tied round them. The dress is the same as those of yesterday otherwise.

Of arms, they have a formidable and very strong cross-bow, with a double-barbed arrow about a foot long; the arrow-head, of iron, is loose, presumably to be left in the wound; the feather of the arrow is of stiff leaf, so formed as to give a rotary motion, and, consequently, greater precision to its flight; these weapons appear very hard-hitting and straight shooters up to 200 yards; they are fired from the hip. The arrows seen were not poisoned.

The spear is about the length of that of the Angami, the head small and sharp, and the shaft ornamented with goats' hair. The dao is worn behind, over the hip, in a wooden case, faced on the outside with polished bone. They have also axes, some with iron some with wooden handles; the axe seems more common to the Preemie people than the dao. These axes are evidently of Burmese manufacture.

Their war-helmet is of cane, and has a coronal of bears' hair at the base, and goats' hair dyed red and black, over it. These tribes are also tattooed on the breast across in stripes of a blue colour. These stripes have this pattern—XXXXX, and lines with marking between alternately thus—VVVVV. The extent of tattooing is about four or five inches in depth, and is only on the front of the chest, extending from below the collar-bone to just below the nipple. They do not seem to possess any musical instruments of any kind.

EXCEEDINGLY COMICAL ERECTIONS

(R. G. Woodthorpe, in a letter to Captain W. F. Badgley dated Shillong, 15 June 1876, *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, pp. 59-60)

ON THE 25TH JANUARY 1876 we went on from Are to Nankam, where we experienced a very friendly reception indeed ; and in the afternoon a signal was put up on a bare point near the village, which we had chosen last year for a trigonometrical station. On the 25th, Mr Hinde being furnished with full instructions for his guidance, our party divided, Messrs Ogle and Hinde with the force named in the margin,

	<i>With Colonel Tulloch</i>		starting for Alibar via
42nd Assam Light Infantry	{	2 Native Officers	Mungatung ; Colonel
		3 Havildars	Tulloch and myself,
		58 Sepoys	with the force given in
		1 Bugler	the margin, proceeding
Police	{	1 Inspector	to Ungma, which we
		1 Head-Constable	reached about 3 P.M.
		8 Constables	I was able to do a good
	<i>With Mr Hinde</i>		deal of work both on
42nd Assam Light Infantry	{	1 Native Officer	the road and in the
		4 Havildars	neighbourhood of the
		39 Sepoys	camp. The road was
		1 Bugler	easy, running along a
Police	{	1 Head-Constable	ridge, with only one of
		6 Constables	two stiff little ascents,

but it was much choked with jungle and overarching grass. Ungma is a very large and flourishing village, containing about 500 houses, and the villagers received us in a very friendly spirit. The next day we passed through the comparatively small villages of Mokokchung and Juju, and halted half-way between the latter and Solachu, below a large wooded hill, on which I wished to set up our next mark. Both villages were cordial, and on arrival in camp I received a deputation from Khenza, bringing in large supplies of rice, fowls, eggs, &c., about one in five only of the latter being good. They

seemed astonished at our rejecting the bad ones, especially such a treasure (to them) as an egg in which we could hear the *peeapee* of the chicken. From this camp in the afternoon I saw Mr Ogle's first mark. Outside the Juju stockade, by the roadside, we saw a very fine tiger (dead) stretched on a maichan. He had only been lately killed. The villagers said he had tried to carry off a cow one night, so they all turned out at once with huge torches, and, surrounding him, killed him with their spears.

On the 28th, leaving Colonel Tulloch to take the camp on to Solachu, I went up the hill to fix on the spot for our station. The hill was so long and broad, however, and so densely wooded, that I found it would be impossible without weeks of labour in cutting to establish a point there, and so went down to camp and endeavoured to find a spot near from which all necessary points could be seen. I was fortunate in finding an excellent spot in the village itself, and succeeded in putting up our bamboo signal before nightfall, amid the merriment of the young women of the village, who seemed to think it an exceedingly comical erection. My only fear was that the villagers might object to its being put up among their houses, and destroy it after our departure. I promised the headman a small present on my return if it was still up, and he said it should be carefully preserved—a promise which I am happy to say he kept most faithfully. The Molotombia and the Solachu men go down to the plains frequently and work in the tea-gardens (a fact proclaimed by the number of old sola-topis which appeared to welcome us), and are comparatively civilized. The two villages are large, containing from 250 to 300 houses each, and belong to the so-called Dupdoria tribe.

On the 29th we went into Boralangi, called by the Nagas Mongsem-di, containing about 200 houses, situated on a long bare ridge, and very strongly stockaded. We arrived early but fog and rain prevented my doing any more work that day. Indeed the weather was anything but favourable throughout our journey between Nankam and Tablung, and it was fortunate that we were merely putting up marks and not necessarily observing. Of course, the topography suffered a little, as from the foggy and dull weather I was only enabled to get in the country immediately bordering our line of march, necessitating a little extra labour further on in the season. I may here mention that out of the ten days occupied in marching from Nankam to Tablung, no less than seven were dark

and misty, of which five were wet. On the 30th we halted at Boranglangi, to enable me to do some work which the weather had prevented my doing the day before. In the evening I made a sketch of the headman, who protested that he did not want to be taken, that he should die in consequence, &c. ; but who nevertheless all the time was arranging and re-arranging his clothes and ornaments to appear to the best advantage. On the 31st we moved camp to Ungrurr, pronounced, as only a Frenchman (except the Nagas themselves) could pronounce it, as if spelt Ungrurr. We found excellent camping-ground in some open jhums, sheltered from the cold wind and well supplied with good water. We arrived at midday, and I sent my coolies up at once to commence clearing the hill above. The cutting was finished, and the mark put up next day, and on the 2nd, passing through Akoya, Santong and Lorian, which were all very friendly, we descended to the Tzela, a fine broad stream with deep pools; and early next morning ascended again steeply for 3,000 feet to Tangsa—the first village of naked Nagas we had seen this season. Here we were well received; and I left Colonel Tulloch with the camp near the village, while I went to put up a mark on a point half-way between Tangsa and Kamahu. The hill requiring very little clearing, the mark was up by 4 P.M. I saw in the morning that Mr Ogle's mark was up at Deka Haimong, and before I left the hill in the afternoon I saw through the telescope that he was then putting up the mark at Kanchiang, and as he had arrived so far, I knew that his party had met with no opposition. We marched into Tablung on the 4th February, and on the 6th were joined there by Messrs Hinde and Ogle.

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AN ALMOST HOSTILE Demeanour

(H. M. Hinde, in a letter to Lieutenant R. G. Woodthorpe, dated Jaipur, 7 May 1876, *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, pp. 76-7)

ON THE 21ST FEBRUARY 1876 I marched from Mekula to Lakhuti, passing through Akuk, a moderately sized village, the people of

which were very attentive. On reaching Lakhuti, however, our reception was very different, the Nagas preserving a most distant and almost hostile demeanour towards us. The bad conduct of the villagers on Mr Ogle's first visit to the place, and their present behaviour, occasioned evidently by the idea of their own strength and our divided numbers, determined me to adopt a decided line with them. I sent a peremptory message into the village ordering the headmen in to pay their respects and to furnish supplies. As no notice was taken of my message, I waited two hours to see if it would be complied with, and then with a few men went into the village. What the Nagas thought I was going to do I am unable to say, but my visit to the village had a most surprising effect. In the course of the afternoon we were inundated with rice, fowls, eggs, goats, pigs, &c., borne by smiling Nagas, who seemed to think a little coercion the most agreeable pastime in the world. The headman of the village patrolled the jungles until he had collected three loads of firewood, which he brought, one after the other, on his own shoulders into camp.

On the 22nd, 23rd and 24th we were detained at Lakhuti by the hazy weather, which rendered observation impossible. On the evening of the 24th, however, Mr Ogle managed to secure the various points. After the first day we met no annoyance from the villagers. An idea of the confidence they have in their strength may be gathered from the fact that though at feud with many of the neighbouring Hatigoria villages, Lakhuti is entirely destitute of fortifications, in spite of its being built in a naturally weak position.

On the 25th February I marched to Pangti, which I found had been rebuilt, although it was deserted by the villagers on our approach. I had been informed by the Mekula men that Pangti intended to oppose my progress. Had such ever been their intention, their hearts must have failed them at the last moment—a very common occurrence, as we afterwards experienced.

On the 25th February I marched from Pangti to Nankam, passing through Okotso, a small village half Hatigoria and half Lhota, and in consequence bullied by the surrounding villages of both tribes. The perfect hopelessness with which they yield to the oppression that their weakness subjects them to may be imagined when I say that the money that I paid for the supplies they brought us was delivered on demand to one solitary Nankam man who

happened to be in the village on his way to the plains to trade. He simply put out his hand, and the money was placed in it without demur, almost as a matter of course. I restored it to the rightful recipient; but I suppose things went all right for the Nankam man after I had left. We reached Nankam about 3 P.M., and I found, as I expected, that the Nankam men had got tired of us, and were by no means inclined to accord us the cheerful welcome we had received from them on our first visit. This I found, as I observed before, to be almost invariably the case. They refused even to show us water. One old man said to us: 'Why should we show you water? Why are you here again? You said last time you were here you had come to make a map. What are you looking for now? Have you no rice in your own village that you travel about to eat?' They also got up some cock-and-bull story about one of Mr Ogle's guards having stolen a dao from one of their women; of course, I made an immediate inquiry, gave the woman an opportunity of identifying the offender, which she was unable to do, and finally discovered that it could not have been a man of our party, but in all probability a Mungatung Naga who had passed down the road just after us. It required all my temper to listen calmly to their assertions, to which they adhered with all the usual Naga obstinacy; our denials were met with demands for restitution, our protestations of innocence with contemptuous incredulity. At last, one particularly repulsive old man betook himself to threats: he said,—'At your word all the troops will turn out, at mine all the Nagas, and then both Assamese and Nagas will die.' It is only due to the bold Naga who made this speech to say that he was drunk; but, of course, his freedom of speech necessitated his immediate expulsion from camp. He went away in a great huff, and shortly after another old man came up to me and said he wanted Rs 3 to make matters square between me and my irate friend, to whom he would present the money and my apologies. I declined this friendly intervention, holding out that I was the bigger man of the two, and the one to be appeased; and the result was that the repulsive Naga came down at 10 o'clock at night with a *chunga* of liquor and begged pardon most abjectly.

Next day the attitude of the Nagas was still more unfriendly. Men of Mungatung, to whom I had sent for rice, came in 150 strong, escorting twenty seers of rice, a most unnecessary precaution on their part. I sent them back for more, and got it. The Nankam men

were, however, as obstructive as ever—in fact, I fully believe they had half a mind to attack; for on the 29th the war-drums in Nankam and Mungatung were beaten all the morning, but I suppose they thought better of it, for at 4 P.M. they brought us all the supplies we wanted.

We were unable to leave Nankam until the morning of the 2nd March, on which day I marched back to Pangti, which I burnt to the ground in accordance with the instructions received from you. After leaving Pangti, we passed on the 4th March through the villages of Changse and Rechim, both of which had also been rebuilt, and the reception the Nagas gave us proved fully how completely the punishment inflicted on them for the treacherous attack on Christmas Day had taught them our power and at the same time our forbearance.

On Sunday, the 5th March, we marched into Wokha, having completed the work on which we had been detached. The party under my command behaved in every respect well, the sepoy being well kept in hand by Jemadar Babu Jan, who afforded me every assistance and support.

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MAKING FRIENDS

(M. J. Ogle, in a letter to Lieutenant R. G. Woodthorpe, dated Shillong, 15 June 1876, *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, p. 74)

ON THE 27TH WE PASSED A SMALL VILLAGE en route to Sillimi, where the people met us with presents. They had also tied a large basket of rice to the stockade round the village; we paid a rupee for this rice in four-anna pieces. I noticed one of our Naga dobashas take out from a bag that he was carrying a worn spike of a spear, about 3 or 4 inches in length; he offered it for the money they had just received. They put a four-anna bit into his hand; he was not satisfied, and told them he must have all. The iron was of greater value to them and it and the silver changed hands without further bargaining. Sillimi is situated on a broad-topped hill. From the side we

approached it, and on the outskirts of the village, was a fine large open piece of ground, which sloped gently down for a considerable distance. Upon the crest of this hill, were assembled a number of Nagas, fully armed and separated into two parties. It was a most imposing sight to see them thus collected in their 'war-paint', but when they found that our motives were peaceful, they dispersed at once, their leaders taking us through the village.

On the 28th we passed through Nakomi and ImpHEMA. We remained in the latter village for about a couple of hours, waiting for our coolies to come up. The people were very friendly, freely exchanging fowls, vegetables, &c., for two-anna and four-anna bits; but the chief after a time seemed very anxious to get rid of us, gesticulating in a very excited manner for us to quit. The reason of this extraordinary behaviour, I understood, was the fear of raising the cupidity of the young men by our continued presence, who would in all probability disregard the distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*, some of them having appropriated coin for articles that were promised but never produced, but which on the headman being informed were always given up. This was the first Angami Naga village we passed through. We marched on to Ketsama, and halted there for the night. The Nagas of this place were very obliging; they offered us a large hut in the village if we chose to stay in it, and when we would not, they showed us where we could obtain water and assisted in getting up our camp. It was our intention to have gone through Ungoma and Ronguzumi; but as small-pox was raging in these two villages, we were obliged to make this little detour. On the 29th we passed through Terocheswema, skirted Zogazumi, went through Satazumi, left Yarabama to our right, and crossing over a small stream encamped about half a mile below Teropetsima.

Next morning I started very early for Nummuh, with a guard of 10 sepoy and 30 coolies, taking with me one day's provisions and a little bedding, intending to encamp on the hill for the night should I not be able to get the mark up and observe the angles. I was doubtful of accomplishing the work that day, as the hill was a long way from camp and bad weather had set in, all the hill-tops being enveloped in mist. About 40 Nagas from the village accompanied me voluntarily, and with their aid the hill was rapidly cleared, the mark erected, and the weather fortunately clearing up, the necessary observations were secured. On my way back through the

village, one of the seniors invited me into his house, and his *cara sposa* helped me to two or three different brews of beer, all of which were excellent and very acceptable after the long and hot descent from the hill. He was a big man, considering the ordinary size of Nagas, and stood beside me comparing his height with mine. On return to camp I found that all my rice-bags were filled up—a very lucky thing, as we were running out of provisions, and none of the villages that we had been to before could supply us with any large quantities. At this place, however, it poured in, in maunds, and there was a great deal more brought down than we could carry away.

On the 31st we marched close by Chajubama, through Khesoma, into Kizimatuma. The first part of the road was very trying for laden coolies; it ran through swampy paddy-fields and over the ridges of the terraces, which were very slippery and narrow. A Khasia coolie nearly lost his life; he slipped, and was precipitated headforemost with his load and landed on the terrace below, about eight feet. Fortunately, there were people near to extricate him from the wet, clammy clay, or he would most certainly have been smothered in it. The rest of the road, with the exception of a small bit down to the Sijjo, after leaving Khesoma, was good—a fortunate thing for us, as the march was long.

When I arrived at Yekam that day, I was met by Ipomo, the headman of Sanigaon, and also by the second Chief of that place. The former appeared to be very sorrowful, and was crying most bitterly at the tidings of the death of his 'father', as he called Captain Butler. There were some eight or ten other Nagas with him. Ipomo tried very hard to dissuade me from proceeding to the Doiang, declaring that the party would be attacked on our way down to the river by the people of Rechim; he also said that some Pangti men were there. While Ipomo was talking to me, some of the Nagas present began to consult their omens; and after communicating the result (as I thought) to him, he became still more importunate in his desire for me to stay, saying that we were a small body, and would all be cut up. He accompanied me through the village, and remained with me at the other side while I waited the arrival of the coolies. He made another effort to keep me back as I was going off, laying hold of me by the arm and detaining me, when I was obliged to have him forcibly removed. We, however, got down to the Doiang

without meeting with any opposition. I met a few Nagas on the way, carrying up cooked rice and liquor—meat and drink no doubt from friends of the fugitives from Pangti who were at the time harboured by Rechim and Changse. After a short rest at the Doiang, I proceeded through Sanigaon and pitched camp on the Bagti River.

Chapter V

THE ANGAMI NAGAS

FEW TRIBES IN INDIA have been more fully studied and documented than the Angami Nagas. This is probably because their country is easier of access and their turbulent character attracted many expeditions in the early part of the last century. The British officers who visited them were unusually articulate or painstaking and, most important of all, the administrative headquarters of the Naga Hills District, Kohima, is an Angami village.

In addition to what was written earlier, the first of the Naga monographs published at the direction of the Assam Administration was Hutton's *The Angami Nagas* (1921) and in this he not only summarizes all previous knowledge of the tribe but adds a great deal of his own original research.

In the 19th century everybody wrote about the Angamis. Francis Jenkins contributed a long note to Moffatt Mills' report. Mackenzie includes a full description in his *History*. Johnstone discusses them in his book on *Manipur and the Naga Hills*. There are also references to this tribe in many tour diaries but since inevitably there is a great deal of repetition I have not used a quarter of the material available.

Of all the writers on the Angamis none can excel John Butler the younger, the son of Major John Butler, the author of *A Sketch of Assam and Travels and Adventures*.¹

In 1868 John Butler as a Captain was given command of the Naga Hills Frontier Police and he first visited the Nagas the following year to settle the boundaries between the British territory and Manipur. For some time he was greatly preoccupied with the problems of the Topographical Survey and accompanied Godwin-Austen and Badgley on some of their expeditions. Godwin-Austen records 'the truly zealous aid afforded to the survey operations by Captain J. Butler, officiating Political Agent, Naga Hills. Having a knowledge of survey work, he well understands its requirements, and can allow for the changes of weather and unforeseen difficulties that so often entail delay and retard work.'²

¹ I have given an account of the elder Butler in my *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. xix f.

² H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur during the Field Season 1872-3*, p. 87.

But when Assam was made into a separate Province under a Chief Commissioner and the Angami Naga country was definitely taken over in 1874, Captain Butler had to turn most of his attention to administration, though even then he could not drag himself away from the Survey officers. In 1874 he went with Badgley and Holcombe on a tour of the distant and remote hills to the north-east, but left them before they reached Ninu, where the latter was killed and the former injured. On Christmas Day, 1874, he went with Woodthorpe (then a Lieutenant) on a tour into the Lhota country, but ten days later was attacked at Wokha. He was, in fact, a very close friend of Woodthorpe, who quotes frequently from him in his first address to the Royal Anthropological Institute. Just a year later, in December 1875, Butler again visited the Lhotas in Woodthorpe's company and was ambushed and killed near Pangti.

Butler was very popular among the Nagas; a stone was erected at Sakhabama in his honour and his death must be regarded as a tragic incident which was certainly not intended by the people.

John Butler was the author of many excellent and lively reports, and his tour diaries are a model of this kind of writing. He was interested in language and made comparative vocabularies of Angami, Zemi, Rengma, Konyak and Lhota. In 1875 he published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* his 'Rough Notes' on the Angamis, which is based on first-hand knowledge and was the source of much of the early writing on the subject. He wrote the official account of the Ninu tragedy as well as administrative reports on the Naga Hills District. His early death was a very great loss to India as well as to the Naga people.

ANGAMI LIFE AND CUSTOM

(A. J. Moffatt Mills, *Report on the Province of Assam*, 1854, pp. cxli-v. Notes are by F. Jenkins.)

THE COUNTRY OCCUPIED by the Angami Nagas South of Nowgong, is bounded on the North by the Dhunseeree river, South by a high range of mountains forming the boundary between the Muneepoor territory and Nowgong, Paplongmue being the most Southern Angami Naga village within the District. The Western boundary extends as far as Hassenghajoo. The limit of the Eastern boundary is still undefined and unexplored, but the Dyung river on the North-east separates the Lotah Nagas in the Seeksagur District from the Angami Nagas.

The number of Angami Naga villages discovered up to the present day, is 78, containing 20,139 houses and allowing 5 persons to each house, the population may be estimated at 1,00,695 souls.

The villages are generally built on the highest and most inaccessible hills North of the great range of mountains, separating Assam from Muneepoor and Burmah. Every side is stockaded and a ditch generally encircles the most exposed part of the village which is studded with panjies alias sharp-pointed bits of bamboo stuck into the ground which forms an effective defence against any sudden surprise from an enemy. The sloping side of the hill is likewise not uncommonly cut down, so as to form a perpendicular wall, and thus fortified, these villages could offer serious resistance to any force assailing them without fire-arms. These positions however are after times ill-chosen, being commanded by adjoining heights from which the internal economy of the village can be viewed and a well judged attack with fire-arms would render opposition useless. The houses are all built with gable ends, 12 or 16 feet wide by about thirty or forty long. The roof is made of grass and bamboos and the leaves come down within a foot of the ground as a greater protection from storms.

The house is generally divided into two rooms, on one side of the entrance or sitting apartment huge baskets 5 feet high and 4 feet in

diameter are placed and in a corner the spirit tub. Planks of wood are arranged round the fire on the ground for seats, and fowls, pigs, children, men and women seem to have free access, the filthy state of their dwellings can therefore be imagined. In front of each house large stones are placed on which the Nagas delight morning and evening to sit and sip with a wooden ladle from a bowl a most offensive liquor made of rice.

The houses though irregularly built are generally in two lines, the gable ends of each row of houses projecting towards the main street into which every thing is thrown, the consequence is the odour is so great that it is scarcely possible to remain long in the main road, as it is the receptacle for the filth of the whole village. All the small villages are subject to the large villages of Mozumah, Konomah, Kohemah and Jopshemah, and they are obliged to secure their own safety by paying them an annual tribute of cloths, fowls, cows, pigs &c., according to their means, or as much as will satisfy the rapacity of the free-booters.

The young men are fine, well-proportioned figures, and by no means bad looking, some tie the hair up in a knot on the head, others allow it to flow loose about four inches long which gives them a very wild appearance. Their complexions are brown, mouths large, nose flat, high cheek bones, sharp small eyes and a cunning arch, severe expression of countenance when excited, that truly denotes their traits of character, cruel, treacherous and vindictive. No part of the body is tattooed as is the custom with the Nagas of Upper Assam. The women are short, stout and unprepossessing in appearance. They weave the clothing required for the family, work in the fields, cut and bring in firewood and water and perform all manner of drudgery.

The dress of the Angami Naga consists of a blue or black kilt prettily ornamented with cowrie shells and a coarse brown cloth made of the bark of the nettle plant, is loosely thrown over the shoulders. The warrior wears a collar round the neck reaching to the waist, made of goats' hair, dyed red, intermixed with long flowing locks of hair of the persons he has killed, ornamented with cowree shells. No one is entitled to wear this insignia of honour unless he has killed many of his enemies and brought home their heads; no regular Government can be expected to exist amongst wild uncivilized tribes who are ignorant of the use of letters or

the art of writing, and whose dialects differ and are scarcely intelligible to the tribes on the adjoining hills and whose leisure time is spent in the diversion of surprising each other in hostile attacks, rapine and murder; yet every Angami village has a polity of its own; their Government is decidedly democratical although each village community has a nominal head or chief; it is evident their chiefs have no absolute power over the people. They do not collect any revenue, neither can they issue any orders with any chance of being obeyed if the measure or act is not popular.

In all transactions of importance such as the setting out on a predatory inroad, or to take revenge of any village, the aged and warriors of the village assemble together, and decide on what is to be done, but it is believed that the counsel of the warriors is more frequently adopted than the sober advice of the elders and more peaceably disposed, every man is his own master, avenges his own quarrel and from private jealousies, animosities, and injuries, innumerable murders and quarrels frequently occur.

The authority or title of the chief of a village is hereditary, the eldest son on the death of his father or even before his death, if very infirm, succeeds to the dignity. In most villages there are generally two chiefs but their authority is nominal, their orders are obeyed so far only as they accord with the wishes and convenience of the community, they have no power alone to take cognizance of offences against the person or property of individuals.

The crime of murder cannot be expiated, the relations of the murdered person instantly, if possible, spear the murderer without reference to the council of elders, unless the delinquent takes refuge in another village, when he may escape for years, but he is never safe, ten years after the deed, he may be surprised and murdered, for revenge is considered a sacred duty never to be neglected or forgotten, adultery is also an offence that admits of no compromise, if a man's wife is seduced, the injured husband will surely spear the seducer on the first opportunity; thefts and other petty offences are disposed of by a council of elders, and a fine is imposed according to the degree of injury sustained, on such occasions conch shells, spears, salt, beads, rice, cotton, cloths are decreed to be given by the culprit and the property to be restored or its equivalent.

The Angami Nagas appear from all we can learn to have no ideas of a future state of retribution of good or evil. They imagine there

are many gods or good and evil spirits residing in their hills; to one they offer up sacrifices of cows and mithuns, to another dogs, and to a third cocks, and spirituous liquor, each god or spirit having in their estimation the power to afflict them with sickness, ill-luck and a variety of calamities, or to make them successful in their incursions and prosperous in their undertakings or daily occupations.

They choose their own wives, the damsel's consent, as well as her parents, being obtained by presents. The bridegroom on the day of his marriage gives a grand feast according to his means to his friends, and in return they assist the new married couple in constructing a new house to live in.

At 16 years of age a youth puts on ivory armlets or else wooden ones, or red coloured cane round his neck, he suspends with a black thread the sunk shell, puts brass earrings into his ears and wears the black kilt, and if a man has killed another in war, he wears three or four rows of cowries round the kilt, and ties up his hair with a cotton band. If a man has killed another in war, he is entitled to wear stuck in his hair one feather of the Dhoones¹ bird, and one feather is added for every man he has killed, and these feathers are also fastened to their shields. They also use coloured platted cane leggings, carry the war sword, spear, shield, and choonga or tube for carrying panjies, sharp wooden spikes for sticking into the ground. They also attach to the top of the shield two pieces of wood in the shape of buffaloes' horns, with the locks of hair of human beings killed in action hanging from the centre.

Before they set out on a war expedition all assemble together and decide on the village to be attacked, and the chief appointed to command, the party consults the usual omens, which proving propitious a fowl is killed and cooked, and all partake of it.

They then provide themselves with spears, shields and a *panjie choonga*, and cooking two days' food, wrap it up in leaves in baskets with some meat and set out for the village to be attacked, which they lie near to in ambush during the night till the break of day, when they rush in upon it with a great noise near and spear the first they meet with, and afterwards cut off the head, hands and feet of their enemies, roll them up in a cloth and return home, when they take

¹ Assamese *danesh*, the Great Hornhill (*Dichoceros bicornis*), used similarly in Borneo.—N.K.R.

the skulls to each house in the village, and throw rice and spirits over them, and tell the skulls to call their relatives, and he who has cut off the head, keeps it under his bedstead five days, during that time the warriors eat no food cooked by women and do not cook in their accustomed cooking pots, and neither do the warriors have any communication with their wives during the five days; but after the fifth day the heads or skulls are buried and a great feast is given of pigs and cows, afterwards they bathe and return to their avocations. They do not go out singly on inroads, but in bodies commit predatory inroads; a Naga can never give up revenge, he must avenge the death of a relative in some way or other, either by stealth or surprise, kill one or ten in return and carry off their heads, panjying the road after their retreat to prevent their being pursued.

When a respectable man dies in the village, the whole village do not quit it for three days, and keep the body in the house after which they kill cows and pigs, and with rice and spirits give a feast to the whole community, the body is then conveyed to the burying ground and interred, and a stone tomb is built over the grave 3 or 4 feet high, and all the men being dressed in their war habiliments make a great noise and jump about and say 'what spirit has come and killed our friend, where have you fled to, come let us see you, how powerful you are, if we could see you we would spear you and kill you with these spears,' and with similar vociferous speeches and war whoops continually repeated, they curse the spirit and strike the earth with their spears and swords, and then they place on the grave all the articles of dress worn by the deceased, as well as his arms, his sword, spear, shield, panjie tube, wearing apparel, bamboo spirit cup, spirit gourd bottle, waistband, shells worn round the neck and arms, red cane armlets, cane bands worn on the legs, and coloured cane leggings and the Dhoones feathers worn in the head, such is the custom on the death of men; if a woman dies her petticoat, waistband, cloth tied over the breasts, brass ornaments worn on the arms and necklaces, and spirit gourd bottle, shuttle for weaving, spinning stick for cotton, cotton thread, dhan, grain, pestle and mortar for clearing rice, are all placed on her grave; the skulls of pigs and cows are likewise stuck up on sticks at one end of the grave in memory of the deceased's hospitality.

If a man falls sick, the chief person in the house or family sacrifices a fowl and places the entrails and feathers in the road in the evening

and calls out to the spirit, 'O! spirit restore to health the person you have afflicted in my family, I offer you the entrails of a fowl,' saying this he returns to his house and takes the fowl's head and legs, and gives it to some other family, and the remainder is eaten at home.

If the sickness is very severe, a person takes a fowl and goes into the jungle and leaves the fowl alive as an offering to the living spirit. If it be to the invisible Hossung spirit then he kills the fowl and leaves it in the jungle, except this they have no other remedies. If a Naga has cultivated a large extent of land and falls sick, he kills a pig and asks the chiefs or elders to partake of his feast and assist him to cut his grain, the request being acceded to, a feast is given and the next day they cut the corn.

If cows or pigs be killed by tigers, or if they die off suddenly on that day, they take an egg and go to the spot on which the cow was killed and place the egg on the spot and say, 'O! spirit, do not, we entreat you, kill our cattle from today; this is not your residence, your abode is in the woods, depart hence from this day,' saying this they return home, it is a day of rest and if cattle die suddenly or if they accidentally wound themselves, that day also is one of rest, and in the former case the whole village community remain at home in all calamities, the usual avocations are not thought of.

Women may live with a man without being married and then go to another, but she gives up her progeny. The children remain with the father. If a Naga divorces his wife if for a fault she does not return to her parents, but resides in a house by herself and she can marry again. If a man commits adultery his head is cut off.

If the thief is caught in the act he is killed. When a man wishes to erect a new house, he first collects all the necessary materials, such as bamboos, grass and posts and then fixes on a day and invites his friends to a feast of fowls or pigs and spiritous liquor. The house is forthwith constructed by his friends in a day, and at the close all partake of his hospitality. When the Angamis have nothing to do, they sit about on the tombs in groups and pass the day in drinking spirits and gossiping and forming plans for hostile inroads on their neighbours.

If any village happens to diminish in numbers, the larger villages immediately insist on annual tribute being paid to them of cattle, pigs, fowls, dhan and cloth or otherwise they plunder it by force and utterly ruin it.

The Nagas sink pits in the jungles 6 or 7 feet deep, and fill the pit with *panjies*, wooden spikes, that if any animal should fall into the pit it would be killed. The surface of the pit is covered over with branches and leaves of trees, and the new earth taken out of the pit is conveyed to a distance to prevent wild elephants and buffaloes from smelling that new ground has been broken and so avoiding the snare. In January on the full moon the wealthy slaughter cows as a sacrifice to the great god, give a grand feast to their friends, entreat the god to protect them, and to prosper all their undertakings and it is a season of general rejoicing.

Oaths

Their mode of taking oaths is singular, when they swear to keep the peace or to perform any promise, they place the barrel of a gun or spear between their teeth, signifying by this ceremony that if they do not act up to their agreements they are prepared to fall by either of the two weapons. Another simple but equally binding oath is for two parties to take hold of the ends of a piece of spear iron, and to have it cut into two pieces, leaving a bit in the hand of each party, but the most sacred oath it is said is for each party, to take a fowl, one the head, and the other the legs, and in this manner to pull it asunder, intimating that treachery or breach of agreement would merit the same treatment. They likewise erect a large stone as a monument on the occasion of taking an oath, and say as long as this stone stands on the earth no differences shall occur between us.

Omens

Like all wild uncivilized races they are superstitious, and all business or undertakings of importance are decided by consulting omens. To ascertain whether an hostile incursion on a neighbouring tribe would be successful; they cut a soft reed into flat pieces, if the slices fall of one side or one upon the other success is certain, if on the reverse quarter or scattered, it is ominous in proportion to the number of pieces that have fallen. They also pretend they can

discover future events by the flight of a cock, if he flies strong and far it is an auspicious omen, on the contrary should the flight be for a short distance and weakly ill-luck would inevitably attend any hostile expedition. If a deer likewise crosses their path when starting on an expedition they return home immediately and postpone the undertaking to a future day.

The incursions of the Angami Nagas are chiefly confined to attacks on small defenceless villages. The inhabitants of which they plunder and carry off into captivity until their friends effect their ransom by giving cloths, conch shells, beads, pigs and cows. Amongst the Nagas it is considered a point of honour to recover the skulls of their friends, who have fallen in an attack made on their villages, and prisoners are always decapitated if they refuse to accompany or return with the victors to their homes.

It is totally incompatible with Naga honour also to forego taking revenge, and it is incumbent on him to ransom or recover the skull of a relative murdered or captured in war, years may elapse but the murder of a relative is never forgotten and when a favourable opportunity offers probably, twice the number of victims are sacrificed. Retaliation again ensues and consequently there can never be a termination to these exterminating feuds.

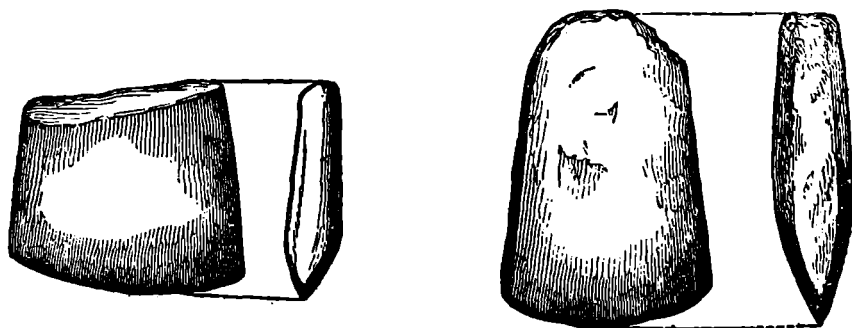
Exclusive of revenge however one of their most barbarous customs is that of cutting off the heads, hands and feet of any one they can meet with, without any provocation or pre-existent enmity, merely to stick them up in their fields to ensure a good crop of grain. This practice is very common amongst the adjoining tribe of Lotah Nagas and the Angami Nagas are said also to be addicted to it but not so frequently.

The value of slaves and cattle is strangely estimated at the following rate, a male slave is worth one cow and three conch shells, a female slave is worth three cows and four or five conch shells.

A Cow	..	..	..	..	ten conch shells
A Pig	..	..	..	..	two conch shells
A Goat	..	..	..	..	two conch shells
A Fowl	..	..	..	..	one packet of salt

The price of salt in the plains is 7 rupees per maund of 40 seers or 80 lbs, and a conch shell is worth 1 rupee, so that a male slave is worth 13 rupees or 26s., a female slave 34 rupees or 68s., a cow 10 rupees or 1 £, a goat or pig 2 rupees or 2s. each.

Weapons, spears, hand-bills and hoes are procured from Muneepore. The land is roughly cultivated, often-times becked up with a crooked stick in lieu of a hoe, for they have no idea of ploughing. The land is cultivated from the base to the summit of the hills in terraces and irrigated by channels cut from running streams. They grow rice, pumpkins, gourds, yams, chillies, and ginger, cotton is not grown in the Eastern part of the hills but a coarse cloth is manufactured from the bark of the stalks of the nettle plant, and whatever cotton is required for clothing is procured from Sumooguding, Rajahpamah and Beremah.¹



Stone implements from the Naga Hills

2

ROUGH NOTES ON THE ANGAMIS

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4, pp. 307-27)

I

OF ALL THE NUMEROUS TRIBES—Garos, Khasias, Sintengs, Mikirs, Kacharis, Kukis, Nagas, Singphus, and Khamtis—inhabiting that vast tract of mountainous country which hems in Asam on the south, the largest numerically, as it is territorially, is the 'Naga'.

¹ Almost the whole of this note is reproduced word for word, without acknowledgement, by elder John Butler in his *Travels and Adventures*, published in London the following year.

Our late explorations have clearly ascertained, that the great Naga race does undoubtedly cross over the main watershed dividing the waters which flow north into the Brahmaputra, from those flowing south into the Irawadi; and they have also furnished very strong grounds for believing that in all probability it extends as far as the banks of the Kaiendwen (Namtonai or Ningthi) River, the great western tributary of the Irawadi. Indeed there is room even to believe, that further explorations may, ere long, lead us to discover, that the Kakhyen and Khyen (often pronounced Kachin and Chin) tribes, spoken of by former writers (Pemberton, Yule, Hannay, Bayfield, Griffiths, and others) are but offshoots of this one great race. Yule tells us that 'the hills west of Kale are occupied by the Khyens, a race extending southward throughout the long range of the Yuma-doung to the latitude of Prome', and that 'Colonel Hannay identifies the Khyens with the Nagas of the Asam mountains'. Again Dalton in his work on the Ethnology of Bengal tells us that 'Karens are sometimes called Kakhyens', and that 'Latham thinks that word for word Khyen is Karen', whilst Dr Mason tells us 'that it is a Burmese word signifying aboriginal'. Finally we have Major Fryer informing us in his late interesting paper 'On the Khyen people of the Sandoway District', that the Khyens have a tradition that they came down many years ago from the sources of the Kaiendwen River.

It will thus be seen that the question regarding the identity of these tribes is at present a difficult one to decide, and I consider that its final solution can be satisfactorily undertaken only when we have completed the explorations upon which we have been so busily engaged for the last six years.

We have already succeeded in completing the survey of about 8000 square miles of a country, about which we previously knew scarcely anything at all, a *terra incognita* in fact, the greater portion of which had been unseen by European eyes until visited by those enterprising pioneers, our survey officers, who armed with the Theodolite and Plane-table very soon cleared away the huge blots which had for so long been permitted to disfigure our N.E. Frontier Maps. Thus it is obvious that any theory propounded at the present stage of our knowledge must be more or less based upon conjecture, a dangerous field of controversy which I wish to avoid, especially as a few more seasons of such work as we have done of late, must

clear up the mystery in which this question has so long been shrouded.

Geography and History

Of all the tribes—and they are almost as numerous as the hills they inhabit—into which the Naga group is divided, the most powerful and warlike, as it is also the most enterprising, intelligent, and civilized, so to say, is the ‘turbulent Angami’. This great division of the Naga race occupies for the most part of charming country of fine, open, rolling hill and valley, bounded by lofty mountains, some of whose summits tower up to nine, ten, and even twelve thousand feet above the sea level. Their villages are generally placed on the more tabular hills of about 5000 feet elevation, and enjoy a healthy, bracing climate, subject to neither extreme heat, nor cold.

This noble tract of country is blessed with a most fertile soil, well-cultivated, drained and manured, and the hill sides are often covered, I might almost say for miles, with a succession of fine terraces of rich rice; and the hill tops are dotted over, as far as the eye can reach, with numerous large villages, whose comparatively enormous population might even claim for them the right of being called towns. Thus Kohima for instance contains no less than 865 houses, or say a population of over 4000 souls.

The Angamis proper, or ‘Western Angamis’, as they have also been aptly termed, in order to distinguish them from the Eastern clans, to whom they are closely allied, hold 46 villages, all lying to the west of the Sijjo or Doiang River. Towards the north they extend up to the range of hills on which the Nidzukhru mountain forms a prominent land-mark, and on the west to the low range of hills on which Samaguting, Sitekema, and Nidzuma stand, whilst towards the south they are cut off from Manipur by the lofty Barrail, whose forest-clad heights make a splendid background to the lovely panorama in front. The 46 villages above-mentioned, contain a total of 6,367 houses, and cover a tract of about 30 miles in length, by about 20 in breadth, and are thus spread over an area of about 600 square miles. Now if we allow an average of 5 souls to each house, we here obtain a population of 31,835 souls, or roughly, in round numbers,

say about 30,000 souls—figures which I believe a regular census would prove to be very near the mark indeed. And from these figures we may assume that we have here got a population of at least 50 to the square mile, which for a hill country, I need hardly add, is a very large average. This can be easily seen by a reference to the last Census Report of Bengal (1872), in which we find that even the Khasia Hills have only 23 souls to the square mile, the Chittagong Hill Tracts only 10, whilst Hill Tiparah comes last of all with only 9.

It has been generally believed that the term 'Naga' is derived from the Bengali word 'nangta', or the Hindustani word 'nanga', meaning 'naked', and the specific name 'Angami' has also been credited with the same source. Another theory suggests the Kachari word 'Naga', a 'young man' and hence a 'warrior', whilst a third theory would derive it from 'nag' a snake. However, be this as it may, the term is quite foreign to the people themselves: they have no generic term applicable to the whole race, but use specific names for each particular group of villages; thus the men of Mezoma, Khonoma, Kohima, Jotsoma, and their allies call themselves Tengimas, whilst others if asked who they are would reply simply that they were men of such a village, and seem to be quite ignorant of any distinctive tribal name connecting them to any particular group of villages,—a strange fact, which I think is in a great measure accounted for by the state of constant war, and consequent isolation, in which they live. The Kacharis, I may add, speak of the Nagas generally as the Magamsa, and of the Angami Nagas in particular as the Dawansa.

I have long endeavoured to gain some satisfactory information regarding the origin of these interesting tribes, but I regret to say that this is a question upon which I have hitherto failed to throw much light. In my wanderings to and fro, I have observed that there seem to be two very distinct types running through these hills; the one a fine, stalwart, cheerful, bright, light coloured race, cultivating their, generally terraced, lands, with much skill, among whom I place the Angami as *facile princeps*; the other a darker, dirtier, and more squat race, among whom the sulky Lhota may be pointed to as a good representative; and I have not failed to notice signs that the latter are giving way to the former, wherever they happen to come in contact. A careful comparison of the several dialects which I have long been busy collecting, will, I fancy, be one of the best

guides we can obtain for the proper classification of all these tribes, but that is a matter of time, and the compilation of vocabulary with any pretention to correctness is far from being the easy task some imagine it to be.

The Angamis have a tradition that they originally came from the south-east, and a fabulous legend goes on to relate how 'a long time ago' when the world was young, and gods, men and beasts dwelt in peace, a god, a man, a woman, and a tiger lived together; how the woman died, and the tiger attempted to make a meal of her; how this led to the breaking up of this happy family, and the separation of these incongruous creatures. Afterwards a quarrel arose between two brothers, the sons of their great Chief, and they then both left the cradle of their race, each taking a different path, the one 'blazed' his path by cutting marks on all the 'Chomhu' trees, the other on all the 'Chemu' trees.¹ Now the former always remaining white and fresh for many days, and the latter turning black almost immediately, the greater following took the former path, which led them out into the plains of Asam, the latter and lesser number settled in the hills, and hence the numerical superiority of the 'Tephimas' or 'Tephrimas' (men of Asam).

This is the outline of a very long disconnected narrative of their exodus, and it is not very flattering to be told that another equally wild legend ascribes the genesis of the 'white faces' to a white dog and a woman, extraordinarily fair, who were floated off, amid broad waters on a raft, well provisioned for a long voyage. These creatures are believed to have landed on some distant shore, and the result was a race of white men, who bred and multiplied until they overran the land, conquering all black races that attempted to oppose their onward progress. This tale does not at first sight appear to credit us with a very noble origin, but the fact is I believe that the 'white dog' has been merely introduced as a sort of *Deus ex machina*, in order to account in some way for some of our, to them, most extraordinary powers.

I find it recorded in an old letter dated thirteen years ago, that 'about 300 years since, the younger brother of the then reigning

¹ The Chomhu is probably, according to Dr Hutton, *Rhus semi-alata* (Murray), used as a mordant when dyeing cotton or goat's hair scarlet with the juice of *Rubia Sikkimensis* (Kurey) after it has been first dipped in that of *symplocos grandiflora* (Wall). Chemu is also a tree the bark and leaves of which are used in dyeing, *cordia mixa*.—N.K.R.

Raja of Jaintia, became enamoured of his niece (the Raja's daughter) and forcibly seizing her fled with some followers from Jaintia to Dimapur, then the residence of the Kachar Rajas. Here he remained for some time protected by the Kachar Raja; but his brother having sent out a large force to capture him, he fled to the hills in the vicinity of Dimapur, now known to us as the Angami Hills, and being accompanied by several Kacharis, as well as his own followers, permanently established himself there, and from this colony arose the now powerful tribe of the Angami Nagas.' This account is reported to have further stated that full confirmation of these facts might be gleaned from some of the old Jaintia records; and as a further argument to support his story, he is also said to have pointed to the fact that the Angami women to this day adhere to the peculiar manner of wearing the cloth tied above each shoulder, adopted by the Jaintia women alone of all the other tribes on this frontier. For my own part I have never succeeded in obtaining any confirmation of this strange story, and am hence sceptical of its truth. However, I have deemed it right to give it *quant. val.*, in the hope that some future investigator may possibly be able to pick up a clue to the story in fields where I have not had the opportunity of searching, namely amid the archives of Jaintiapur.

Our first actual acquaintance with the Angamis appears to have commenced as early as 1831-2, when Captains Jenkins, Pemberton, and Gordon were deputed to explore a route through their country, with a view to opening out direct communication between Asam and Manipur. On this occasion, although they were accompanied by a comparatively large force, amounting to no less than 700 muskets, they were opposed with a most determined resistance at every village they passed through, and so bitter was the opposition made, that in many instances the villagers set fire to their own villages, so as to destroy such provisions as they were unable to remove rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy.

From the date of that eventful journey until 1867, that is to say, for a period of over forty years, the political history of our relations with this tribe has been one long, sickening story of open insults and defiance, bold outrages, and cold-blooded murders on the one side, and long-suffering forbearance, forgiveness, concession, and unlooked-for favours on the other, varied now and again with tours innumerable, deputations and expeditions, the interesting details

of which go far to make up one of the most important chapters of the yet unwritten history of a province, rich in such stores, but which it would be out of place, if not impossible, to allude to within the limits of this paper.

With regard, however, to the effect of punitive military expeditions when unaccompanied with, or followed by, other measures of a more lasting nature, such as the actual occupation of the country, whether it be to exercise absolute authority or mere political control, I may here briefly draw attention to the Naga expedition of 1850, when a force of over 500 men, with 2 three-pounder guns and 2 mortars, and European Officers in proportion, was thrown into the Naga Hills, to avenge a long series of raids, which had finally culminated in the murder of Bhog Chand, the native officer in command of our outpost at Samaguting.

This Force entered the hills in November 1850, and although they very soon drove the Nagas out of their stockades, a portion of the Force remained in the hills until March 1851, when our Government, loath to increase its responsibilities, determined, to abstain, entirely and unreservedly, from all further interference, with the affairs of the Nagas, and withdrew our troops. In the remaining nine months of that year no fewer than 22 raids were made on our frontier, in which 55 persons were killed, 10 wounded, and 113 were carried off into a captivity from which very few indeed ever returned.

In 1853, the Government consented to the appointment of a European Officer to the charge of North Kachar. A station was taken up at Asalu, which was then formed into a separate subdivision, subordinate to Naogaon, and stringent orders were issued, forbidding any interference with the Hill Tribes: the Dhansiri was accepted as the extreme limit of our jurisdiction, and the Angamis were henceforth to be treated as altogether beyond our pale. These measures had the effect, as might easily have been anticipated, of simply temporizing with the evils which they were meant to eradicate, and hence we can scarcely be surprised to find that raid followed raid, with a monotonous regularity, which all our frontier posts were completely helpless to prevent. Thus between the years 1852 and 1862 we hear of twenty-four such atrocities being committed within the vaunted line of our outposts, and some of them were accompanied with a tigerish brutality, so intensely fiendish, that

it is almost incredible that such acts could have been perpetrated by human beings, savages though they were.

In 1862, three distinct attacks were made upon our subjects within the short space of twenty-four days. In the first of these, at Borpothar, a Sepoy was cut down in broad daylight, within a few paces of a masonry Guard House, filled with an armed detachment of his companions. In the second, six out of seven elephant-hunters were cruelly massacred; and in the third, a village almost within hail, and certainly within sight, of the Guard House above-mentioned, was attacked and plundered at about 9 A.M., eight persons being killed on the spot, and two children carried off, one of whom the Nagas subsequently cut to pieces on their retreat, on finding themselves pursued.

At this juncture, we find our local officers frankly declaring that our relations with the Nagas could not possibly be on a worse footing than they were then, and that the non-interference policy, which sounds so excellent in theory, had utterly failed in practice, and urging therefore that it was necessary to adopt more vigorous measures.

Yet notwithstanding much correspondence that passed upon the subject, when all kinds of schemes, possible and impossible, were discussed and re-discussed nothing more appears to have been done until 1865. In this year, a recurrence of fresh forays led the officer in charge of North Kachar to represent that the safety of his subdivision was in jeopardy, and it was then that the Government were at last moved into giving their consent to the deputation of an European officer who was to effect a permanent lodgment in the country; and Samaguting (or more properly Chimukedima) was again occupied by us in December 1867.

Since the date of this measure being carried into effect, our chief object here, namely, the protection of our lowland subjects, has been most completely attained, and I think I may safely say, that the prestige of our Government was never held in higher esteem by our turbulent highlanders than it is at the present moment. This result is due, in a great measure, to the invariable success, attending our numerous exploration expeditions during the last six years, and the complete collapse of every attempt that has been made to prevent our progress, or subvert our authority, during that time.

Still, notwithstanding these very satisfactory results, I grieve to say that intestine feuds with all the horrors that accompany their

progress are as rife now as ever they were, and it requires no great foresight to predict the possibility—I may even say the probability—of our sooner or later being compelled to take another stride in that inevitable march of progress, in that noble mission of peace, which seems to be our predestined lot wherever the Anglo-Saxon sets foot.

Much, very much has already been done by our most just and patient Government, to induce these savages to amend their ways, to convert their 'spears into plough-shares', and to live in peace and harmony with all men. But it cannot of course be expected that the predatory habits, and head-taking customs of long generations of anarchy and bloodshed will be abandoned in a day, and we have hence got much earnest work before us, ere we can look forward to the completion of our task. The snake has been scotched, not killed. And the further measures which it may yet be found necessary to take with regard to the management of the tribes inhabiting this frontier, form an anxious problem of the future into which it is needless my attempting to pry. We must simply watch the 'signs of the times' and move with them, being content to know that a powerful Government is in the meanwhile ready to act as circumstances arise, and as the dictates of a true policy direct, confident that the wisdom with which so vast and heterogeneous a mass of nations has been governed elsewhere throughout the length and breadth of India, will also guide us safely through the shoals with which our administration is beset here, finally landing us in that safe haven, a well-governed peaceful country, to which we have every reason to look forward most hopefully.

II

The Angamis invariably build their villages on the very summits of high tabular hills, or saddle-back spurs, running off from the main ranges, and owing to the almost constant state of war existing, most of them are very strongly fortified. Stiff-stockades, deep ditches bristling with panjies, and massive stone walls, often loop-holed for musketry, are their usual defences.

In war-time, the hill sides and approaches are escarped and thickly studded over with panjies. These panjies, I may here explain, are

sharp-pointed bamboo skewers or stakes, varying from six inches to three and four feet in length, some of them as thin as a pencil, others as thick round as a good-sized cane, and although very insignificant things to look at, they give a nasty and most painful wound, often causing complete lameness in a few hours. Deep pit-falls and small holes covered over with a light layer of earth and leaves, concealing the panjies within, are also skilfully placed along the paths by which an enemy is expected to approach, and a tumble into one of the former is not a thing to be despised, as I have had good reason to know.

The approaches to the villages are often up through tortuous, narrow, covered ways, or lanes, with high banks on either side, lined with an overhanging tangled mass of prickly creepers and brushwood, sometimes through a steep ravine and along the bed of an old torrent, in either case admitting of the passage of only one man at a time.

These paths lead up to gates, or rather door-ways, closed by strong, thick and heavy wooden doors, hewn out of one piece of solid wood. The doors are fastened from the inside and admit of being easily barricaded, and thus rendered impregnable against all attack. These doors again are often overlooked and protected by raised look-outs, on which, whenever the clan is at feud, a careful watch is kept up night and day; not unfrequently the only approach to one of these outer gates is up a notched pole from fifteen to twenty feet high.

The several clans, of which there are from two to eight in every village, are frequently divided off by deep lanes and stone walls, and whenever an attack is imminent, the several roads leading up to the village are studded over with stout pegs, driven deep into the ground, which very effectually prevents anything like a rush. On the higher ranges, the roads connecting the several villages, as well as the paths leading down to their cultivation are made with considerable skill, the more precipitous hills being turned with easy gradients, instead of the road being taken up one side of the hill and down the other as is usually the case among hillmen.

Their houses are built with a ground-floor, the slopes of the hills being dug down to a rough level, no mat covers the bare ground. They are generally placed in irregular lines, facing inwards, and are constructed after a pattern I have never seen anywhere except in these hills. These houses have high gable ends whose eaves almost

touch the ground on either side, this I believe to be a precaution against high winds. The gable in front, which, in the case of men of wealth or position, is often decorated with broad, handsome weather boards, is from 15 to 30 feet high, and the roof slopes off in rear, as well as towards the sides, the gable at the back being only about from 10 to 15 feet in height. In width the houses vary from about 20 to 40 feet, and in length from about 30 to 60 feet. In many of the villages each house is surrounded by a stone wall, marking off the 'compound' so to say, wherein the cattle are tethered for the night. Half the space under the front gable, is often walled in with boards as a loose stall, and bamboo baskets are tied up under the eaves of the house to give shelter to their poultry. Pig-styes also, in the corner of a compound, are not uncommon. The house itself is divided off into from two to three compartments according to the wealth or taste of its owner. In the front room, the grain is stored away in huge baskets made of bamboo from 5 to 10 feet high and about 5 feet in diameter. In the inner room, there is a large open fire-place, and around it are placed thick, broad planks, for sitting and sleeping upon, and the back room of all generally contains the liquor tub, the most important piece of furniture in the house in the Naga's estimation.

In this they brew their 'dzu', a kind of fermented beer, made of rice and other ingredients, composed of herbs found wild in the jungle. This liquor is the Angami Naga's greatest solace, for strange to say never indulging in either opium, or tobacco (as many of his neighbours do), he may be seen sipping this 'dzu', either through a reed (after the manner of a sherry cobbler), or with a wooden or bamboo spoon out of bamboo or mithan horn drinking cups, from morn to night.

III

The average Angami is a fine, hardy, athletic fellow, brave and warlike, and, among themselves, as a rule, most truthful and honest. On the other hand, he is blood-thirsty, treacherous, and revengeful to an almost incredible degree. This, however, can scarcely be wondered at when we recall what I have already related regarding revenge being considered a most holy act, which they have been

taught from childhood ever to revere as one of their most sacred duties.

The 'blood-feud' of the Nagas is what the 'vendetta' of the Corsican was, a thing to be handed down from generation to generation, an everlasting and most baneful heir-loom, involving in its relentless course the brutal murders of helpless old men and women, innocent young girls and children, until, as often happens, mere petty family quarrels, generally about land or water, being taken up by their respective clansmen, break out into bitter civil wars which devastate whole villages.

This is no 'word-painting' on my part, for I am here speaking of actual facts and a most deplorable state of affairs which seems to have existed from time immemorial, and is to be seen in full force up to the present day, a terrible check not only to the increase of population, but also a fatal barrier to all moral progress. I must confess it is not a little disheartening to think how long and how arduously we have striven, and yet how little we have done towards improving, civilizing, and weaning from their accursed thirst for blood, this otherwise noble race. But it is simply the old, old story, precept and example, the only means we have heretofore employed, worthy tools though they be, are perfectly powerless before the traditions of untold ages of anarchy and warfare.

Thus we even find Nagas, who have acted for years as Dobhashas (Interpreters) at Samaguting, others as Policemen in Naogaon, some as Sepoys in Dibrugarh, and not a few who have been educated under the parental care of kind missionaries, and have spent several years in the plains, where they have been taught to read and write, and have doubtless had very carefully inculcated into them the lessons of virtue and peace taught by our Christian religion, returning to their native hills not, as we should at first suppose, to render us any assistance in our good work here of endeavouring to secure peace, but rather on the contrary to indulge again and take part in all the scenes of rapine and cruelty going on around them, until at last it is difficult to say whether their evidently superficial, skin-deep education has not rather tended to enable them to out-Herod Herod in their wily plots of deep-laid treachery, or as they would call it 'skilful strategy'; scratch the Dobhasha and you will find the Naga.

In height, the Angami as a rule is somewhat taller than the average of hill races, and is generally well proportioned, especially as regards

his legs, the large muscles of the thigh and calf being remarkably well developed. His complexion is comparatively fair, though among them, as among almost all the Indo-Chinese races, we meet with various shades of brown, from the almost ruddy and light olive to the red Indian and dark brown types. I do not, however, ever remember seeing a black Naga, I mean a black such as is common in Bengal, except in one instance, and then further inquiry elicited the fact that he was not a pure Naga at all, but the son of an Asamese captive who became naturalized, and was afterwards allowed to take unto himself a daughter of the land (of his involuntary adoption). In feature also there is great variety, but high cheek bones predominate.

The men of the upper ranges are really often almost handsome, and some of the women might almost be called pretty. But as regards the latter, hard work and exposure, coupled with the trials of early maternity, soon tell a tale, and I have been quite surprised and grieved to see how soon they age. In little more than six years I have seen mere children develop into comely lasses, and these latter again into sturdy matrons, whilst I have watched wives and mothers, whose youthful looks at first surprised me, change suddenly into wrinkled old women with scarcely a trace of their former good looks about them.

I confess, however, that beauty of form is not the rule in these hills. Whether it is that the more or less lavish display of such charms as they possess, enables us the better to exercise a discriminating judgement upon the beauty, or want of beauty, their forms display, I cannot pretend to say, but this much I do know, that here we may seek, and seek in vain, for any of the soft contours and lovely outlines which give shape to the persons of the women of other races. At the same time I must add that I have not failed to notice that hill women all over India, from the fair dwellers in Kashmir to their dark sisters inhabiting the uplands of Bengal, all fall off in this particular, and are very rarely indeed, if ever, able to boast of a good figure.

ANGAMI MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

(a)

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

AS WITH THE MEN, so with the women, I think they are certainly taller than the average of other hill-women, and their features more regular. They are chaste, faithful, merry, and—unlike their brothers—never to be seen idle. Their duty it is to fetch the wood, draw the water, cook the food, and brew the liquor, besides working in the fields and weaving cloths at home.

It will be observed that among the characteristics of the women I have placed chastity, and it may be as well perhaps for me to explain that by this term I do not for a moment mean to say that they are exactly chaste according to our ideas, but simply that they are true to, and act up to, their own principles with regard to that virtue. The relationship between the sexes, and the exact footing on which it should stand, is, and ever has been, one of the world's most difficult problems, and the most civilized and advanced among nations (whether ancient or modern, Christian or heathen) have found how difficult is the task of sailing between the Scylla of a Puritanical strictness which would keep the sexes almost wholly apart, and the Charybdis of a laxity to which it is difficult to put bounds. Here we have got a primitive state of society which, although it would not for a moment recognize, or even allow to exist, that plague euphemistically termed a 'social evil', and although it punishes any serious breach of the marriage contract with death itself, yet never dreams of conceiving it possible that perfect continence on the part of the unmarried (or free portion of society) is to be either demanded or even desired. It may be asked, What are the consequences? I reply—Prostitution is a thing unknown here, and all the foul diseases that follow in its train, are evils to which Naga flesh has not been born an heir. Here no Naga Lais plies her shameful trade. A

Naga woman would scorn to barter for her person. And woe betide the mercenary lover who seeks to gain his end by other ways than those of love. Young men and maidens mix together with almost all the freedom allowed by nature's law. Incontinence on the part of the married however is rare, and an unfaithful wife is a thing almost unheard of, but then the penalty is death.

Marriage and divorce are among the simplest of their rites, and sad to say, often follow each other within the year without comment or surprise. 'Incompatibility of temper' is here quite sufficient for either the man or woman to demand a divorce, and to take it. Although strictly monogamous, both sexes can marry and remarry as often as they please. Such offspring as require the maternal aid follow the mother, and are tended and cared for by her until able to look after themselves, when they return to the father. Men may not only marry their deceased wives' sisters, but they may likewise marry their brothers' widows. On the other hand, it is altogether forbidden for cousins to intermarry.

Parents may advise, but never attempt positively to control, the choice of their sons and daughters. Marriage is usually solemnized by a large feast, and the bridegroom, when he can afford it, makes a present to the bride's parents. Divorce necessitates a division of all property held in common, such as grain, household furniture, &c., and all property derived since the two became man and wife. In any division thus made, the late wife or divorcee gets one-third, whilst the man takes the remainder, and the woman then either returns to her own parents, or lives apart in a separate house until she marries again.

On the death of the father all property, excepting the house, is divided equally among all the sons alone, the youngest always receiving the house in addition to his share of the whole. Neither the widow nor daughters have any claim to aught except their clothes and ornaments, but they are generally supported by the sons until death or marriage.

(b)

(A.W. Davis, in the *Census of India*, 1891, Vol. I)

THE KHEL'S AMONGST ANGAMIS are exogamous subdivisions. A man is therefore obliged to look for his wife amongst the women of a

khel different from his own. Marriages are, therefore, usually not love matches, at least as far as the girl is concerned. The following sketch gives the procedure followed in the village of Khonoma by a young man who is anxious to marry. Having selected the girl he would like to marry, he informs his father. The father then sends a friend to the girl's house to interview her parents, with a view to ascertain whether they will allow the match or not. If a favourable reply is received from the girl's parents, the father of the young man will on an auspicious day (inauspicious days are days on which there has been a death in the village, or during which there has occurred an eclipse of the sun or moon or an earthquake) at sunrise ascertain, by strangling a fowl and watching which way in dying it crosses its legs, whether the intended marriage is likely to be a prosperous one or not. Should the omens be unfavourable, the arrangements for the marriage are at once broken off, but should the omens be favourable, the go-between will again be sent to inform the parents of the girl of the fact. The girl's opinion is then asked, and should she, within the next three days, dream no dream unfavourable to the idea of the intended marriage, formal consent is given by her parents.

A day for the wedding is then fixed. On that day the father of the bridegroom sends some pigs, usually two or three (the number varies according to the wealth of the parties), a few seers of salt, and some liquor to the house of the bride's parents. These pigs are then killed, and a feast given to the khel men and friends of the bride, who also take away small portions of meat wrapped in plantain leaves. The same night at about 9 or 10 P.M. the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, carrying a small 'lao' of liquor and a little cooked meat in a basket. She is accompanied by two men and two women carrying four laos of liquor, 100 or more pieces of cooked meat, and 10 or 12 pieces of uncooked meat, by a small boy carrying a cup of liquor, and by some 40 or 50 members of her own khel.

On arrival at the house the bridegroom is summoned, and he and the bride, first the man then the woman, eat some of the meat and drink some of the liquor brought by the bride. The bridegroom then returns to his 'deka chang', and the companions of the bride, after receiving a few fowls as presents, return to their homes, only two women and one man remaining to sleep with the bride at the house

of the bridegroom's father, receiving in the morning a present of one fowl each.

On the second day the bride and bridegroom again eat together, the bridegroom returning at night to his 'deka chang', and the bride remaining in his father's house. On the morning of the third day the young couple go together to the bridegroom's cultivation, the girl carrying a 'lao' of liquor, some food, and a hoe. The man carries only his spear. Arrived at his cultivation, first the man and after him the woman take the hoe and do a little hoeing. A little rice and liquor is then placed on the ground as an offering to the deity. The couple then eat and drink together. They then return home, the man cutting on the way home a few sticks of firewood, which are brought home by the woman. On her return the woman goes to her father's house, and brings thence to her husband's house a few laos of liquor and some cooked meat.

A feast is then given to the neighbours and children. That night the young couple kill a fowl in order to see whether their marriage will turn out well or the reverse. They then wait for another seven or eight days. At the expiration of this period the high priest of the khel is called in. He sacrifices a chicken, and the ceremony of marriage is complete. Until the completion of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom do not sleep together, but after the completion of the ceremony cohabitation is allowed.

The Angamis do not practise polygamy. Children take the caste of the father, i.e. belong to his khel. This is the rule in all Naga tribes.

Divorces are frequent amongst the Angamis, and occur for various reasons, such as infidelity on the part of the woman, incompatibility of temper, and failure on the part of the woman to bear children.

If a woman is divorced for infidelity, all her clothes, beads, &c., are taken by her husband, and her family are fined the amount of the expenses incurred by the husband's family for the marriage. Should, however, a wife be divorced for any reason but some fault of her own, she receives one-third of all the grain that there is in the house at the time. Should a woman leave her husband for no fault on his part, but merely because she finds she does not like him, she then has to repay to him the expenses incurred for the marriage.

Divorced women, women who have left their husbands for any reason, and widows who have no children, &c., go to reside again in their fathers' houses, and can remarry at pleasure. Widows with

children are not supposed to remarry, having to devote themselves to the bringing up of their children.

During a man's life time his sons, as they marry, receive their share of his landed property. Should, however, a man die, leaving several unmarried sons, these will all receive equal shares. As the sons marry, they leave the paternal mansion, and build houses of their own. The youngest son, therefore, in practice nearly always inherits his father's house. Daughters receive no share in their father's property except amongst certain of the Eastern Angami villages. Should a man die, leaving no male heirs, his property is, as a rule, divided amongst his nearest male relations. If he has daughters, these daughters would ordinarily be entitled to receive no portion of his property. A man can, however, by word of mouth, bequeath to his daughter or daughters such portion of his property as he may consider fit.

In the case of a married woman, possessed of property in land in her own right, dying without children, her property would, if not sold to meet her funeral expenses, revert to her nearest male relations.

4

ANGAMI DRESS¹

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

FINALLY, AS REGARDS THE DRESS OF THE ANGAMI, I do not think that we can easily find a more picturesque costume anywhere than that of the men, but it requires to be seen to be understood, and I am afraid no amount of description can adequately represent the vivid colours, and general get-up of a well-dressed Angami warrior, flashing about in all his gala war-paint, as he goes bounding along, making the hills re-echo again and again with his peculiar cry, which when taken up by several hundred voices has a most extraordinarily thrilling effect, sometimes going off into deep bass-tones that would

¹ This passage was used by Woodthorpe in the lecture already quoted, but as there are interesting differences, I have retained it.

do credit to any organ accompaniment, at others running into strangely fiendish, jackal-like yells.

The Angami's chief article of attire, and one which distinguishes him from most other Nagas, is a kilt of dark blue or black cotton cloth of home manufacture, varying from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, according to the size of the man, and about 18 inches in width, decorated with three, and sometimes, though very rarely, with four, horizontal rows of small white cowrie-shells. This kilt passes round the hips and overlaps in front, the edge of the upper flap is ornamented with a narrow fringe, whilst the under-flap having a string attached to its lower corner is pulled up tightly between the legs, and the string, which generally has a small cowrie attached to the end of it, is then either allowed to hang loosely a few inches below the waist belt, or is tucked in at the side, and thus the most perfect decency is maintained, forming a pleasing contrast to some of their neighbours 'who walk the tangled jungle in mankind's primeval pride'. I do not think that any dress that I have ever seen, tends so much to show off to the very best advantage all the points of a really fine man, or so ruthlessly to expose all the weak points of a more weedy specimen as this simple cowrie-begirt kilt. Thrown over the shoulders are generally, loosely worn, from two to three cotton or bark, home-spun cloths, according to the state of the weather. Some of these cloths are of an extremely pretty pattern, as for instance the very common one of a dark blue ground, with a double border of broad scarlet and yellow stripes on two sides, and fringed at both ends. When out on the war-trail, or got up for a dance, these cloths are worn crossed over the breast and back, and tied in a knot at the shoulder.

I may here note that, like our own Scotch Highlanders, every Naga tribe uses a peculiar pattern of cloth, and thus any individual can at once be easily identified by his tartan.

The Angamis cut their hair short in front, and either brush it off the forehead, leaving it parted in the middle, or let it hang down straight, coming to about an inch above the eyebrow, after the manner of Cromwell's Round Heads. The hair on the top and back of the head is left long, and is tied into a peculiar knot, very like the chignons worn by our ladies in England a few years ago. Round this knot rolls of snow white cotton are bound, and on high-days and holidays into the base of this top knot they insert plumes of feathers according to the taste of the wearer.

The favourite feather assumed by the warrior is the tail feather—white with a single broad bar of black at the top—of one of the numerous kinds of Toucans, or Horn Bills, that inhabit the dense forests of the Barrail mountains. So much are these tail feathers sought after on this account, that a single feather will fetch as much as from 4 to 8 annas. Some again wear a wreath or coronet of bear's hair round the head, whilst others frizzle out their own natural hair *à l'Imperatrice*.

In their ears they wear several kinds of ornaments, but among the handsomest is the one formed of a boar's tusk behind the lobe of the ear fixing on, and forming the sheath to, the stem of a peculiar button-like rosette worn in front of the ear. This rosette is about an inch and a half in diameter; in the centre are two emerald green beetle's wings (from the *Buprestis Sternicorais*), round which are a circle of long shiny, white seeds, and on the outside of this again an encircling fringe of scarlet hair, whilst from the lower portion flows down a long scarlet streamer of goat's hair. The tusk is generally ornamented round the base with very pretty red and yellow cane-work. Another extremely becoming ear ornament is made from the blue feathers of the jay. Brass earrings are also very common; but the most curious ear ornaments of all perhaps are the huge bunches of white cotton, sometimes as big as a man's fist, which some of the Nagas wear, giving a most queer monkey-like look to an otherwise not bad looking countenance.

Strings of various coloured beads made of stone, shell, and glass, decorate their throats, the blood-red cornelian of a long hexagonal shape, and a peculiar yellow stone being among the most valued. Behind and on the nape of the neck is invariably worn the white conch shell, cut and shaped so as to fit properly, and suspended by a thick collar of dark blue cotton threads. A few also wear a queer barbaric looking collar or scarf—for I have seen it worn both ways—made of long locks of human hair intermingled with tufts of scarlet goat's hair and dotted all round with cowrie shells, from the bottom of which is suspended an oblong piece of wood, about 6 inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth, covered with alternate rows either of cowries, or the long, shiny, white seeds already referred to as used in the ear ornament, and black and red hair, and having a broad fringe of scarlet hair all round it.

Each arm is decorated either with a broad ring of ivory, being simply a slice about 2 inches wide cut off an elephant's tusk, or with

very pretty looking bracelets about 3 inches wide, made of yellow and red cane, which are sometimes embellished with cowries and hair. All these armlets are invariably worn above the elbow.

On the legs just below the knee, they wear a number of bands of very finely cut cane dyed black, whilst a few wear leggings made of very fine red and yellow cane-work, extending from below the knee to above the ankle. These are usually worked on to the leg, and are left there until they wear out, which happens I am told in about three months.

It is strange to note how fond all nations, whether civilized or savage, are of bestowing some outward sign whereby all men may at once distinguish the man of deeds from the common herd, and thus we here find that the Angami equivalent for a V.C., or 'reward of valour', is a Toucan's tail feather and hair collar, whilst the substitute for a medal, showing that the wearer has been in action, or at all events that he has formed part of an expedition, is cowrie shells on his kilt.

The dress of the women, though neat, decent, and picturesque in its way, is not nearly so showy as that of the men, and forms another noticeable instance of the female withdrawing from the contest wherever she finds the male a rival in the same field of indulgence in, and love of, personal decoration. The most important perhaps, though least seen, portion of a woman's dress is of course the petticoat, which is usually a piece of dark blue home-spun cotton cloth, about 2 feet in breadth, which passing round the hips overlaps about 6 inches. This is partially, if not entirely, covered by the folds of the next most important article of clothing, a broad cotton cloth, whose opposite corners are taken up and made to cross over the back and chest, thus covering the bosoms, and are tied in a knot over the shoulders. Finally, a second cloth is worn, either thrown loosely over the shoulders, or wrapped round the hips and tucked in at the waist. In the cold weather, they generally add an extra cloth, whilst in the warm weather, or when employed in any kind of hard work, such as tilling their fields, &c., they generally dispense with both these, and drop the corners of the other, or in other words simply strip to the waist.

Round their throats they love to load themselves with a mass of necklaces of all kinds, glass, cornelian, shell, seeds, and stone. In their ears the young girls wear a peculiar pendant formed of a

circular bit of white shell, whilst the matrons generally dispense with earrings altogether. On their wrists above their elbows they wear thick heavy bracelets, or armlets, of brass, and a metal that looks like pewter. The young girls until they marry shave their heads completely, a very queer, ugly custom for which I have never succeeded in getting any adequate reason, nor can I suggest one. The married women braid or loop up their hair very much after the manner of the Irish peasantry, often adding a few foreign locks to make up for any deficiency. Brides are generally to be recognized at a glance, from their hair being allowed to fall in waving masses round the head, not being long enough to be tied up.

5

JOHNSTONE ON THE ANGAMIS

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, pp. 27-36)

A STRONG BUILT, hardy, active race, the men averaging 5 feet 8 inches to 6 feet in height, and the women tall in proportion. In colour they vary from a rich brown to a yellowish or light brown. They have a manly independent bearing, and are bred up to war from their earliest years. While the Kukis are monarchists, the Nagas are republicans, and their Peumahs, or chiefs, are elected, and though they often have great influence, they are in theory, only *primus inter pares*, and are liable at any time to be displaced. Practically they often remain in office for years, and are greatly respected.

Where the Angamis came from must be uncertain till the languages of our Eastern frontier are scientifically analysed. The late Mr Damant, a man of great talent and powers of research, had a valuable paper regarding them in hand, but it perished in the insurrection of 1879. The probability is, that they came originally from the south-eastern corner of Thibet.

Some of the Maories of New Zealand reminded me of the Angamis. The well-defined nose is a prominent characteristic of the last, as it is of some of the inhabitants of Polynesia. The people of

Samagudting—that is, the adults in 1874—told me that they had come from the north-east, and were the seventh generation that had been there. When they first occupied their village, the site was, they said, covered with the bones and tusks of elephants which had come there to die.

Had I lived longer among the Nagas, I should have liked to have made deeper researches into their language and past history; as it was, all my time was taken up with my active duties, and I had not a moment to spare.

Their dress is a short kilt of black cotton cloth, ornamented, in the case of warriors, with rows of cowrie shells. They have handsome cloths of dark blue and yellow thrown over their shoulders in cold weather. Their arms are spears and heavy short swords, called by the Assamese name of *dao*; helmets and shields of wicker work (used chiefly to cover the more vulnerable parts of the body) and sometimes clothed with skins of tigers or bears. They have also tails of wood decorated with goats' hair dyed red. The warspears are plain; the ornamental ones are covered with goats' hair dyed red, and are sometimes used in battle. Their drill is of a most complicated style, and requires much practice. An Angami in full war paint is a very formidable-looking individual. They are divided into many clans. Several clans often inhabit one village, and it frequently happened that two clans thus situated were at deadly feud with each other.

Blood feuds were common among all the hill tribes, but the system was carried to excess among the Angamis. Life for life was the rule, and until each of the opposing parties had lost an equal number, peace was impossible, and whenever members of one village met any belonging to the other, hostilities were sure to result. Sometimes an attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation, but then it frequently happened that the number of slain to the credit of each were unequal. Mozuma and Sephema might be at war, and Mozuma killed five, whereas Sephema had killed only four. Sephema says, 'I must kill one more to make the balance, then I will treat for peace,' so war continues. Some day Sephema has a chance, but kills two instead of the *one* that was required; this gives her the advantage, and Mozuma refuses to treat. So it goes on interminably. The position of a small village at war with a large one, was often deplorable as no one dared to leave the village except under a strong

escort. I once knew a case of some Sephema men at feud with Mozuma, hiring two women of the powerful village of Konoma to escort them along the road as thus accompanied no one dare touch them.

Once at Piphima, when my assistant Mr Needham was encamped there, parties from two hostile villages suddenly met each other and rushed to arms. He was equal to the occasion and stopped the combat. I made it a criminal offence to fight on our road called the 'Political Path', and it was generally respected as neutral ground.

No Angami could assume the 'toga virilis', in this case the kilt ornamented with cowrie shells, until he had slain an enemy, and in the more powerful villages no girl could marry a man unless he was so decorated. The cowrie ornaments were taken off when a man was mourning the death of a relation.

To kill a baby in arms, or a woman, was accounted a greater feat than killing a man, as it implied having penetrated to the innermost recesses of an enemy's country, whereas a man might be killed anywhere by a successful ambush. I knew a man who had killed sixty women and children, when on one occasion he happened to come upon them after all the men had left the village on a hunting expedition.

Every Naga who was able to murder an enemy did so, and received great commendation for it by all his friends. Later, when I was in Manipur, I had a pleasant young fellow as interpreter. He often took my boys out for a walk when he had nothing else to do, and was a careful, trustworthy man. Once I asked him how many people he had killed (he wore the cowrie kilt, a sure sign he had killed some one). A modest blush suffused his face as if he did not like to boast of such a good deed, and he mildly said, 'Two, a woman and a girl!'

The Angamis when on friendly terms are an agreeable people to deal with, polite, courteous, and hospitable. I never knew any one take more pains or more successfully not to hurt the susceptibilities of those they are talking to, indeed they show a tact and good feeling worthy of imitation. My wife and I soon knew all the villagers well, and often visited them, when we were always offered beer, and asked to come into their verandas and sit down, and just as we were leaving, our host would search the hen's nests to give us a few eggs. The beer we never took, but many Europeans like it and find it

wholesome. It is made of rice and has rather a sharp taste. Their houses are large substantial structures built of wood and bamboo thatched with grass, and the eaves come low down. Houses with any pretensions always have verandas. Besides the houses, there are granaries, often at a distance for fear of fire. The Angamis bury their dead in and about their villages, and for a time, decorate them with some of the belongings of the deceased. Naturally they strongly object to the graves being disturbed, and in making alterations I was careful not to hurt their feelings.

The more powerful villages in the interior of the hills have a large area of cultivation on terraces cut out of the hillside, and carefully irrigated. Some of the terraces go up the hillsides to a great height, and show considerable skill in their formation. On these terraces lowland rice is grown and is very productive. Some of the smaller outlying villages like Samagudting have only ordinary hill cultivation, where upland rice is grown. The terrace land used to be greatly valued, and was often sold at prices equal to £22 to £25 per acre!

The Angamis, in common with most hill-tribes that I have come across, have a vague indefinite belief in a supreme being, but look on him as too great and good to injure them. They believe themselves also to be subject to the influence of evil spirits, whom it is their constant endeavour to appease by sacrifices. Every misfortune is, as a rule, ascribed to evil spirits, and much money is spent on appeasing them, the usual way being to offer fowls, of which the head, feet, and entrails are offered to the demon, with many incantations. The other parts are eaten by the sacrificer.

All kinds of animals are readily eaten by the Angamis, and those dying a natural death are not rejected. Dogs' flesh is highly esteemed. When a man wants to have a delicate dish, he starves his dog for a day to make him unusually voracious, and then cooks a huge dish of rice on which he feeds the hungry beast. As soon as the dog has eaten his fill, he is knocked on the head and roasted, cut up and divided, and the rice being taken out, is considered the *bonne bouche*. The Manipur dogs are regularly bred for sale to the hill-tribes, Nagas included, and a portion of the bazaar, or market, used to be allotted to them. I have seen a string of nineteen dogs being led away to be strangled. Poor things, they seemed to realize that all was not well.

The Naga women are not handsome but very pleasant-looking, and many of the girls are pretty, but soon age with the hard toil they have to perform ; working in the fields and carrying heavy loads up endless hills. They have plenty of spirit and can generally hold their own. They do not marry till they are nearly or quite grown up. Divorce can be easily obtained when there is an equal division of goods. Often a young man takes advantage of this, and marries a rich old widow, and soon divorces her, receiving half her property, when he is in a position to marry a nice young girl. The tribal name of the Angami Nagas is 'Tengima'. Naga is a name given by the inhabitants of the plains, and in the Assamese language means 'naked'. As some of the Naga tribes are seen habitually in that state, the name was arbitrarily applied to them all. It is the greatest mistake to connect them with the snake worshippers, 'Nag Bungsees' of India. Neither Nagas or Manipuris, or any tribes on the eastern frontier, are addicted to this worship, or have any traditions connected with it, and any snake, cobra (Nag) or otherwise, would receive small mercy at their hands. The slightest personal acquaintance with the Assamese and their language, would have dispelled this myth for ever.

The Nagas are skilful iron-workers and turn out very handsome spears. Their women weave substantial and pretty coloured cloths, and every man knows enough of rough carpentering to enable him to build his house, and make pestles and mortars for husking rice. They make rough pottery, but without the potter's wheel.

Chapter VI

THE AO NAGAS

ALTHOUGH LITTLE was written about the Ao¹ Nagas in former times, they have attracted considerable attention in the present century, three books being published within the space of two years, 1925 to 1926. The first was a small work by S. N. Majumder of the Army Medical Service. This was followed by a rather tendentious account by the missionary Rev. W. C. Smith, and finally there came the great book of J. P. Mills, which is probably the most complete and mature of all the Assam tribal monographs. In his Foreword to this book, Henry Balfour says that 'it is a matter of interest to compare the impressions of these Nagas arrived at independently by an American missionary, a Hindu Medical Officer and an English resident official of the Assam Government'.

In the last century Woodthorpe did some touring in the Ao villages and wrote about them in a Survey Report and in his second lecture before the Royal Anthropological Institute. Davis gave a fairly detailed account in the 1891 Census. There was a very early study of the Ao language by Avery in 1883, and the Rev. E. W. Clarke, pioneer missionary to the tribe, published an Ao Dictionary, which Mills calls 'a valuable and scholarly' work, while his wife wrote a Grammar on the dominant Chongli dialect.

J. P. Mills was stationed at the Sub-Divisional Headquarters of Mokokchung in the heart of the Ao country from 1917 to 1924. He toured in the interior with Henry Balfour, who must have taught him a lot of anthropology, and he had the support of J. H. Hutton who contributes many of his inimitable notes to his book. Readers should supplement the meagre information in this chapter by turning to Mills' book which, though now many years out of date, may still be read with profit.

Mills gives the population of the Aos as 30,599 in 1921. The Census of 1961 shows a sensational increase to about 50,000.

¹ The Aos called themselves Aor, while some of them were known as Hatighoria by the Assamese.

AO DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

(R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Notes descriptive of the country and people in Western and Eastern Nagas Hills', *General Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1874-5, pp. 63-4)

AFTER LEAVING THE WOKHA MEN and the other Lhota Nagas, we passed through and saw numbers of three tribes, viz., Hattigorias,¹ Dupdorias and Assiringias². The principal differences between these three are linguistic; but, though all are far superior to the Lhotas in physique, manner, bearing, and in the general well-to-do appearance of their villages, yet the Hattigorias bear off the palm in all these characteristics. Both the men and women, next to the Angamis, are the best looking, best built, and most pleasing of the Naga tribes I have yet seen. The women are especially remarkable for their good looks, many retaining them even in middle age.

The dress of the three tribes is the same, consisting for the males of a small waist-cloth tied at the back end, being brought round between the legs and drawn up under the waist-belt, falls in front in a broad flap. These cloths are of various colours and patterns, from dark blue with white stripes, to white with variegated patterns of black, or black and crimson. The Dupdorias fix small stripes of brass in clusters down the edges of their flaps, apparently to give them additional weight. The broad dark blue or back flap adorned with cowries is also common among these tribes in full dress. The general decorations are the same as those described last year as being worn by the non-kilted tribes, such as the bearskin coronet, cotton wool bindings for the hair, and puffs for the ears, necklaces, &c. There is one common ornament worn suspended on the chest, which I think I have not described before; it is a long flat strip of wood about 15 inches long, narrow in the middle, but broadening

¹ Hattigoria is a synonym for Ao (Reid, p. 99).

² The Assiringias are identified by Hutton (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 383) with the inhabitants of an Ao settlement, Mirinokpo, which had migrated from Ourangkong in the Phom area.

slightly towards the ends, and covered with coloured canework, cowries or white seeds, and adorned with a fringe of long red-hair. Two broad red and blue sashes, also fringed with hair, support at the back the 'dao', and a small bucket for carrying 'panjies'.

The spears are generally similar to those found at Primi. The 'daos' among the Hattigorias and Dupdorias are small handled, like the Angamis; but among the Assingias are found an approach to the long, hair-tufted handles and broad blades common among the tribes of the Jaipur district. The shields are small, and either of canework, or else thin pieces of wood, a hide painted black with white circles and spots on their face, and occasionally decorated with plumes. The Assingias wear, in war dress, tall conical helmets, adorned with boar's tusks and two straight plumes of hair, one on each side, leaving the apex of the helmet bare. The clothes of these three tribes are many coloured, and seem to be used indiscriminately, according to the taste of the wearer, rather than as denoting tribal distinctions. They are dark blue, with red and white stripes, or dark blue only, or red only, red and blue, &c., &c., and are frequently adorned by tufts of crimson and white hair, sewn in rows at intervals along the stripes of the cloth.

The women's dress consists of a small petticoat of dark blue, a cloth of the same colour being thrown over the shoulders. They wear large brass rings on each brow, supported by a string passing round the head. Sometimes these rings pass through the upper portion of the ear, but generally they simply hang on the temples. The lobe of the ear supports large thick, oval, or oblong-shaped pieces of a crystal obtained from the plains.

The women all tattoo slightly, four lines are drawn on the chin, the outer ones being tattooed from the corners of the mouth; the front of the throat has a few crossed lines on it, three arrow-head shaped lines are tattooed on each breast running up to the shoulders, and a fine diamond pattern runs down the centre of the stomach. The calf of the leg from about three inches below the knee is also tattooed, with diagonal lines, the space between the thigh and the knee is filled up with a few vertical lines ending at the knee in arrow-heads or stars. The wrists are also frequently tattooed with stars and stripes. The women's necklaces are, as usual, beads or large pieces of shell strung on cotton thread.

The pipes smoked by both men and women are of the ordinary shape, though sometimes a small bamboo receptacle is fitted below the bowl to catch the tobacco-juice.

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THE AOS IN 1891

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 241-5)

Origin and Habitat

THE AOS OCCUPY THE COUNTRY which is drained by the Jhanzi, the Desoi, and by the streams which flow into the Dikhu on its left bank. The only Ao village on the right bank of the Dikhu is Longsa. The Aos profess to have had their origin from a stone, which is situated between Longsa and the Sangtam village of Luban. From this place they gradually migrated across the Dikhu, and occupied the country in which they now dwell. They are divided into two tribes, Chungli or Zungi and Mongsen, speaking dialects which are so dissimilar as to be practically different languages. These two tribes, though they in many instances live side by side in the same villages, have each preserved their own dialect. . . .

The Aos occupy, excluding Longsa, which was not censused, 46 villages. Of these, 21 are Chungli entirely, 19 are Mongsen entirely, while six are mixed villages, inhabited both by Chungli and Mongsen. Roughly speaking, the Ao country is composed of three parallel ridges, called Lampungkung, Changkikung, and Japukung respectively. The Chungli tribe inhabits all the villages on the Lampungkung (the range immediately overlooking the Dikhu), with the exception of the villages of Mokokchang and Nunkam, which are partially Mongsen. The valley of the Melak or Jhanzi, i.e. the valley enclosed between the Lampungkung and Changkikung, contains the mixed villages, while on the Changkikung and Japukung the villages are, with the exception of Deka Haimong, Molungting, and Assiringia (a non-Ao village), entirely Mongsen.

Assiringia, called by the Aos Mirinokpo, is a village which really belongs to the 'naked' tribe of Nagas. The inhabitants came many years ago from the village of Wankhong or Orang kang, a village belonging to that tribe, and situated a day's march east of the Dikhu from Susu village. Nowadays in all but language the Assiringia people have become Aos. The problem is, how did they get on to their present site, which is on the range immediately over the plains, through the intervening Ao villages? Where they are at present, they are at least three days' journey from the nearest villages of the tribe to which they really belong.

Personal Appearance of the Aos

The men amongst the Aos, both Chungli and Mongsen, are somewhat darker in complexion and inferior in physique to the Angamis. They wear a loin-cloth and small apron. The pattern of this last varies from village to village. All wear a cotton cloth thrown lightly round the shoulders, the commonest colours being dark blue or dirty white. Thin brass tubes about four inches long, to the ends of which are attached thin chains, each chain ending in a small bell, are the commonest ear ornaments among the men. Tufts of cotton are occasionally worn in the ears. One or two strings of long white beads are usually worn round the neck. The arms of the men are spear, shield, and dao, the last being carried on the back in a small wooden sheath, which is bound round the waist by a cotton rope. The men in the villages at the northern extremity of the tribe generally wear small helmets made of plaited cane ornamented with boar's tusks. A collar of wild boar's tusks round the neck and cowrie cuffs round the wrists are worn by all men who have taken a head. Nowadays men who have not taken a head have begun to wear these distinctive marks.

The men of the tribe are not tattooed, and there is in outward appearance no difference between Chungli and Mongsen.

The women, who are comparatively superior in physique to the men, are, after the Angamis, the best looking in the hills. They are tattooed on the face, neck, breasts, arms and legs. The marks on the face are slight, and are confined to four vertical lines on the chin. These are the same both for Chungli and Mongsen. The other

tattoo marks, however, are different for either tribe, the difference in pattern on the arms and calves of the leg being very noticeable. Both tribes tie their hair in the same manner, but the Mongsen women use a white cotton rope for that purpose, while the Chungli women use ropes of plaited black hair. The cloths of both are similar. Their ornaments are numerous strings of cheap red cornelian beads worn round the neck. In the upper part of the ear they wear large brass rings about four inches in diameter. These are made of three twists of thick brass wire, and after being passed through the ear are supported by a string going over the top and round the back of the head. The lobe of the ear supports large crystal ear ornaments.

Men, women, and children all smoke short bamboo or iron pipes; they are seldom seen without these. Old women often wear gaiters made of white or dark blue cloth.

Cultivation

The tribe cultivates by the jhum system. Land is kept under cultivation for two years, and then allowed to lie fallow for ten years or so. The reason for abandoning land after the second year is said to be partly due to the impoverishment of the soil, and partly to the rank growth of weeds, the roots of which are never eradicated from the soil, and which after the second year come up in such numbers that it is found quite impossible to keep them down.

Tribal Constitution

Each village amongst the Aos is a small republic, and each man is as good as his neighbour, indeed, it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headmen (Tatar) do exist, but their authority is very small.

Village Customs

Sleeping houses for bachelors are provided. These, however, are seldom used except by small boys, it being an almost universal

custom for the young men each to sleep with the girl of his choice. The unmarried girls sleep by twos and threes in houses otherwise empty, or else tenanted by one old woman. Here they are visited nightly by their lovers. The resultant immorality is not so great as might be expected, for the following reason: (1) the numbers of men and women are, as a rule, pretty equally balanced, and (2) girls of known extremely immoral habits find it, I am told, difficult to get husbands.

Village Festivals

The chief festivals of the year are the two that occur in August before the commencement of the harvest, and the one that occurs at its close; all of them are occasions for the consumption of much pork and rice-beer. The harvest home festival is usually the time chosen for killing mithan by the rich men of the village. A mithan feast involves, as do similar feasts among the Angamis, an expenditure in cash and kind of not less than Rs 500.

Mithan at these festivals are, or rather were,—the custom is being gradually suppressed,—killed in an extremely cruel manner, being literally hacked to bits with daos, the animal finally dying from loss of blood.

The second festival in August is, however, the most interesting. At its celebration two customs are practised, which are not, as far as I am aware, practised by any other tribe in this district. The first of these is the custom during the three days the festival lasts of having 'tugs-of-war' between the young men and unmarried girls of each khel. The ropes used are thick jungle creepers of great length. The object of the girls is to pull the rope right outside the boundaries of the khel. This they are seldom allowed to do, the young men generally pouncing down on the rope and dragging it back before it has been taken clean out of their ground. After dark the ropes are dropped, and the second portion of the tamasha begins. The girls form into circles, holding hands, each khel on its own ground. They then begin a monotonous chant, at the same time circling slowly round and round. This dancing and singing go on for hours, its monotony being only interrupted by what may be called raids

by the young men from a different khel. These come round with lighted torches, and having picked out the girls they consider most pleasing, proceed to carry them off by force. Such seizures, however, lead to nothing worse than drinking, the girls so carried off being obliged by custom to stand the young men free drinks.

Slavery

This custom was universal throughout the Ao tribe. Since our occupation of the country, every effort has been made to suppress the custom, and the selling and buying of slaves is now, I fancy, very uncommon. Slaves were and are I believe, on the whole, very well treated, being considered almost as members of the family. Cases of harsh treatment, of course, must have occurred occasionally, but these must now be very rare, and the slaves who have remained with their owners know very well that, if ill-treated, all they have to do is to run away. In old days slaves, unless they could get down to the plains, could not run away, it being etiquette for them to be caught and returned by the inhabitants of any village in which they took refuge.

Troublesome slaves were usually sold to people living across the Dikhu, amongst whom the custom of human sacrifices is not, I believe, entirely unknown. Amongst the Aos, before our occupation of the country, slaves were not infrequently paid by one village to another village with which they happened to be on bad terms, to make up a quarrel, and as a sort of set off against any heads taken by them. Slaves paid in this way were invariably slaughtered by the village which received them, as an offering to the spirits of the men on their side who had been killed.

Female slaves were not allowed to marry or have children. If they became pregnant, their children were killed immediately after birth, or else abortion was procured. Female slaves are not tattooed.

Religion

Like other Naga tribes, the Aos have an intense belief in the powers of certain evil spirits which reside usually in rocks, pools

of water, and streams. Two of the most well-known stones in which reside 'Deos' are the Lungpalung, close to Lungpa village, and the Changchlanglung, between the villages of Dibua and Woromong. Sacrifices are regularly offered to these stones by the villages near them. In cases of sickness pigs and fowls are sacrificed in large numbers, in order to appease the particular spirit to whose malign influence the sickness is supposed to be due. Poor men often run deeply into debt in obtaining the pig, etc., necessary for these offerings, which are consumed of course by their friends.

Marriage Customs

When a man has fixed on the girl he wants to marry, he sends a friend or some near relation to the father of the girl to ascertain if her people are willing to give her. If his proposal is accepted, he will, if he be of the Chungli tribe, send a small present to the father of his future bride, and after this is done he is at liberty to take the girl as soon as he has got a house ready to receive her. No further ceremony appears to be gone through. On the day on which a girl goes to her husband's house, a pig or so may be killed at her father's house and the meat distributed to friends and relations.

The Mongsen custom is more elaborate. A man's proposals having been favourably received, a period of thirty days is allowed to expire. At the end of this period the engaged couple go on a trading expedition for twenty days. Should the results of this trading expedition be good, i.e., should a fair profit have been made, it is considered a good omen, and the arrangements for the marriage are proceeded with. Should, however, the results of the trading expedition be unfavourable, the marriage is at once broken off. About three months after the return from the trading expedition, as soon as the house is ready for her reception, the girl goes to her husband's house, being escorted thither by all her relations and friends. A feast is given on that day, both at her house and at the house of her husband's people. For the first six nights after a woman had gone to her husband's house, six men and six women sleep in the house with the newly-married couple, the men, including the bridegroom, sleeping separate from the women, with whom sleeps the bride.

The Aos do not practise polygamy, and, as with the Angamis, but a nominal price is paid for a wife.

Internal Structure

The tribe is divided into exogamous subdivisions. These, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are five for the Mongsen tribe, i.e., Mongsentsung, Yemchen, Uchi, Char and Ai, and three for the Chungli tribe, i.e., Pungen, Uonkam, and Mungatungmen. The names of these exogamous subdivisions vary from village to subdivision of the Chungli tribe.

Widows

Widows are allowed to remarry at a decent interval after the death of a husband. A year is the least interval that is supposed to elapse before a woman is allowed to take a new husband. If this rule is broken a fine is imposed. The rule with regard to widowers is the same as that for widows. A woman who has been divorced for infidelity is not allowed to remarry without paying a considerable fine to her former husband.

Children follow the clan of the father in all cases.

Funeral Customs

The Aos do not bury their dead. As soon as a man dies, preparations are made for his funeral. The coffin, a structure of bamboo and thatch, shaped somewhat like a house, and just large enough to admit the body, having been made, the body is placed in it, and then put up to be smoked in the outer compartment of the house. This smoking, which is done in a very perfunctory manner, lasts for from ten days to two months. When it is over, the coffin, over which is laid one of the dead man's cloths, is taken out and placed on a bamboo platform in the village cemetery. The cemeteries invariably occupy one side of the main road leading to the village gate, and often render the approaches to the village extremely

unpleasant to one's nose. On the machan, along with the coffin, are hung a man's eating-plate and drinking-cup, while in front in a row are ranged the heads he has taken and close to these his shield and spear are placed. Bodies are not always smoked. If this custom is not observed, the body in its coffin is taken out and placed in the village cemetery as soon after death as possible.

Chapter VII

THE LHOTA NAGAS

AT THE BEGINNING OF 1841 a young Englishman, Lieutenant H. Bigge, then an Assistant-Agent for the Naga Hills, was at Golaghat on the Brahmaputra river. During his stay there a fleet of boats laden with cotton arrived escorted by about seventy Lhota Nagas, many of whom understood the Assamese language, who busied themselves bartering their cotton for their own requirements.

Bigge did not get on with them very well. When he visited their camp he found, as he describes, several of them lying on the ground 'intoxicated from the effects of a most disgusting sort of a spirituous liquor' made of rice. He found them a 'very sullen race' unwilling to answer questions and, although by no means ill-looking, 'filthy in their persons and habits with a pompous mode of addressing one which might in some cases be interpreted as insolent'. It is possible that the Lhotas felt that the good Lieutenant's questions and scornful attitude to rice-beer was itself insolent, and as J. P. Mills says, 'evidently the gallant officer found the contrast between the suave, sleek plainsmen and the easy-going unwashed hillmen rather startling'.¹

Butler too speaks of 'the sulky Lhota' and another British officer says that he was not 'nearly so cheerful as the Angami or Sema. He has usually a grievance.'²

Captain Brodie, however, who was the first official actually to go into the Lhota Hills, got on with them much better and during his march along the Lakhuti Range in 1844 he was given a very friendly reception.

Hutton rejects the idea that the Lhota is a person with a chip on his shoulder. 'It is true he is less ready to grin than the Angami but I have found him anything but sulky.'³ And elsewhere he says that 'if the Sema among Naga tribes be likened to the Irishman then the Lhota is the Scot among them'.⁴

A full description of this tribe will be found in J. P. Mills' book *The Lhota Nagas* which was published in 1922, with a valuable introduction and many supplementary notes by J. H. Hutton who

¹ J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 2.

² *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 17 and 367.

³ *The Angami Nagas*, p. 17.

⁴ *The Lhota Nagas*, p. xiii.

describes how, when he made over charge of the Mokokchung Sub-Division of the Naga Hills to Mills in November 1917, he urged him to give special attention to this tribe. Hutton thought that, more than any other tribe in the District, the Lhotas were beginning to lose their distinctive features which should be recorded before they entirely disappeared.

In addition to the book by Mills, we have an *Outline Grammar of the Lhota Naga Language*, published in Calcutta in 1888 by a missionary, the Rev. W. E. Witter, and Sir George Grierson discusses Lhota in his linguistic survey.

Although the Lhotas are regarded as having accepted British rule 'fairly readily', for they had a legend that 'the swallows had foretold of coming of a white race which would unite all Nagas under one rule',¹ they were responsible for the shocking tragedy when the very popular Captain John Butler was ambushed and killed near the Lhota village of Pangti.²

When Mills wrote his book before 1922 there were about 20,000 Lhota Nagas. The 1961 Census gives their population as approximately 23,500.

¹ *The Angami Nagas*, p. 364.

² Described in Chapter XV of this book.

TOURING AMONG THE LHOTAS

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 20–6)

JANUARY 8TH, 1874.—The houses of the Lhota and Rengmah Nagas are not nearly so large, well-built, and substantial as those of the Angami tribe; the material is not so good, and bamboo is used more freely instead of wood. The houses of the Lhotas are distinguished from all others by their peculiarly-shaped roof; on the ridge of the usual thatched roof, and raised from it, is another small thatched roof or ridge, which projects some feet over each gable end. This looks like a provision for the escape of smoke and for ventilation; but it is unlikely that such a thing was ever thought of by this tribe. On seeing the Rengmah Nagas, I concluded that the extremity of uncleanness had been reached; but a look at the Lhota convinced me there was a lower depth still. No description (which would necessarily be unsavoury) could realize the actual fact of their extremely dirty condition: their bodies are ingrained with the accumulated smoke, mud, and filth of a lifetime. Their style of hair and clothing generally seems almost identical with that of the Rengmahs. The cultivation is now entirely jhoom, the terraces having been becoming every day rarer since we left Kohima: the facilities for irrigation growing scarcer accounts for this. Goitre is still very prevalent, and presents the same characteristics as already noted. Eye affections, chiefly on the lids, seem not uncommon—probably induced and kept up by their filthy habits. No women or children were observed: they had probably been sent into the jungle. No signs of opposition as yet, although these Lhotas are decidedly sulky, and look upon our arrival in their country with great suspicion. Water very scarce and bad in camp. Height of camp, 4,300 feet; thermometer minimum in tent, 40 deg.; hoar-frost outside tent, and wind very keen at night, interfering with sleep.

January 9th.—Marched to the Lhota Naga village of Nongsa, about eight miles. The road at first led through jhoom cultivation

down to a small river, after which there were a series of steep ascents, until the camp was reached in a jhoom-patch under the village. Although it was uncertain what the state of feeling might be in this village when we started, we found on arrival that the inhabitants were friendly. The adjoining villages are, so far as we can ascertain, neutral, if not particularly friendly.

Difficulty is beginning to be experienced in procuring supplies of rice, as these tribes keep no stock of cleaned material. Their women having all been sent away, there was nothing for it but to set the coolies to work to clean the paddy, which was done. Water is again rather scarce in camp. Goitre does not seem so common in this village. Height of camp, 4,600 feet; thermometer minimum, 42 deg. (The minimum temperature always refers to the inside of a tent or hut, not the outside.)

January 10th.—A halt today to collect provisions. The Assam Valley is dimly visible today from camp, about twenty miles off, in a straight line. The outline of the Himalaya is also visible; but the Snowy Range cannot be seen. I made an attempt to photograph a number of Lhotas just outside their village; but they fled at once on an attempt being made to group them.

January 11th.—Marched to the Lhota Naga village of Woka, about six miles. Woka is a straggling village, situated on a continuation of a spur from the peak of Woka Hill, or Tebzuttoo of the Angamies, 6,600 feet above the sea. The road from Nongsa passes through the village, and descends by a precipitous and easily-defended path some short distance; the rest of the way lay through jhoom cultivation, jhoom lands, newly cut and partly cleared, and grass jungle. The camp was pitched on a nice level piece of ground just under the village, where a plentiful supply of spring water was also available.

The villagers had some thought of resisting us, but thought better of it. Their friendliness, however, is not hearty, in fact, they are hostile, and only lack the courage to attack us. The natives as we go on cannot fathom what our object can possibly be; and our refraining from looting them makes the matter more incomprehensible still. The getting of provisions out of this village was difficult, and the inhabitants kept up a sulky and semi-hostile demeanour to the last.

The dress of the men and general get-up does not differ from that of the other Lhotas passed through. In this village the boring of the

ears is peculiar; one or more holes are bored in the cartilage of the ear. These holes are about three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and are stuffed with raw cotton. Of course, from the nature of the part operated on, these holes look as if they had been punched out; unlike the enormous holes in the ear of the Kookie tribes, which, being formed by a gradual stretching of the lobe, contracts considerably when not distended by some foreign body.

Goitre is still common, but seems less prevalent than in some of the villages recently passed through. Oranges of good quality seem pretty plentiful all round about. The cultivation is, as observed yesterday, all jhoom. On the road a short distance from the village, before reaching it on the way to camp, a fresh body of a large wolfish-looking jungle dog was found; it had been probably caught in a trap by the natives, who had cut off its head.

January 12th and 13th.—Halt; the survey party having to clear and affix a mark on Woka. Colds and sore-throats are becoming common in camp; but there are no cases of serious illness. Rain threatened on the 12th, and came on heavily on the 13th, at 8 A.M., continuing nearly all day. It came on heavier at 9 P.M., with thunder, and continued nearly all night.

One of the objects of visiting Woka was to enable Captain Butler to ascertain what its capabilities were for the formation of a new station for the Naga Hills division, instead of Samaguting, which is badly situated, and has no water-supply close at hand. I understand he found an excellent position under the peak, which would suit admirably and which was well provided with water.

Before leaving the village of Woka, we ascertained pretty clearly that the villagers had contemplated an attack upon us, as in one of the large houses of the village—a sort of council-house—a meeting had been held and numbers of spears concealed in and near it. Occasionally armed men were seen outside the village, prowling about in a suspicious way. The village was a very open one, and it was perhaps as well for the inhabitants that they did not become openly hostile.

March this morning in a north-westerly direction to a camp on a small plateau immediately above the Doyang River, distance about ten miles. The first part of the march was along a very good road, through jhoom cultivation; this was afterwards left, and a precipitous descent made to a small river, which was followed down until

the Doyang was reached. The journey was very fatiguing, and camp was not reached until pretty late in the afternoon. The Doyang, where we encamped, is a fine river, in some places deep, but of no great breadth. During the day's march we descended some 3,800 feet; the height of the present camp being only 900 feet above the sea.

Having finished that part of the survey work to the north-east, as originally intended, the party will now return to Kohima; making, however, what detours may be necessary to complete and connect the survey in the directions yet unsurveyed. Weather more settled today; no rain. Height of camp, 900 feet; thermometer minimum, 51 deg.

January 15th.—Marched to the Lhota Naga village of Morakcha, and encamped in the jhoom land outside the village, distance about five miles. The march commenced by fording the Doyang River immediately above the camping-place. The ford was thigh-deep, with a pretty strong current, bottom of boulders, and the width about fifty yards. After crossing the river, a series of steep ascents succeeded through grass and reed jungle, until a small Lhota village, named Chote, was reached on the summit of the hill above the Doyang; a halt was made here for a short time, to try and procure rice from the villagers, but without much success. About a mile from this another village, named Nungchung, was passed through. Here some rice, fowls, and eggs were procured. Proceeding on we reached camp by passing through the Morakcha village. All these villages were situated on a continuous ridge, overlooking the valley of the Doyang River.

These villages were all small, and the inhabitants seemed either unable or unwilling to furnish supplies, although payment on a liberal scale was offered them; thus contrasting unfavourably with the Angami and Rengmah Nagas, who always seemed willing to supply us as we wished. Having a good opportunity for observation today, it was noted that the Lhotas seem to bury all their dead in the village, each family apparently interring just outside their respective houses.

The graves are flat, raised, and sometimes covered with a pavement of flattened stones. Some were observed coffin-shaped. In these villages it seems common to suspend, in a bamboo frame over the graves, a gourd for holding liquor. I may here mention, with regard to burial customs, that the Angamies appear to bury all their dead

outside their villages; the Rengmahs partly inside and partly out. Goitre is not nearly so common now, and these villagers do not seem so dirty in their persons as the others recently visited. The houses are small and mean, and the men themselves have not the warlike look of the villages recently met with.

As usual, no women and children were to be seen, and the villages had a deserted look, many of the houses having been closed and the people gone. No signs of hostility amongst them. We heard today that Major Lance and party, who were engaged in survey operations near the base of the hills, were only about a day's march from us. Some of the Lhotas were anxious to know if we intended attacking them, and seemed surprised and somewhat disappointed when told that we did not. Height of camp, 2,250 feet; thermometer minimum, 44 deg.

January 16th.—March again to the Doyang River, some way below where we crossed it before; distance about seven miles. The road was much the same as that of yesterday. Several small Lhota Naga villages were passed through, all in a semi-deserted state; sufficient rice for present wants was, however, procured as we passed on. On reaching the last village, overlooking the river, we struck off, and after a long descent reached and crossed it by a wood and bamboo bridge, with cross-shaped wooden supports fixed in the river bed, and a rough hand-rail as a guide.

Above this temporary cold-weather bridge, the river was spanned by one of the cane and bamboo bridges, similar to those found in the Manipur Hills, supported as usual by being fastened to trees on either bank. At the crossing the river was about thirty yards wide, four deep, and with a moderate current. Where the swing-bridge was situated there was a deep pool, and over the river near the bridge another smaller river from the north-west joined the Doyang. It was evident that the villagers at the point where we turned off had anticipated our taking that road, as we found that their families were all in the jungle quite close by; even on the road itself fowls, spears, &c., had been abandoned; these were allowed to remain, although our followers were anxious to loot them. The camp was pitched just above the river, on a small patch of comparatively level ground. Height of camp, 700 feet; thermometer minimum, 46 deg.

January 17th.—Marched to our former encamping ground outside the Lhota Naga village of Molocamo (8th January), distance about

eight miles. The way at first merely followed up the bed of the stream, which here enters the Doyang. After about two miles and a half of this, which was pretty open, the river was left and the hill ascended; the road was very good and free from jungle. The highest point of the hill above the river that we reached was 4,600 feet above it, the camp itself 4,300; thermometer, 37 deg.; heavy hoar-frost in the morning.

The people of the Molocamo expressed themselves as very anxious about the Lhota lad who had accompanied us as an interpreter, and was one of their villagers. This interpreter had disappeared after we left Woka, and it was suspected that the Molocamo people knew more about him than they cared to say. It was proved that the rascal had been swindling the villagers as we went on, by holding back the money given to pay for rice or extorting it after payment, and that he was keeping aloof until we left the country. He never appeared again, wherever he may have been.

January 18th.—Marched to our former encampment, on a better piece of ground, however, under the village of Themakedima; distance about ten miles. On passing through the village of Tese-phema, it was noted that nearly all the houses, which have been burned down after the fight, had been rebuilt and were some of them finished and inhabited. The inhabitants received us on our return with green branches, as a sign of peace. The wounded man formerly mentioned, and four others, were reported to have died of their wounds since we passed through on the 7th January.

Captain Butler today, explaining that the only part of the survey to be completed before returning to Kohima was comparatively unimportant, suggested my going on to Kohima, taking the sick with me; and while there to get the Manipuries in readiness for a move to the east, and also see to his supplies being collected at Kohima. Of course I at once agreed to this, and will leave for Kohima tomorrow. One sick sepoy of my guard and two coolies will have to be carried, as they are too weak to walk. Thermometer minimum, 41 deg.

January 19th.—Marched en route to Kohima, leaving Captain Butler and party in camp, where they proposed staying for another day. I had intended to make a short march to the Rengmah village of Themokutsama; but the coolies who had been sent on ahead passed through the village before I reached it, and went on to the

terraces under Tophema, about nine miles. I heard shortly after arriving in camp that four Nagas, engaged from the village of Themakedima, have deserted on the road, and abandoned the two sick coolies in a village, some little way from Themokutsama. One man, a Kookie, had managed to walk into the camp. It being dark when this man arrived with the news, it was resolved to halt tomorrow to make a search for the missing man. Should he not arrive in the interval, instructions were given for a party of Nagas and a Manipuri to start early in the morning for the village where the man had been abandoned, and I also made arrangements to follow if necessary.

Terrace cultivation was seen again for the first time since leaving the Lhota Naga country, situated under and east of the Themokutsama village. The Rengmahs and Lhotas build raised granaries, wherein they store their rice; these granaries are generally in clusters on the outskirts of the villages—one would appear to be the rule for each house. They are built of bamboo, and are about twelve or fifteen feet long and four or five wide.

Women are seen today in passing through the village of Themakedima. They are dressed similarly to the Angami Naga women; but scarcely wear their clothes so modestly: the common striped cotton sheet is used as a skirt from the waist downwards. The usual loose sheet is over the upper part of the body, which they do not seem so careful in covering as the Angamies, the bust being frequently left quite bare. The hair is parted in the middle, and gathered over the ears behind with a loose knot resting on the nape of the neck. I did not observe what ornaments, if any, were worn.

Height of camp, 3,790 feet; thermometer minimum, 42 deg.

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A VISIT TO WOKKA

(R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Extract from the Narrative Report', *General Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1874-5, pp. 53-6)

WE ARRIVED at the Ghat near Negheri Ting on the afternoon of the 31st November [1874], and as in order to reach the mainland two

large unfordable creeks had to be crossed, and but a limited number of boats being obtainable (these having been kindly sent to help us by a planter), it was dark before all the coolies had been crossed over the first. The road thence lay through very tall and tangled grass jungle, and was a mere track; it was therefore useless for the coolies to attempt it in the dark, and camp was formed on the bank, and next day at noon every one reached Negheri Ting, and on the 2nd December went on to Golaghat, where I found a guard of the Naga Hills police awaiting my arrival.

I halted for two days collecting supplies, &c., and making all necessary arrangements for a start. The husked rice sold in the bazar being obtainable only at very high rates, I sent out to the villages around for unhusked rice and had it pounded out, and thus was enabled to let my men have it at a rate of Rs 2-8 a maund. On the 4th Mr McCay left me for Samaguting, as it was no use taking him with me, and he could be more usefully employed in renewing the signals on Kadiuba H. S. and Phegi H. S.

On the 5th I started for Jamuguri, where we picked up the Kotoki (guide and interpreter), and the next day entered and camped in the midst of the broad belt of thick forest jungle lying between the hills and cultivated portions of the plains. Another day's march through the unvaryingly monotonous and gloomy forest along a path whose obscurity baffled even our guide occasionally brought us to the foot of the hills, and early next morning we arrived at Khabonggaon, so called by the Assamese, and Yembarasa by the Nagas, and proceeded along the ridge through Bhandari to Heligaon, encamping beneath the latter village.

I was the first European who had visited these villages since Brodie was there, now many years ago, and his camping grounds were pointed out to me by the headman of Bhandari who accompanied me that day, sitting near me when I was at work and talking to his friends (for my special benefit) of the presents he had received from Brodie's party. 'Besides cloths, sola topees, &c.,' he said, 'one Sahib gave me Rs 100; another filled my two hands joined as I held them out; as for this Sahib he has not promised me anything yet, but for his name's sake, he cannot give less than Brodie.' He was therefore disappointed the next morning when I told him that I did not consider that my mere visit to his village gave him any claim on me for presents, and that unless he assisted me in some

substantial manner, he would get nothing. He then left. He had previously endeavoured to persuade me to return again at once to the plains, saying of the other villages I proposed to visit—‘Oh, they are Abori Biboris, if they see white cloth houses’ [my waterproof sheet and Khalasi’s *shuldari*] ‘they will come down and cut you all up.’

At the risk of repeating what has often before been stated, but as often apparently unheeded, I must insist that there is no tribe known among the Nagas as Abor. This is an Assamese word implying ‘strangers’, i.e. men who do not go down into the plains to trade. This word is applied by the Assamese indiscriminately to all hill-men on either side of the Brahmaputra. The dwellers in the lower hills immediately bordering the plains all speak Assamese to some extent and have picked up this term, ‘Bibori’, being an intensive of their own addition. When they wish to deter any one from going to a village they wish to keep him out of, they are sure to say—‘The men there are Abors’. Sometimes the very man who says so, and expresses his dread of the Abors, is the headman of the village he so characterizes. To talk, therefore, of Abors and Bor Abors as separate and powerful tribes is to talk simple nonsense. The Daphla expeditionists expressed surprise at finding no apparent difference between the Abor Daphlas and the other Daphlas, but it is easy to understand the motives of the latter in representing the former as Abors of whom they were in dread. But to return.

I found that Heligaon would be the furthest village in that direction I could visit then, and that my best chance of doing what I wished, viz., to reach Samaguting by continuing along the outer range of hills, was to return to Khabong and thence along the ridge, working west. This I did, and arrived at Phitagaon on the 11th December.

Sonarigaon, through which we passed that day, was the largest village we had seen on that range, and occupied a very strong position, with very steep approaches on all sides; a very conspicuous feature being the long lines of granaries extending down the slopes, between which the paths passed up to the village. On the way to Phitagaon an amusing incident occurred. One evening I encamped below Rongagaon; the headman of the village came down after dark to see me, I was standing up by the fire when he arrived, and seeing my chair on the other side, he calmly drew it towards him to sit on, preparatory to opening the conversation. A Khasia standing

by dexterously and promptly drew the chair away as the Naga Chief was about to place himself on it, and he sat down on the ground more suddenly than agreeably. He remarked that Brodie had never treated a 'Rajah' like that, but the result was that he gave me a good supply of rice, fowls, &c., the next day. Very good, though small, oranges and sweet limes are abundant in all these villages, and the Nagas were exceedingly liberal with them to all of us.

My camp remained for three days at Phitagaon, while I visited Khorogaon, Lungkung, and Moilang, in the hope of finding some path across the Doiang, by which I might reach Mewhima and Nidzuma on the way to Samaguting. This route would have enabled me to fill in the gap that then existed in Sheet 83. I was unable to find any way across, and with our limited supplies, I did not like to endeavour to cut my way through the dense jungle and long grass. I therefore returned to Jamuguri.

On my way I was walking ahead of my men along a narrow path, when I observed a small clearing to the right with a few ashes and an old bamboo cup; thinking 'some Naga has cooked his food here lately', I was passing on, when a portion of the path and the whole of the artful clearing suddenly gave way, and I found myself on my head and shoulders amid a mass of debris at the bottom of a deer pit 8 feet deep, and wider at the bottom than the top, which was about 4 feet in diameter: some of my men soon came up, and lowering their puggris and kumurbunds hauled me out. Beyond a slight shaking, I had sustained no injury; I was less fortunate, though, three days later when I was crossing an old bridge nearly three marches from Samaguting, a portion of which snapped under my weight, and falling I sprained my ankle so severely that it was the beginning of February before I thoroughly recovered the use of my foot.

On the 25th December, Captain Butler, Lieutenant Austin and I left Samaguting, and marching daily came up with Captain LaTouche at Tesephima on the 29th, and halting there a day to make a few necessary arrangements, we all moved into Nongsechong on the 1st January 1875. It was doubtful for some little time whether we should be peacefully received, the gates were shut and the villagers behind them in battle array; after a little parleying, however, they admitted us. The next day we halted there to send back our coolies

for some baggage which had been left about half way by Naga coolies who had bolted on hearing that Nongsechong might fight. I was able to do a great deal of work in and around the village. On the 3rd we marched on to Wokha, where we had been warned to expect a very hostile reception. We arrived at noon and were quietly received, though the villagers for the most part preserved the sullen demeanour we had noticed last year, and afforded us no assistance in building huts, &c. One old fellow, the headman of Akuk, a village across the Doiang, expressed great friendship for us, but cautioned us against offending Wokha. On Captain Butler remarking that Wokha had better not offend us, he was much surprised that with our small force we could take that tone exclaiming—'What! would you fight with Wokha? then would you soon be forgotten on the earth.' No actively hostile demonstrations were made against us that day beyond throwing a few stones at some coolies who went to cut bamboos close to the village, which was a large one containing 437 houses, arranged on either side of a long irregular street occupying about three-fourths of a mile in length of a very narrow ridge running down from the hill, Thebzothu, on its western side, the slopes of which are clothed with fine forest trees right down to the village. North of the village the ground falls steeply into a series of deep ravines which give rise to a broad stream flowing north into the Doiang. South of the village the ground is broken up into long, broad spurs and undulating slopes. Our camp was pitched on this side on a small grassy plateau watered by a little stream, and separated from the village by a steep rise of about 200 feet. Mr McCay joined us on the evening of the 3rd January.

Early next morning Captains Butler and LaTouche accompanied Mr McCay and myself to the hill above, a distance of about 3 miles and an ascent of about 1,500 feet. All our Khasia coolies went up with us, the Kukis being left to collect materials for the godowns, &c., which it was proposed to erect there. In the middle of the village on the big tree hung a head which had been taken only a few days previously from a neighbouring village, and an obliging Naga explained by pantomime to some of my Khasias the method of decapitation practised at Wokha. About 1½ P.M., Captains Butler and LaTouche started for camp, leaving us to finish our cutting and put up our mark, and half an hour later an Angami 'dobashia' (interpreter) arrived breathless with a hurried note from Captain

Butler asking me to go down at once with all my party to the camp, as he had just heard from Lieutenant Austin that one of our Kuki coolies had been murdered near the camp by some Nagas. Though unwillingly, as our work was near completion, I at once gave the order to return, and my Khasias, suspecting something was wrong, took the precaution of arming themselves with long bamboo spears which they cut and sharpened as they went down, and under the influence of the excitement, my carriers ran the whole way down with me. I had originally started in a light dooly carried by two men, but as this was found inconvenient in narrow and steep paths, I had a 'Thapa', as the Khasias call it, made. It is constructed from a big bamboo which is split and opened out into a large funnel-shaped basket about 4 feet high, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ from the ground. A seat is built, and above this, half the bamboo is cut away, the rest being left to form a back; a foot rest is also added. One man can carry this on his back, a strap passing under the seat and over his forehead; the occupant facing to the rear. It is astonishing how easily and safely they will carry any one in this way, and I soon acquired as great confidence in my carriers as I have on my own feet in the most dangerous places. As we passed through the village I noticed that there was only one woman visible, and the men were sitting sullenly about in groups.

Arrived in camp we found that the headless corpse of the Kuki had been brought in and the case was being investigated. The facts were as follows. The Kukis had all gone out with a guard to collect grass, &c., as I have before mentioned; while doing so one man got separated from his fellows a little way, when two young Wokha Nagas who had followed him beckoned to him to go with them, and they would show him a good place for cutting grass. With the usual fearlessness of a Kuki, he at once went with them into the long concealing jungle, and as he stooped to cut an armful, one of them dealt him a blow from behind nearly severing his head at once, the other then completed the work, and burying the head carefully in a marked spot they made off. When the coolies were about to return to camp they missed their comrade, and instituting a search found his trunk lying as it had fallen. Captain Butler summoned the headmen of the village before him, but they at first refused to come, and we heard that all the women and children and household goods were being removed from the village—an ominous

sign. Later on, however, three Chiefs and two Assamese-speaking Nagas from Sanigaon came down, bringing in two fowls as presents. Captain Butler of course declined to accept them, saying that till matters had been satisfactorily settled, no interchange of presents could take place, adding that he should be satisfied with nothing short of the surrender of the two murderers and the head of their victim. On hearing this they were a little disturbed, and sent off the two men to call other elders to the conference; these men did not return, and having waited till dusk, the three Chiefs were allowed to depart with the understanding that a decided answer must be given next morning.

About 6½ P.M., we sat down to dinner, and about 7 o'clock we were started by some shots followed by shouts of 'Naga, Naga'. We rushed out, but the night was very dark and save where the camp fires shed their fitful glare over a small space around them, nothing was to be seen, though it was evident that the jungle surrounding us on three sides was full of the savages whom we expected to burst into our camp every minute. They had commenced the attack by throwing large stones at the sentries, two of whom were rather severely injured, and were preparing to follow up with their spears when the prompt reply by fire-arms stopped them. Nagas always seem to think that tactics which are successful among themselves will prove equally so against us; they were therefore probably not a little surprised that at the first alarm we did not lose our heads and rush blindly into the jungles, where, of course, they would have got the better of us. Captain Butler at once ignited a blue light round which every one rallied, and a line of sepoy was drawn round the camp; Captain Butler with Captain LaTouche and Lieutenant Austin taking the rest of their troops with them proceeded to the village and fired the first houses; these, which were within 80 yards of our camp, at once lighted it up and all the jungles round, and there was no further danger of not seeing the rush of Nagas across the small bit of open which we were every moment expecting as the bushes beyond it resounded with their war cries. My lame foot prevented my moving, and I therefore remained in camp with Mr McCay, watching the spreading flames and rolling clouds of smoke above us, against which the trees covering the village ridge stood out dark and clearly defined to the smallest twig. Shots fired frequently told us of the advance of our men through the village,

and the Nagas evidently thought it better to try and make a stand there than remain watching the camp, for soon the war cries ceased in the jungles, only to be redoubled in the village just above us, while large pieces of rock were detached and rolled down in the hopes of injuring some of us; this they did not succeed in, as a slight hollow lay between us and the foot of the slope into which the rocks rolled and lay. The firing continued for about an hour and a half when the flames had reached the furthest extremity of the village, and then the sepoys returned. We did not expect the Nagas to attack us again that night, nor did they. In the morning eighteen bodies were counted about the village. Our loss, of course, was nil, though a constable had rather a narrow escape. A Naga bursting out of a house as the constable passed it, threw a spear at him and disappeared down the *khud* (precipice). The spear struck one man in the chest, but being thrown hurriedly only inflicted a slight wound. During the day all the jungle was cleared away round the camp, and a few houses near the centre of the village which had been purposely spared from the fire were enclosed in a strong stockade, and all the coolies, magazine and spare baggage removed there. By this means they were all placed in safety and our little camp below being left unencumbered, was easily defensible. The jungle, moreover, being cleared from the slope, paths were opened up between the camp and the stockade, and anything shouted from either place was heard without difficulty at the other.

On the 6th, two Wokha Chiefs came into camp to sue for peace; the conditions already dictated to them were repeated, and they promised compliance with them in three days. Probably the young murderers objected to be tamely given up without another struggle, and got a large party of their friends to take the same view of the case. For, as we afterwards learned, at a big council which followed this visit of the Chiefs to us, it was determined to make a bold and united effort to avenge Wokha and drive us out of the country, and it was further resolved that this could only be done by each of the neighbouring villages furnishing as large a contingent as possible for this attacking force. Accordingly, about 2½ P.M., on the 10th, a shout from the stockade warned us that Nagas were seen, and at the same moment a deep simultaneous war cry from some 400 or 500 men told us of the nearness of our foes. The cry was followed up by a rush down the village on to the stockade, and

towards the camp; the reception they met at both places made them retire as speedily as they had advanced, and in a few minutes skirmishing parties followed them. From the camp we could see a small portion of the path beyond the village running round a bare hillock, and we watched the Nagas gradually emerging from the jungles below, and collecting on this path move slowly off; presently they came more quickly, and at last flew past, and then we knew the skirmishers were not far behind. The Nagas were followed up in all directions for some little time, and ten of them paid the penalty of their boldness. We noticed with curiosity that most of them had covered their shields with strips of plantain bark which made them glisten most brightly; some of the shields picked up in the jungle and paths, which had been thrown down in the retreat were simply strips of this bark on a bamboo frame-work. I expressed my surprise at this to one of my Synteng coolies, and he said at once, 'Oh! they think the bullets are fire, and that if they pass through any substance full of moisture the fire is quenched and the bullet becomes harmless. In the Khasia and Jaintia war, we used to build stockades with plantain stems in this belief.' The failure of the attack on the 10th convinced them of the futility of any further opposition, and on the 13th one of the two murderers was brought in. He was taken to point out the scene of the murder, and the spot where the head had been buried. The head was exhumed and brought into camp to the great joy of the Kukis, who had been vainly entreating Captain Butler to allow them to appropriate the head of some one of the slain Nagas in exchange for that of their own man which they began to despair of recovering. Deputations from the surrounding villages began to visit us daily, bringing presents and ratifying their professions of friendship with oaths. After the attack on the 10th, Captain Butler had written off to Golaghat for reinforcements, as he had not enough men to leave a guard with Captain LaTouche sufficiently strong in the then complicated state of affairs to ensure the safety of daks, &c., the constables accompanying a dak to Tesephima having been attacked near Nongsechong on one occasion. The reinforcements were a long time coming up, but as the horizon was clearing, we determined not to wait for them, but to start as soon as possible after the second murderer was brought in. I took advantage of the improved state of things to send a couple of khalasis with a small guard to Lakhuti

to erect a mark there. Mr McCay and myself in the meantime had revisited Thebzothu on two occasions and finished our clearing and what observations we could then get. The weather generally was unfavourable all the time we halted, mist and rain driving across the hills almost daily; sometimes when it was dry we had a sharp frost at night, and the thermometer often went down to 33° and 34° in the night. On the 15th the second murderer was brought into camp. He, like the other, at once admitted his guilt and pointed out the same spot as the scene of their crime. He was astonished at finding that the head was not there, exclaiming that some wild animal had discovered and carried it off. Both these men stated that they were instigated to the crime by the headmen of Wokha, who wished to precipitate matters, as they found we could not be made to initiate hostilities. All this time our coolies had not been idle, but had daily been employed in husking rice, which was stored in a godown in the stockade; other houses had also been built, and everything we could leave behind was placed in them, in order to give us as many coolies as possible for carrying rice.

The damp and cold affected our party somewhat, and one of the buglers and Captain Butler's Madrassi cook succumbed to the effects. The loss of the latter was a serious one to us. Rice and fowls formed the principal articles of food with us, and a good cook is required to vary the monotony of such a diet by ingenious little culinary arts. We had been faring better than usual in camp since the burning of Wokha, as the village was wealthy in cows, goats, fowls and pigs, and numbers were caught and killed as they prowled about. Our tame Nagas and coolies were always on the look-out for any movement in the low jungle near the camp which indicated the presence of pigs or goats, and these were at once hunted down, and amid much encouragement from the lookers-on in camp, who, though they were too lazy to join the chase, were not afterwards found unwilling to share the spoils.

3

THE LHOTAS IN 1891

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, p. 248)

THIS TRIBE inhabits in all 73 villages, the whole of which were censused. Of these villages 69 lie in the Wokha subdivision, and

four in the Mokokchang subdivision. The Lhotas inhabit the hills on both sides of the Doyang river from the point where the Chebi river falls into it. The customs of this tribe present no marked differences from those of the Rengmas on the south. Their dress is, however, slightly more decent, and consists, for the men of a small loin-cloth and apron either of light blue or white striped horizontally with thin lines of red, or, for the lower villages, of dark blue striped with broad lines of red. A cloth of alternate broad stripes of white and dark blue is worn round the shoulders and reaches to the knee. The men are usually small and muscular. Their arms are spear, dao, and shield. The women wear a scanty black petticoat, and leave the breasts bare. Their ornaments are brass and white metal armlets, beads, and ear ornaments made of small bamboo tubes, into the ends of which are inserted small tufts of red hair.

The villages of this tribe are built in regular streets, and usually consist of one long street, with houses on both sides facing each other along a narrow ridge. The houses are built on the ground, and contain, counting the enclosed verandah, three compartments. The ridge projects in front for a few feet. The morangs, or bachelors' houses, are conspicuous at each end of the village. In shape they resemble very much the Ao morangs, though they are not, as a rule, so large.

Cultivation

The Lhotas cultivate by jhuming. Land is cultivated for two years and then allowed to lie fallow for eight or ten years.

Marriage Customs

Polygamy is allowed, but is practised only by the rich. Girls are, as a rule, married when young, 13 or 14 years of age. Marriages are almost entirely matters of arrangement. The price paid for a wife is usually about Rs 100. Owing to the system of early marriage by arrangement, divorces for infidelity are very common. Nearly all the cases brought for decision to the subdivisional officer, Wokha,

are cases for the recovery of marriage expenses from runaway or divorced wives. Marriage within the circle of a man's blood relations is not permitted. Children follow the clan of the father. Widows are allowed to remarry.

Religious Beliefs

The religious beliefs of the Lhotas appear to be as vague as those of other Naga tribes. Sacrifices to evil spirits are frequent, especially in cases of sickness.

Funeral Customs

The Lhotas bury their dead. The funeral takes place as soon after death as possible, the grave being dug within a pace or two of the front door of the house. A fire is often kept burning for several days over a man's grave after his burial, and flowers are very often put up over it. The skulls of cattle killed for the funeral feast are of course put up over the grave.

General Remarks

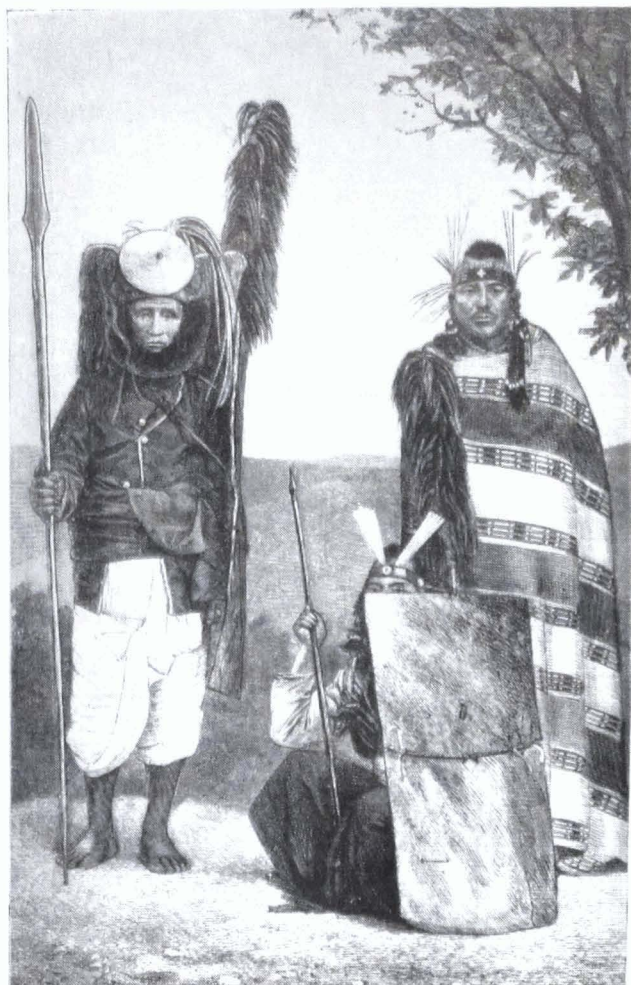
The Lhotas are, of all the tribes in this district, the most quiet and amenable to discipline. The outer villages do a large trade in cotton with the Marwari traders of Golaghat. A great deal of this cotton is taken down the Doyang by boat in the cold weather, and is duly watered half a day's journey above Golaghat in order to increase its weight. I have seen this being done myself. The Lhotas are exceedingly democratic in their village customs. Headmen have little or no power, and every man does as it seems best to him.



9. Natives of the Manipur Hills

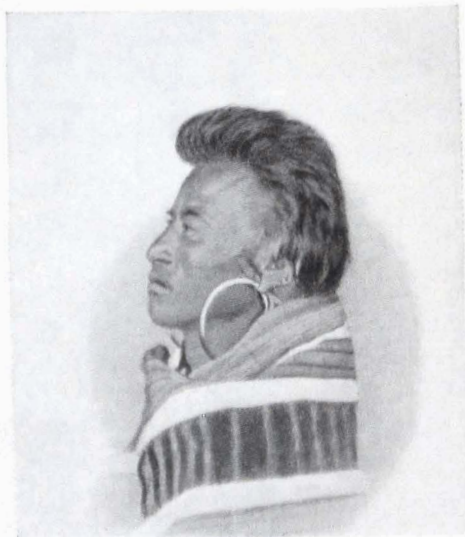
10. Tribesmen of Manipur

(From Mrs E. S. Grimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur*, 1891)





11. Manipuris



12. Angami



13. Nagas

14. Angami warrior

From John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847)





15. Kapui Nagas

(From *J.A.I.*, Vol. XVI, 1887)

Chapter VIII

THE RENGMA NAGAS

THE FIRST EUROPEAN TO SEE RENGMAS, as Major Butler points out, was Mr Grange (then Sub-Assistant Commissioner of the Nowgong District) in 1839 who met a few of them in the vicinity of Mohang-Dehooa on his way to the Angami Hills.¹

Major Butler also gives an estimate, which is repeated by Jenkins in Moffatt Mills' *Report*, of the Rengma population in the Mikir Hills as 2,756 individuals living in thirty-two villages, for a number of Rengmas had already migrated from the heights to the lower territory in the Mikir Hills. In 1847 Captain Butler, the Major's son, induced several of the most influential Chiefs to visit Nowgong when they 'readily assented' to be taxed at one rupee per house and gave him a written agreement to that effect. Later in the same year another Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Mr Masters, was deputed to enter the Rengma Hills from Golaghat. He visited many villages but found the country 'so heavy and impassable from the dense, wet jungles' that he returned to the plains. Later, he travelled across the Mikir Hills and made the first Rengma revenue settlement.

J. P. Mills, in his book on this tribe, divides the Rengmas into three sections divided by each other by difference of dialects—the southern and northern sections of the Western Rengmas, and the Eastern Rengmas. About 1870 Captain Butler was well received when he visited the Western Rengmas. In 1874 Dr Brown toured widely throughout the entire Rengma territory, though he had some trouble in the latter part of his visit. The Western Rengmas came under administration from 1878, the others only in 1922.

In 1847 there were 2,756 Rengmas in the Mikir Hills. At the Census of 1931, 6,321 were recorded but Mills points out that this is certainly wrong, for the Census did not include any of the Rengmas living in the Mikir Hills. At the 1961 Census an approximate figure of 5,000 individuals was obtained from Nagaland.

¹ Butler describes on page 22 of his *Travels in Assam* how in November 1845, he himself travelled through 'uninhabited, dense-tree and grass-jungle' until he too reached the little village of Mohang-Dehooa. Here in the afternoon of the 26th a few Rengma Nagas visited him and were rewarded with typical British generosity with a bottle of spirituous liquor which they greatly appreciated.

J. P. Mills' book on the Rengma Nagas is one of the shortest of the Naga monographs but it is at the same time among the best and will give all the information that was not available at the time when the following extracts were written.

1

AN EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, p. 22)

IN THE AFTERNOON,¹ a few Rengmah Nagahs visited us, and presented a fowl and a little rice, for which civility we gave them a bottle of spirituous liquor, which they prized more than money or any other remuneration.

2

THE RENGMAH NAGAHS

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 124–5)

THE RENGMAH NAGAHS are evidently descended from the Angahmee Nagahs; and it is said that, in consequence of oppression and feuds in their own tribe, they emigrated to the high hills occupied by the Tokophen Nagahs; but further dissensions and attacks from the Lotah and Angahmee Nagahs compelled them to take refuge on their present low hills in the vicinity of the Meekirs.

At the present day the Rengmah Nagahs appear degenerating. In physiognomy they differ but little from the Cacharee tribes, and many have married Cacharee and Assamese wives. The villages are small, and they have but few domestic animals; among these the principal are some cows of the hill breed, pigs, and fowls. They procure brass ornaments from the village of Gesenge, and spears from the Angahmee Nagahs. A considerable quantity of cotton is

¹ This refers to a tour with Lt. Campbell in November 1845.—N.K.R.

grown in their hills, besides rice, which they barter for salt, hand-bills, beads and hoes, to petty hawkers, who proceed up the river Jummoona with small supplies from Now-Gong, and sadly impose on these uncivilized tribes in their dealings with them, both in price and weight.

Like other Hill tribes, they acknowledge the power of a plurality of gods; and sacrifices of cows, pigs, and fowls, are offered on all occasions. Marriage is regarded merely as a civil contract, and no religious ceremonies are performed. According to the means of the bridegroom, fowls, dogs, and spirits, are given as a present to the parents of the damsel selected, and her consent being obtained, as well as that of her parents (for she has a right to refuse), a grand feast is given by the bridegroom on the day of his marriage to the whole village. In return, they are obliged to present the newly-married couple with a new house in the village.

All offences of a trivial nature are settled by a council of elders of the village, who impose fines on the culprits. The Rengmah Nagahs, like the Angahmee Nagahs, inter their dead, and place the spear and shield of the deceased in the grave; a few sticks with some eggs and grain are laid upon it, and the funeral ceremonies conclude with lamentations and feasting.

3

TROUBLE WITH THE RENGMAH

(W. F. Badgley, 'Extract from the Narrative Report', *General Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1873-4, pp. 42-6)

HAVING EXPLAINED OUR PLANS to the leader of the expedition, and succeeded in inducing him to aid the survey of the Doyong to the Lanier exploration, which was all he at first contemplated, on the 1st of January [1874] the camps of the Political Agents of the Naga Hills and of Manipur with Captain Badgley and Lieutenant Woodthorpe marched from Kohima. Our route lay northward along the spur, which running N.N.-E. from Japvo peak at the east end of the Barrail range, ends in the hill called 'Woka' by the Lota Nagas

who live on it, and 'Thebzothin' by the Angamies. The Doyong flows on the eastern side of this ridge, and circling round its northern end cuts it off from the hills further north. On the 2nd we set up a new mark at Nidzokru H. S., and on the 3rd camped at Themokadima. We had left the Angamies, had passed through two half Sema villages, and were now in the Rengma country.

Our next day's march was to have been to the next Rengma village, Tesephima, but in the morning various rumours came in; at first our men sent on in front had been killed, but finally that the Tese-phimas would not either let us into or pass their village, their message being bombastically worded to the effect that as neither man nor tiger had ever been allowed to pass, neither should we. But little was thought of this, however, and we started to try to induce them to receive us, taking sixty men as a precautionary measure, and as the sight of them might induce them to admit us more readily and cheerfully.

More than a mile from the village we found the path and jungle thickly set with those little bamboo lancet-like darts called 'panjies', the Native Officer of Police getting one through the leg, and by the time we had reached the village, though we crawled along most slowly and cautiously, four men had been lamed by them.

Tesephima is finely situated for defence on a height at the junction of three ridges. The hill is precipitous on one side, steep on all, and approached on our side by a narrow rocky neck, above which rose the steep ascent to the village with the precipice on our right. At the neck they had made a breast-work of earth and stone, where, with guns or even arrows, they might have given us more than we would have cared for, but they did not attempt to defend it, perhaps as a stratagem to induce us to rush on too boldly and fall into their trap of a flank attack, repulsed by which they might hope to have us at a disadvantage among the 'panjies'—which, and the ground in front of it were studded with. They retired steadily with a chorus of two deep sounding notes which had quite a grand organ-like thrill very different from the cackling jackal-like war cry of the Angamies.

What happened was very exciting while it was going on, however much we might pity the unfortunate people after it was over, and there is this to say that they brought it entirely on themselves, rejecting every overture for peace or conference, and leaving us no choice but to attack them. Halting at the breast-work for a minute,

interpreters were put forward to try to induce them to come to terms, but they were answered with the war-cry alone, and we advanced up the slope crowned by the village which was protected by zig-zag approaches, stone-walls, hedges and clumps of bamboo. They probably had not expected us to be so quick, for we were in their lines before the flanking party showed, which thus became a rear attack; and now, if they had only stood, or if both had rushed in, they might have done something and we something worth writing about; but our guns frightened them.

They gave way at once, without, I was going to say, throwing a single spear, for, though I am told spears and stones flew about promiscuously, I saw none myself, and we never stopped till we were in the village. Here perhaps a little recovered from their fright, they made several attempts to advance, but always to be driven off with loss, and at last gave it up, so that at about 3 in the afternoon finding nothing to do, we returned to camp.

Before we left, Lieutenant Woodthorpe, who had been out surveying, joined us sorry to have missed the affair, bringing with him fortunately his cold breakfast, which we were glad to help him to dispose of, the excitement having had a good effect on our appetites. Dr Brown had meanwhile kept the camp at Themo-kadima; no attack was made on it, the two villages being at war, though both Rengma. Many of the Themokadimans, indeed, went with us (perhaps to take advantage of either event) and looted and set fire to Tesephima, burning down a third of the place. Twenty-two of the poor wretches were killed, and two or three died afterwards; our loss was four men lamed by panjies.

Halting on the 5th to give them time to come to terms, we marched again against them on the 6th. They now occupied a hill two miles from their village. We held a parley with them; women with bared breasts and the green bough of truce acting as heralds on both sides. They declared they would resist but whether it was a mere demonstration, or that they lost heart at the sight of the red coats of Dr Brown's escort, of whom he brought ten with us on this occasion, or from whatever cause, we reached the village without meeting any opposition, excepting from 'panjies' by which again two men were wounded. Near the village we were met by messengers of peace, which, after the payment of a fine, was concluded in the village and we marched back again.

The next day we encamped at Tesephima, on the 8th at the Lota village of Phurma, and on the 11th at Woka, halting on the 10th at Nongsee close to Woka; to the east rises the Woka hill, 6,500 feet in height and about 1,500 above the village. Here we cleared the hill top and put up a signal for a station, but without being able to make use of it, for the rain came down, or clouds hid the view, till we at last gave it up, and on the 14th marched west towards the villages, also Lotas, on the opposite side of the Doyong. They were a sullen lot at Woka, the most vile of all the Nagas we saw; they would neither fight nor act peaceably, nor sell us food, though the money would have been a benefit to them, as they knew its value and could use it in trading with the plains.

Camping on the 14th on the Doyong, 15th at Morakcho, 16th on the Doyong where it turns west to leave the hills, and 17th at Phurma, we completed a circuit to the west which brought us back through Tesephima to Themokadima on the 18th. In this short time most of the houses at Tesephima had been rebuilt, and we found the inhabitants quite friendly and seemingly taking what had happened to them quite as a matter of course.

On the 19th Dr Brown with his escort, &c., and the sick men marched for Kohima. Some difficulty had been found at times in feeding so large a camp; any question as to the direction of the outfall of the Doyong having been settled, there was no occasion for him to accompany us on the round we proposed to make westward across the Doyong, up its eastern side and across westward again to Kohima.

On the 20th we marched through Tesephima again to Kotso-bagwema, on the 21st to Kite, 22nd across the Doyong to Goshitomi, and 23rd to Kaken-agami. At Kite, which, with Sampui and Roki close to it, are Sema-Naga, villagers turned out to oppose us panjying the path, but a crowd of Rengmas, who had followed us from Themokadima, hoping for a quarrel that they might pick up some plunder, as they had done at Tesephima, having been driven back, and the Semas having been assured that we were friends, they pulled out the panjies and treated us well. Here we were again in danger, not of a quarrel, indeed, but of leaving a bad impression from some of the interpreters and followers doing a little private pillage, but they were discovered, the plunder returned, and themselves made examples of.

The Doyong where we crossed it, east of these villages, is deep enough for canoes, but whether navigable from below I cannot say. Where we saw it on the opposite west side of the Woka ridge there was ample depth for boats of some size, but we heard that there was a ridge of rocks or some such barrier which prevented boats of any burthen from going far; where this was, I am sorry to say we did not ascertain. The Nagas do not use boats. On lines of traffic where the rivers are too deep to be forded in the rains, they have cane suspension bridges, similar to those built by other hill-people in India.

Above Kaken-agami, on the Kopamedza range, we proposed to build a survey station, and on the 24th the morning was fine, but when we reached the hill it had begun to cloud over for rain, and we had barely time to sketch a few points when everything was hidden in mist. It was particularly disappointing as all we should have seen was new to us, and the way up had been so very bad, part of it through a newly felled forest where we had to climb and creep and play the tight-rope dancer over the fallen trees. Kaken-agami was too small to keep us supplied with rice, and bad weather promising, we had to move on, and on the 25th we marched to Nokami, and 26th to ImpHEMA, having rain on both days.

The next morning Lieutenant Woodthorpe and myself made an excursion to Terocheswemi on the Kopamedza ridge, where we had a good view and added a good deal to our work. Half-way up we passed through Ketsama where they treated us very civilly. So they did on our return, presenting each of us with a spear and rice beer, and offering to put us up if we would but stay, but after we had left the village and were passing below it, two spears were thrown from the jungle, from one of which a policeman had a very narrow escape; it shaved past the back of his neck. While inquiring about this and picking up the spears, some Nagas belonging to another village, who had come with us, told me that they had seen the men who threw them running away, and that they recognized them as belonging to another third village which was found afterwards to be untrue, for the men were truly Ketsama men, as that village acknowledged next day, begging forgiveness and offering to turn the men out. These men were Angamies, all the other villages we had seen on this bank of the Doyong having been Sema, except Terocheswemi, which was half Angami.

On the 28th, passing through Ungoma, the last of the Sema villages in this direction, we encamped below Khesoma, and on the 29th, passing through Chajabama on the Kopamedza range, camped at Rongazuma. I have called this range the Kopamedza, having no other name for it; it is the continuation of that range northward, and is the watershed between the Doyong and Lanieri rivers. We halted at Rongazuma to the 5th February, clearing the hill Nummu, where we built a station. It fortunately cleared on the 5th (having been raining the whole week previous), and though at one time it looked threatening and we had a sprinkle of snow, we finished our work, both sketching and triangulation, satisfactorily. The next day we encamped on the Siju below Sakabama, and on the 7th I went towards the trigonometrical station of Japoo, Lieutenant Woodthorpe having gone on the 6th towards Nidzokru.

The weather in Japoo was severe for my followers. Our camp was in the snow, which we found deeper and deeper the higher we went. We encamped at the last water and on the morning we tried the ascent and struggled on for three hours over a distance of about a mile, often waist deep in the soft snow, and when within two hundred yards of the summit found our way barred by an ice-covered precipice which was quite impracticable to laden men. Though in thin clothes and wet through, I felt that delicious tingling warmth that exercise in winter weather at home gives one, but my unfortunate carriers thought they were done for and talked of dying. As nothing could have been seen, clouds coming on, we gave it up, and slipping and tumbling hurried back to camp as quickly as we could, and reached it in less than a third of the time it had taken to go up. On the 10th I marched into Kohima, and on the 15th we started on our Lanieri exploration.

Camping on the 15th on the Siju, on the 16th at Chaduma, and on the 17th at Takubama, we marched on the 18th to Razami, crossing the ridge and taking the Kopamedza station *en route*. It was a very heavy march, the snow, which I judge from the circumstance to be unusual on that range, having heaped the ground with boughs and creepers broken from the trees and beaten the bushes down so as quite to close the path in places and obliging us to cut our way through with knives and spear heads. On the 19th we marched to Thetcholumi, and 21st Kezabami (halting at each

place a day), on the 23rd to Losemi, 24th Lozaphehome, and 25th Jessami, all Angami Naga villages.

On starting on our next march we found the path thickly panjied almost to the camp; those who did it must have come within spear throwing distance of our sentries; they were known to be men from Primi, a village two marches to the northeast, by some seeds of a millet scattered in the way, with which grain they make their liquor in distinction from the other Nagas, who use rice. We encamped at Melomi, all the men of which place were drawn up in their high street to receive us, and not one of them with a stitch on below their waist. They do not, I should say, always go about quite so freely, on ordinary occasions probably wearing their clothes draped round them as do the Lushais, Tankhul Nagas and others who wear no waist-cloth, but on this occasion their sheets were tied across their chests in the fashion in which all Nagas tie them when expecting fighting. The sight was very extraordinary certainly, and very much inclined one to cachinnation. On the 27th we marched on to Primi. It was men from this village who had obstructed our advance from Jessami. From the spur opposite their village we saw them assembled to oppose us, but after some parley they broke up and we encamped unmolested. These men wear a small apron, and, like the Semas and Lotas, tattoo their breasts. On the 28th we encamped at Thetchunasa, and on the 1st March at Thetchumi.

Here we found ourselves beyond interpretation. At the last village we had managed in a way by translation from Primi to Melomi, to Angami, to Assamese, to English, and *vice versa*, to understand and express a little, but here signs were our only [means]¹; fortunately we did not want much, and such signs as pointing to one's mouth and stomach are not easily misunderstood. Fortunately also we had no need to go further, as what we had especially come to see was before us. The map shows what we discovered—that the Lanieri instead of flowing through the large valley to the north, as we thought, was met by a stream from that valley, and that both turning at right-angles escaped through the high ranges to the east, about fifteen miles south of the Sarameti peak. The height of the rivers near their junction we made out by barometer to be about 2,000 feet above sea-level. The conjoined rivers agree perfectly with a branch of the Kyendwen of the old maps.

¹ Original text not clear.—N.K.R.

From this point we began our return journey, not because there was nothing more to be done, or that we would not have gone on if we could, but we had no interpreter, and the people had no rice to give us; they lived themselves on Job's tears (*coix lachryma*); so having accomplished one of the principal objects of the survey, we turned back. Dr Brown, with his escort, and the Munipuris, left on the 2nd to march direct to Manipur. On the 3rd we started and camping again at Primi and Melomi, on the 5th and 6th we stayed at Kotisimi, 7th at Sowhemi, 8th at Kitsophemi, and 9th at Chipokitami, all Angami villages, except Sowhemi, which was of naked Nagas and was built in the valley on the river bank, not on the hills as is the general custom.

We were now returning by a more direct route than that we had come by, but had turned northward at Kitsophemi into a valley drained by a tributary of the Lanier, the Tizi, at the head of which we heard that there lived a tribe of Nagas in ten villages, all contrary to the democratic usage of the other Nagas, owning allegiance to one Chief. There were two paths, it was said, to these villages, but that on the west bank particularly bad; it must have been bad indeed, if it was worse than that we found on the other side; however, we at last reached the first of these villages called, as we afterwards learned from the name of its headman, Cherhi or Cherhena, and by the Angamies, Mezamibasama. It is the only one of the ten villages on the east bank.

What followed I cannot account for, except on the supposition that expecting us to go by the west bank they had collected in force at the first village on that side, and that the jungle had hidden our movements, for, on coming up to the village, though some asked us to come up, others gave war cries. We reached the glacis, which was thick with panjies, and saw some two dozen men moving about inside, some seeming to wish to parley, others yelling; two unlucky spears, a stick and a feeble arrow flew over and then we fired upon them.

We found one—one of the headman's sons—dead when we got inside, a fine young fellow shot through the brain; what other casualties there were, if any, I do not know, but fourteen of our party stuck themselves with panjies, including Captain Butler and Lieutenant Ridgeway; their shoes were soaked with wading, and the sharp bamboo slips went through and through them. The only person

otherwise wounded was my jemader of khalassies, who made himself too prominent and got a sharp crack on the shin from the stick.

On the hill, which opposite to us divided the two streams which form the Tizi, we saw a crowd of armed men, and prepared ourselves for an attack by occupying the upper end of the village, and pulling down the middle part, across which we threw a stockade. We supplied ourselves with rice from their granaries which our coolies husked and sifted. A careful watch was kept for two nights. On the third day peace was concluded, and Lieutenant Woodthorpe and myself crossed to Renipumi, where we saw the blind Chief Rehipu who rules the clan—a fine old man who must have had great strength when young. He had a curious manner of not raising his eyelids and often of not turning his head when speaking to or hearing any one speak, so I could not form an idea of how he lost his sight, probably by accident, not through age.

On the 13th we returned to Chipo-Kitami, having decided that in our somewhat disabled state (five of the fourteen lamed had to be carried), it would be as well to leave further exploration of these unknown valleys and tribes till next year. On the 15th we marched to Sagajuma, where we halted one day, and after starting on the 18th had to return to give them a lesson.

They were a very strong village and used to lording it, having, I think I heard, sixteen other villages dependent on them. They would not give us coolies for our sick, and when we returned and occupied the village, both spears and shields were out, but it passed off and they were more obliging next day. From this we made four marches to Samaguting, which we reached on the 22nd.

Leaving Samaguting on the 26th and passing through the Terai (which is passable at this time of year) by Dimapur, Mohangdijua and Bokulia Ghat, I entered the hills again at Panimohur and reached Shillong via Jawai on the 7th of April. Lieutenant Woodthorpe, going by steamer from Nigriting to Gowhatty, arrived at Shillong on the 12th. Lieutenant Woodthorpe plane-tabled on the $\frac{1}{2}$ inch scale about 1,150 square miles; Captain Badgley on the $\frac{1}{4}$ inch scale about 2,250 square miles. They observed at three stations, the triangulation amounting to 800 square miles. It was an easy country to survey, and had not political reasons and the requirements of the large scale survey obliged us to halt and make short marches, more could have been done on the small scale.

The Naga Hills survey expedition this year was a most interesting one—not from any particular beauty of the country which, except in a few places, gave a tame view of long ridges unbroken by peaks and unenlivened by a single waterfall: nor from the climate—we had rain for a third of the time—but from the people, who, though they might generally be classed as vile, viler, vilest, were so new to us and so varied, one section from another, that one could not fail to be interested.

I will say nothing about the dress, &c., of the tribes, but add merely a few words with particular reference to one section of the tribes we visited. There is just one point, however, on which I would remark before doing so, which is, that I did not notice that any of the Nagas, either at Tesephima or Cherhi, the two places where they opposed us, wore 'war-paint'; some wore feathers, and some wooden tails ornamented with red and black hair, but I saw nothing approaching the custom of the American Indians, nor even so much colour as is used by Hindoos. The only occasion on which we saw anything at all of the sort was at Lukami. I think it was where the villagers had apparently been celebrating what might be called a 'joom' burning festival (before the rains they burn the forest previously felled on land to be brought under cultivation; such fields are 'jooms'), and some of them had their faces blackened with charcoal, and all were more than ordinarily dirty.

The frontier tribes I have seen appear divisible into three lots—Lushais, Kukies, Manipuris and Khasias—Mikirs, Angamies, Tankuls, Semas and Rengmas—Lhotahs and naked Nagas. The first are light-skinned, short, with well-shaped broad heads, prominent foreheads, moderately thick lips, and moderately flat noses, wear all their hair (except the hindooized Manipuris), use (now discarding their spears for guns) a short chopping knife and a short thrusting spear or sword, and a small shield, cultivate by jooming.

The second are light-skinned, tall, and the most handsome of the three, have well-shaped heads, often aquiline noses and thin lips, shave the head more or less, use no other weapons than the long spear and large shield, cultivate by terracing or jooming.

The third are dark-skinned, short, have conically shaped heads, flat noses, thick lips, shave the head except a patch at the top, use the thrusting spear, an axe or heavy chopper, bows and arrows. The Lhotahs use the same shaped shield as the second, but smaller, the

others perhaps none (this is conjecture: we saw none among the naked Nagas.)

The first and second are the stronger races; where the blood mixed in them with the Tartar comes from, I cannot say, and will only venture to hint at Malaya. They appear to be ousting the others for the special benefit of the country as regards the Angamies on account of their civilized method of cultivation. As regards the third, the resemblance to the Tartar races is much less marked; the people who they most reminded me of (especially the naked Nagas, who are perhaps the least mixed in breed) are the Kols of Central India. Their dark skin, heads shaven except the tuft, the conical shape, their noses and lips, the use of the axe and bow, their carelessness about clothing, all agree, and in no single instance did I see anything like the light skin, long face, aquiline nose, thin lips and pointed chin which is found among the better conditioned individuals of the Tartar tribes of the frontier.

Of the marriage ceremonies, modes of disposing of the dead and new born, and those many customs whose differences help the classification of races, I am grieved to say, that trusting that it would be done by others who had less to do than I, I have not learnt so much as to warrant my writing of them, even had not continued indisposition in this damp climate unfitted me for making an amusing report, and I beg you will excuse me if I finish off here with a few general remarks. As regards what every one could see of the general condition of the Nagas, they were well housed, clothed according to their wants, well fed and seemingly content, healthy, free from small-pox and skin diseases, deformities (except goitre among the Rengmas and Semas) and dwarfs.

Chapter IX

THE SEMA NAGAS

IT IS CURIOUS that the large and important Sema tribe (which numbered 48,000 at the last Census) should have attracted so little attention during the early period. As J. H. Hutton, writing in 1921, says: 'There is no previous literature to speak of, dealing with the Sema tribe or even with its languages' and he points out that the few early references to them are generally wrong. Waddell in his Asiatic Society article has a note which is 'meagre and quite inaccurate' and Miss Godden in an early study in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, has very little about the Semas and that is 'by no means always accurate'. But Hutton himself has made up for this deficiency in a splendid book based on original sources, its information derived directly from members of the tribes, and the reader interested will find in it a feast of detail. 'The Semas', says Hutton, 'are situated north-east of the Angamis and stretch from the upper Dayang valley, where they border on the Rengma and Lhota tribes, northward into the Ao country and eastward across the Tizu to the Tita Valley, where they border on the Yachumi and Sangtam tribes. The Semas of Lazemi and the neighbouring villages in the Tizu valley differ considerably in dialect, in customs, and in dress from the bulk of the Sema tribe grouped round the headwaters of the Kileki and Dikhu rivers, and on both sides of the Tizu. The Semas of Lazemi and the upper Dayang valley seem more closely connected with the Angamis and Rengmas and perhaps contain an admixture of both these tribes.'

The only reliable account, brief as it is, comes from A. W. Davis in the 1891 Census which I give in this Chapter.

THE SEMAS IN 1891

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 246-8)

OF THIS LARGE TRIBE, who call themselves Simi, but are known to us by their Angami name of Sema, there are only nine villages within the district boundary. Outside the district there are about 70 villages belonging to the tribe. The Semas occupy the whole of the Tizu valley and the whole of the country on the right bank of the Doyang, from the junction of the Sijju and Zulu rivers to the point where the Teshi river flows into the Doyang.

Physical Characteristics and Dress

The Semas differ in language, customs, and appearance from the tribes near them. Their language is more like Angami than it is like any of the other languages spoken in this district. In appearance the Semas more nearly resemble the Rengmas. The men are short and muscular. They are practically naked, as the small flap they wear dangling from their waists cannot be said to in any way hide their nakedness. In addition to this flap they wear the large cloth common to all the Naga tribes. The commonest pattern amongst them is a cloth with alternate broad stripes of white and dark blue. The ornaments of the men are beads. In their ears they often wear enormous quantities of cotton. Their arms are spear, crossbow, and dao.

The women wear a very scanty black petticoat, and leave their breasts bare. For ornaments they wear strings of beads round their waists and necks, and on their arms brass bracelets. Above their elbow, large and very heavy armlets made of some white metal are usually worn.

Hereditary Chiefs

The chief point in which the Semas differ from the other Naga tribes living in this district is the possession of hereditary village

chiefs. These chiefs have many privileges, i.e. their subjects cut their jhums and cultivate them for them for nothing; they get a portion of every animal killed in the chase, and generally are in a position far superior to that of an ordinary Naga headman. These chiefs invariably have three or four wives, and usually large families. It is the custom for the sons as they grow up to start new villages on their own account. We thus find that, as a rule, Sema villages are small as compared with the villages of other Naga tribes. They, the Semas, are to all appearance a rapidly increasing tribe. They have, within the last 30 or 40 years, occupied the whole of the Tizu valley and a portion of the Tita valley, and have ousted the Aos from the sites on which now stand the Sema villages of Loppsemi and Limitsimi. They are now getting considerably pressed for land, and as they can extend no further to the north, south, or west, and not much further to east, it appears to be merely a question of time before they are obliged to adopt the terraced system of rice cultivation. This system, together with the Angami dress, has already been adopted by the seven or eight Sema villages situated near the Eastern Angami villages of Zogazumi and Pholami, and these Sema villages are, except in language, indistinguishable from the Angamis living in the two villages just mentioned.

Village Site

The villages of the Semas are situated, like other Naga villages, on the tops of ridges or hills. They are, as noticed above, usually small. They are practically without artificial defences of any kind. The houses, as with Angamis, are not arranged in regular streets within the village site, but each individual appears to put his own house where he finds it most convenient to do so, due regard being had to the fact that the houses must for purposes of defence be not too widely scattered. The houses of the chiefs are distinguished by their extra size. The houses are built on the ground, and present no features calling for special remark. Like most other Naga tribes, the Semas, except in the case of a few villages which have copied the Angami custom, keep their grain in small granaries clear of the houses of the village. It is, therefore, safe in the case of fire.

Marriage Customs

Except in the case of headmen, the Semas do not, as a rule, practise polygamy. It is, however, allowed. Wives are bought, and usually for a comparatively large sum, Rs 80 to Rs 100 being the usual price. Arrangements are first made through the parents, and the girl is given away as soon as the full price for her is paid, and not before. Of course, runaway love matches occasionally occur, but as a rule Sema marriages are purely matters of arrangement. The girls appear, to judge from Lozema, to marry rather late, i.e. not till 18 or 20 years of age.

Widows are allowed to remarry. Women who leave their husbands merely because they do not like them have to pay back their marriage price. Should they marry again without doing so, a claim would lie against their new husbands. No marriage can take place between members of the same exogamous subdivision, many of which exist. Children follow the clan of the father.

Funeral Customs

The Semas bury their dead. Graves are, as a rule, dug just outside the dead man's house, and are not more than three feet deep. The body is usually wrapped up in a bamboo mat previous of interment. In some villages a small thatched roof is put up over the grave, but it is usually left without any distinguishing mark. The skulls of the cows, if any, killed for the funeral feast are put up over the grave, as also are the dead man's spear and shield. Children dying within ten days of birth are buried inside the house. Women dying in childbirth are buried without any ceremony being observed.

Origin of the Tribe

The Semas say that they had their origin from the small village of Swemi, situated just north of Khizobami and about 30 miles east of Kohima. From Swemi they spread north and north-west until they occupied the country in which they now dwell.

Religion

Like all the Nagas, the Semas believe in and try and propitiate a variety of evil spirits. That they have some idea of a future state is certain, and for this reason: The parallel and horizontal lines marking the stratification of the rocks in the east side of Thebzothu (the Wokha hill) are very plainly seen from the whole of the Sema country and are called 'Kitila' (dead man's road), and are said to be the path leading to the village of the dead. Where this village is, however, no one can say, but that it exists all believe.

Village Customs

Bachelors usually sleep together in separate houses, but these houses have not, as among some of the tribes, any feature to distinguish them from the ordinary village houses, and are only used by the young men at night. Unmarried girls sleep together by threes and fours in the front compartment of certain houses; here they assemble at nightfall and sit spinning yarn, cleaning cotton, &c., and chaffing and laughing with the young men often for hours.

The principal village festivals amongst the Semas are those that occur after the conclusion of the rice harvest and before the commencement of the new cultivation. Both are occasions for the consumption of immense quantities of rice-beer. As amongst the Angamis, men who wish to obtain fame by feasting their fellow villagers, usually do so by giving a feast at the harvest-home festival.

General Remarks

The Semas are the most barbarous and savage tribes with which we have yet come into contact in these hills. But four years ago the custom of head taking was in full swing amongst all the villages to the east of the Doyang river, and the use of money was unknown to almost every village of the tribe. That this should have been so is not surprising, regard being had to the fact that the Semas have never had any chance of intercourse with the plains, and were beyond the limits into which the most enterprising traders would venture,

owing to their treacherous and bloodthirsty habits. In treachery and lying they were and are quite unsurpassed, even amongst Nagas: to entreat a man well, who came to your house as a guest, and then when he was off his guard to kill him was not considered by a Sema to be other than a meritorious action. A Sema oath is worth less than the oath of any other Naga tribe, not excepting the Aos, who, as liars, run a good second to the Semas. Judged by the Naga standard, the Semas are good fighting men, and were much respected by their neighbours. Towards the north they kept the Aos in a continual state of dread, and were gradually ousting them from the possession of a great deal of valuable land. Our occupation of the Ao country has, however, stopped this movement, and the only outlet for this rapidly increasing tribe is towards the east.

Chapter X

THE NORTH-EASTERN NAGAS

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY very little was written on the Nagas living in the hills north-east of Mokokchung, and even in what we have it is very difficult to distinguish tribes and places in view of the fact that visitors to these areas did not know the complex of languages spoken and there was no uniformity in the use of village names. Woodthorpe toured there in 1876; Peal wrote a number of papers on the tribes of the Patkoi and those living near the Assam Valley: and Dalton has a characteristic passage in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*.

During the present century there are the invaluable diaries of J. H. Hutton for 1923 and his notes on such tribes as the Changs, Phoms, Sangtams and Konyaks in an Appendix to *The Angami Nagas*. Later, C. von Fürer-Haimendorf did distinguished work on the Konyaks which has borne fruit in his popular work *The Naked Nagas* and more academic studies of this great and fascinating tribe which are mentioned in the Bibliography.

I have already introduced Woodthorpe and Peal to my readers. I add some extracts from what I wrote about Dalton in my *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*.

Edward Tuite Dalton was born in 1815 and in due course joined the Bengal Staff Corps, of which he was a Colonel in 1872 and a Major-General three years before his death in December 1880. His name appears but seldom in the histories, but we know that in 1845 he visited the hills of what is now NEFA in the neighbourhood of the Subansiri River, that he went to Membu in the Abor country in 1855, and that about the same time he was having official dealings with the Singphos. In 1851 he was Political Assistant Commissioner in charge of Kamrup, in 1855 Principal Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Assam. Three years later he was transferred to Chota Nagpur as Commissioner of the area and took part in an expedition to put down a rising in Palamau. He also accompanied the Field Force against the Singbhum rebels in 1858-9.

His greatest work, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, was a direct sequel to the Ethnological Congress which was proposed early in 1866 to be held in Calcutta. The Congress, which was to have been

an adjunct to a general industrial exhibition, was dropped on account of the practical difficulties of bringing the 'strange shy creatures', the tribesmen of the hills, to a great city. The Commissioner of Assam stated his conviction that even twenty typical 'specimens of the hill tribes of his province' could not be conveyed to Calcutta and back at any time of the year 'without casualties that the greatest enthusiast for anthropological research would shrink from encountering'. If any of the more independent tribes were to die on the way, 'it might lead to inconvenient political consequences'.

Before the scheme had been dropped, however, the Government of Bengal and the Supreme Government had called on all local authorities to furnish complete lists of the various races to be found within their jurisdictions, and Dalton was asked to edit this information and to draw up a 'descriptive catalogue' which would serve as a guide to the ethnological exhibition. Dalton, however, found that there was insufficient material even for a catalogue and it was then suggested that he should write an account of all the tribal peoples of what was then 'Bengal' and which included Assam and Chota Nagpur, 'the most interesting fields of research in all Bengal'. Many persons assisted Dalton in this project, and in particular he was able to collect a few photographs taken for the London Exhibition of 1862. A Dr B. Simpson, 'one of the most successful of Indian photographers', was deputed to the valley of the Brahmaputra, 'that most prolific of ethnographical fields', to take photographs, while the skill of Dr Brown, Political Agent at Manipur, was also utilized for illustrations of Manipuris and the neighbouring tribes.

IN THE NORTH-EASTERN HILLS

(R. G. Woodthorpe, in a letter to Captain W. F. Badgley dated Shillong, the 15th June, 1876. *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, pp. 61-70)

WE ENCAMPED AT NIAN that afternoon, but the fearful haze which had hung over the hills for the last few days, through which it was impossible to make out anything over five miles distant, prevented our doing much work. This haze was especially unfortunate at this time, as I was unable to see the watershed to the east, and hence did not discover, as I should otherwise have done, how far back the valley of the third feeder of the Dikhu extended. Had I seen this, I should have been able to arrange my programme at Wokha with greater accuracy, and again some additional labour and time would have been saved later on.

The next day (10th February) was, if possible, worse, but we moved on to Kamahu, passing through Yangia, which village presented us with a goat. Kamahu consists of three villages, built at short intervals along a narrow ridge: here we began to leave the naked Nagas, only a few of whom are seen in Kamahu. I have not mentioned them here, as they have already been described by Captain Badgley.

The morangs (bachelors' houses) of all the villages in this part of the hills are very much more elaborately carved and ornamented than any others, figures of elephants, deer, tigers, &c., being carved on all the principal uprights, and in some, life-sized figures of men and women; the weather-boards are carved with figures of birds and fish, and painted in great detail, with red, black, and white stripes, circles and dots. The morangs are divided into three partitions—first, the front verandah, enclosed at the sides; second, the body of the house, containing the sleeping apartments and store-rooms on either side of a central passage: each sleeping-room contains four planked beds, arranged in twos like the berths of a ship, on either side of a small fireplace; third, a large room, open to the small back verandah:

this contains a fireplace, with a few planks as seats round it; this room is floored with immense hollowed beams. In the back verandah, which has a low circular roof, are hung all the trophies of war and the chase. The big drum is also kept here. A curious custom prevails here, as also in most of the villages lying between the Tzela (most western branch of the Dikhu) and the watershed, of decorating the skulls of enemies taken in battle with a pair of horns, either buffalo or mithan, and failing these, with wooden imitations of them. The houses in this part of the world are like those already often described in my last year's reports, a slight difference only occurring in the ridge, which here is hogbacked instead of straight. The houses in Nian, Kamahu, &c., are very closely packed on each side of long streets, the eaves touching and the projecting front gable-ends of opposite houses often overlapping each other: the result is, that even in the middle of the brightest day the streets are wrapped in gloom, so great as to make it difficult to distinguish objects in the front verandahs, the few flecks of sunlight which fall upon the roadway here and there only serving to make the darkness greater. In the front verandahs of some of the houses is a small enclosed room containing a bed and a fireplace. When an old woman is left a widow, and without a home, her son (or nearest relative) provides her with this little chamber. In front of the houses in nearly all the villages we passed through during the expedition large bunches of leaves were tied to the door-posts. This, I imagined, is to prevent any evil (sickness or devil's visitation), which may accompany strangers to the villages, from entering a house so decorated. Generally, the withered leaves showed that our visit had been expected for some time.

The inhabitants differ only from the Tablungias in wearing a small waist flap, generally made of a woody fibre, woven into a coarse cloth. Here, as very generally, I think, in these hills, a youth having taken a fancy to a girl, either of his own or a neighbouring village, has to serve in her parents' house for a certain time, varying from one to two or more years, according to agreement, before he can marry her, as was Jacob's case. Outside the villages, within a circle of stones surrounding two trees, supporting a small platform, the harvest festivals take place. Large quantities of garlic are grown in these villages in small fenced gardens, panjies studding the ground between the plants.

We encamped just below the third village of Kamahu, the road to Tangsa passing above our camp. On the 11th I went up early to the mark, but could do no work on account of the continued hazy weather, and so returned to camp; and in the afternoon visited the three villages, making sketches and chatting with the villagers, who were very friendly. During the night, about one o'clock, the camp was aroused by shots from the two sentries facing the above. Colonel Tulloch and I at once went up to the village, but we found it quite quiet and everyone apparently in his own house with his family; so we returned to camp. Early the next morning I sent up a head-constable to the village for the headmen; he returned with several old men, who professed entire ignorance as to the stone-throwing, saying they were all asleep when they heard the shots. I dismissed them with a warning that more stones would entail punishment. I cannot account for this incident. Some Nagas from another village, actuated by ill-feeling towards Kamahu, may have thrown the stones in hopes of stirring up a quarrel, or they may have been thrown 'for a lark' by some young scapegraces from the village. The stone-throwing, on the other hand, may have existed only in the minds of sentries, who were recruits, as the night was clear, and anyone approaching them or moving on the road above should have been visible to them.

About 10 A.M., as the weather was clearing up, I went up to the mark again, and did all my work there by 4 P.M. Since 2 P.M. I had heard the drums in the village sounding, and on arriving in camp I found everyone on the *qui vive*, and Colonel Tulloch told me that the whole village was under arms, and he feared an attack. This being the case, the only thing to be done was to go up again at once, and try and persuade them to keep the peace. Arrived inside the gate, we saw some men who had come with us from Tablung, who said these villagers had had a quarrel with the other village, as the latter had given us no supplies. However, I doubted this, as the attitude of the Nagas on all sides was anything but friendly towards us, a large number being collected in the morang with spears and shields, their crossbows being bent and levelled at us; others came careering towards us down the narrow streets between the houses. We sent the Tablungias up several times to the morang; and after much yelling on both sides for a quarter of an hour, during every minute of which I expected we should be forced into hostilities, the Nagas at length, to our great relief, quieted down. Crowded together as they were

in the verandah of the morang and the small open space in front, knowing nothing apparently of the power of firearms, we shuddered to think of the loss they would have suffered had they provoked us to fire on them. We returned to camp having impressed upon them that any further hostile demonstration would be dealt with promptly and without parley. We heard a little excited talk during the evening at intervals, but it ceased before 10 o'clock, and after that all was perfectly quiet.

This village had given us five or six maunds of rice (for which, of course, they were paid), so I was at a loss to understand this sudden declaration of war. But I afterwards heard that several men from Tablung, not our guides, had followed us to Kamahu, and had demanded free quarters and living on the plea of being our friends. This demand Kamahu naturally refused to comply with, saying they had given us what we wanted, but they would not give to every Naga who chose to go there. I have a strong suspicion, though I could not get it directly confirmed, that on this refusal the Tablungias, referring to their having a guard at their village, which would ensure its safety, had threatened Kamahu with our vengeance; perhaps had even said that they would bring us up to burn the village. Hence the 'assembly' being sounded, and the warriors turning out in battle array.

On the 13th, warning our Tablung friends that any of them who came on with us except our guides would be punished, we left for Yajim and Chihu, two villages in close proximity, which we reached in the afternoon. The houses are crowded, as at Kamahu, but here the skull-trophies are placed in the front verandah, decorated with horns. The eldest brother in a family, in addition to his own trophies, gets the skulls taken by his brothers also to decorate his portals. Many of the verandahs contain a number of Y-shaped posts, carved with human figures and methna heads: these signify that the occupant of the house has been the giver of a big feast. The dead here are sometimes placed in trees, as at Tablung, but they are also often placed on maichans inside small houses, the beaks at the end of the coffin projecting through the front of the house. A small window is left in the side—why, I could not find out exactly: I believe it had something to do with the passage of the spirit. These houses, unlike the custom of other tribes, are not outside the stockade, but actually within the village precincts, close to the dwellings; so, in order to obviate any unpleasantness arising from

the newly dead, fires are lighted in front of such, the fuel being chaff and dhan-straw, which smoulder slowly, a plentiful supply of smoke being obtained by heaping over the fire a pile of green leaves and boughs. The men here tattoo on the chest after taking their first head. The pattern consists of four lines which spring from the navel, diverging as they ascend, and turn off into two large concentric curves over each breast, the lines broadening out to about one inch in width at the middle of the curves.

On the 14th February we left Chihu (or Shushu) early. The villagers had been most liberal in giving us supplies, having pounded out rice during the night with the greatest good-will. We could not persuade them to give us a guide, as there were no Assamese-speaking men among them, and our Tablung guides had deserted during the night, having, I believe, got an inkling that we knew they had been deceiving us the day before. I was delayed with my work, and when I overtook the camp at the River Tzela, about 12 o'clock, I found that the wrong road had been taken, and though the road was very good down to the river on the Shushu side, on the opposite bank not a trace of a path existed. The only thing to be done was to cut our way up the steep hillside to the top of the spur, where we hoped to find a path of some sort. The ascent was nearly perpendicular, and we progressed very slowly, clinging on by roots and creepers, as the loose, shaly soil slipped away from beneath our feet, and we had only ascended 1,200 feet and made about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in three hours. At last we found an obscure, disused path, tangled thorns, creepers, and ferns tripping up our feet below, while the overarching grass and bushes caught our faces above, and it was not till 6-30, as darkness was closing round and rain beginning to fall, that we at last emerged on to the open path leading direct to Ungrurr, still distant about two miles, with a steep ascent of 1,500 feet. We toiled up this in the dark and rain, reaching the village about 8 o'clock. We waited for the coolies, and all got into our old camping-ground by 9 o'clock.

The next morning, shortly after daybreak, I went up to my mark. The day was beautifully clear, and I observed till 2-30 P.M., when I returned to camp for breakfast, and went out plane-tabling till 7 P.M. —the most satisfactory day's work since leaving Nankam. On the 16th we marched into Lungkhung, a village which had lately been destroyed by Letum across the river. They had only just rebuilt it.

The inhabitants received us with the utmost friendliness and confidence, bringing in hutting materials for us, and the children coming down in large numbers and fraternizing with the sepoy and coolies.

On the 17th I went out to a conspicuous point known as Yangemdi, about six miles from Lungkhung, along a narrow and jungle-grown path, to put up a mark there. It is the site of a village which was so frequently attacked by its inveterate foe Letum, that the villagers about eight years ago had retired to Lungkhung, where, however, they seem to fare but little better, as in the last raid, besides burning the village and killing the headman and about a dozen others, the Letum men had carried off about twenty women and children: they were consequently very anxious that we should visit and destroy Letum.

It was a dark, cloudy morning, but cleared about 9-30 A.M., and I was able to commence observing. Immense jhum fires were lighted to the south during the morning, which sent volumes of thick brown smoke rolling down the valley of the Tzela, and threatened to blot out the whole of the ranges to the east. Fortunately, the very high wind which had been hindering my work somewhat here came to my assistance, and keeping the clouds of smoke constantly moving northwards, disclosed, one by one, almost all the peaks I could observe, and by 4 P.M. our work was satisfactorily finished, and I returned to camp.

The 'gaonbura' told me, on my inquiring why some villages had two names, that a Burmese army had crossed the watershed to the east of Nankam, he could not tell me exactly where, and descending to that village had burned it, Ungma and Semamantin, and had then proceeded, *via* Tablung, to the plains of Assam. The villages that were burned were rebuilt, and most of them received new names, though they were still frequently mentioned by the old names. Assamese names were given to all villages from which the Assam Rajas exacted tribute. For convenience in collecting this, the villages were divided into 'duars', and names given to them arbitrarily by the Rajas: hence the tribal names, unrecognized by the Nagas themselves, such as Dupduarias, Hatigorias, Assiringias, &c., &c.

On the 18th Colonel Tulloch, with the camp, started direct for Solachu. Taking a few coolies with empty rice-bags, I went round by Semamantin, a large Hatigoria village of about 300 houses. We

were hospitably received, and rice, fowls, beer, &c., were brought out in profusion. Leaving our head-constable to collect and pay for the rice, I went out to the other side of the village to work. The burning of yesterday had cleared the spur of the long grass and shrub jungle, and I was able to get in a great deal more detail than would have been the case otherwise.

Returning to the village, I was requested to visit a poor little girl about ten years old whose legs had been tattooed a few days: the operation had resulted in mortification of the limbs. I went into the house where the poor little thing—sad votary of fashion!—was lying on a bed screaming with pain. The sores were dreadful, both legs apparently rotting away below the knee. I could do nothing for her, beyond telling her parents to wash the sores (which apparently had not been touched), and promising some carbolic acid wash if they would send a man to camp with me for it, which, however, they did not do, contenting themselves with asking me if she would die. I was then taken to see the wife of the headman, who was suffering from an unaccountable pain in her stomach. I gave her a little brandy, which she was very loth to take at first, but having once tasted it, suspicion gave way to satisfaction, and she asked me to leave a large supply with her, as she feared the pain would not be removed speedily. On the way to Solachu, at the top of a stiff ascent, I was overtaken by the headman of Boralangi, who said he was exhausted. As I had halted for breakfast, I gave him the leg of a fowl, and it was amusing to see this 'Raja', as some frontier officers would call him, squatting on the ground with one of my Khasias, each holding one end of the leg, from which they took alternate bites. I reached Solachu about 3 P.M., but a heavy thunder-storm prevented my observing, and obliged us to halt the next day for that purpose.

On the 4th March we went to Nungatung via Chelokesami. The first guide we took from this latter said that war was raging between the two, and made his escape before going very far. An unsuccessful attempt was made to stop him, when we heard another man calling to us from above, and when he had joined us, he said he would take us into Nungatung, which he did. I asked how it was that he could go there without danger when the other men of his village had refused to guide us; he explained that some time before the other men of his villages were at peace, he (a Nungatung man) had

married a girl in Chelokesami and settled there, and in consequence he is looked upon as neutral and can pass backwards and forwards between the belligerent villages without fear. The Nungatung men have a keen eye to business, and assembled outside our camp at 3-30 A.M., with cloths, yams and other articles for sale. On the 5th we marched into Wokha, where we found Messrs Hinde and Ogle, who had arrived an hour before. . . .

We halted at Wokha for observations and correspondence till the 42nd Assam Light Infantry 10th, when we again started, this time with
 3 Native Officers united forces (see margin), and camped
 6 Havildars once more on the Doiang, the next day
 88 Sepoys proceeding via Nungatung and Pusimi to
 2 Buglers the Teshi River. On the 12th our road
 Police took us to Chichimi again via Lunkomi
 1 Inspector and Setemi. How different, however, was
 3 Head-Constables our reception now to what it had been on
 25 Constables

our first visit; now instead of crowds of armed men opposing our progress at every step, the Nagas came out with scarcely a weapon among them, receiving us in a most friendly manner; they had shut up the roads leading through the villages by placing small green boughs at intervals along them. This they imagined quite sufficient to mislead us. Captain Butler once told me that he saw a few twigs with leaves stuck here and there along a path leading to an Angami village. He asked the meaning of it, and was told that the demon of small-pox had visited a village near, and might wish to go there also; but if he came upon the twigs he would say—'Dear me! I thought there was a village-path here, but this is all jungle; I must try for another road.' The Nagas do not give us credit for an intelligence superior to that of their devils. We reached Longsa, after a very fatiguing, hot march, in the afternoon. It is a very large Hatigoria village, quite a mile in length, extending along a narrow ridge. The village is not of equal breadth throughout, but must contain, I should think, at least 700 houses. On the lintel of one of them I saw a painting of a dao shaped like those we saw at Thetchumi in 1874, on the Lanier, which is thirty miles south-east from Longsa, across the watershed. I was surprised at this and asked where the villagers had got this idea, and they answered that a dao of that shape had been taken in a raid on a village far east, the name of which they did not know.

Early next morning the villagers brought in nine maunds of rice, and would have given us a good deal more if we could have carried it by any means; but as it was, each man was carrying two seers extra. After it had been served out, we started. A steep descent and a very stiff pull-up brought us to Changyemdi, two small villages situated on peaks about a mile apart. These villages are emigrations from Solachu, and are very poor. On the 14th we crossed the Chene to Luphuemi, the camp descending to the stream beyond again, while Mr Ogle and I visited the upper village, and passed on to a point on the watershed. A man from Luphuemi told us he had visited Lukopomi via Yehim (on the east of the watershed), after we had departed, to see what damage we had done.

In the evening several men came down from Chimomi, bringing a large supply of goats, rice-beer, &c. They did not wish us to go to their village apparently; but I explained to them that although we accepted what they had brought down (paying them, of course) as a mark of friendliness, yet we by no means bound ourselves thereby not to go through their village if necessary: they expressed satisfaction and left. They returned again at 4 P.M. with more goats, and we went up to their village. The camp was pitched at Aimung village, Mr Ogle and I again working towards the watershed during the afternoon.

On the 16th Colonel Tulloch, with Mr Hinde and the camp, passing through Nanu, went on to the stream beyond again. Mr Ogle and I took a more circuitous route, and joined them in the evening. The men of Nanu received us very civilly. I hardly know to what tribe to ascribe the Nagas we were then among: very slight differences in dress or architecture mark the various villages, but they all seem to belong to one race, and have many points in common with the tribes in the so-called Eastern Naga Hills. We were here quite beyond interpretation, and continued so till we reached Tablung again. The continual warfare which is kept up between all these villages prevented our bringing on men from Longsa and Changyemdi (the last Assamese-speaking villages along that route) further than Chimomi, because as we were not returning that way, we could give them no safe-conduct back again to their villages.

On the 17th March, passing through Lungtum, we arrived about 12 before Yaru. We had heard the war-drums sounding for some time as we climbed the hill, and as we neared the village, we saw a

large number assembled on an open plateau, who, as soon as they saw us, at once set up their war-cry and began to dance about up and down the path, flashing their dao and flourishing their spears. According to our custom, we advanced steadily, and, according to theirs, they as steadily retreated into the village, closing their gates. Colonel Tulloch took some of the men round under the village to the further end, unperceived by the Nagas. We effected an entrance on our side without opposition, the Nagas falling back, till they found they were cut off by the other party, when they halted, and we were soon all most excellent friends; they laid down their weapons, and some of them resumed their household occupations.

The Nagas here and on the Yangmun are finer men than the other non-kilted tribes, and have a much more pleasing and honest expression. Their spears are decorated both after the Hatigoria and also the Ninu pattern, but their daos are peculiar, the blades being from twelve to fifteen inches long, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at the handle, and widening to four inches at the other end; the handles are also long. These daos are also found at Yanghum, Afang, and neighbouring villages. It will be unnecessary to refer to the arms of the other Nagas, as they are the same for all these tribes, the daos being of the ordinary Ninu type described so often. The granaries in these villages are within the stockade, and sometimes mixed up with the houses; they are large substantial buildings, raised about four feet from the ground, the posts being furnished with large wooden discs, on which the beams of the floor rest, similar to the arrangement in many of the Garo granaries.

On the 18th we passed through Yangfai, a large village which received us well, and Longbu, a small Hatigoria village, and encamped on the Sohan River—a pleasant little stream with good open ground on either bank. At Yangfai we noticed a curious custom, the meaning of which I could not find out: large pieces of wood, cut and the white face turned outwards, are joined, so as to resemble a bird with outstretched wings, and placed in the branches of several of the trees near the village, and have the appearance at a little distance of huge white birds beginning to take flight. Early next morning we went on to Ponching, and remained there about two hours, while the fellows collected some rice. At this village and Siphang the men tie up their cloths in a most picturesque manner: they are knotted over one shoulder and cover the body, leaving the

arms free; they fall to within about six inches of the knee, and are tied round the waist by the belt, which carries the wooden dao-sheath. The whole has the appearance of a Roman tunic. The tattooing here on the men's chests is the same as that at Chihu. From a point east of Siphang we looked down into the valley of the Yangmun, and I was dismayed to find how much further south than I had expected the valley of this branch of the Dikhu extended. We saw that it would be impossible, with the again unfortunately dull and hazy weather, which obscured all details, compelling us to confine our sketching to the ground immediately about us, to survey the whole of the valley. However we determined to cross the river to some large villages, and do what we could from there before going into Tablung.

We halted that night on a small stream, and on the 20th proceeded on to Chamba. On the way we met a few men going on a trading excursion, who the moment they saw us threw everything down, and went yelling back to the village. We were therefore not surprised a little further on to meet a small body of armed Nagas, some of whom were endeavouring to conceal themselves in the long grass on the right of the path. After a little while they became convinced that we were not animated by any hostile feelings towards them, and preceded us to the village. They gave us some rice, and the headman, again donning his 'war-paint', and bringing some long 'panjies', proceeded to plant them in a large circle round him; he then took a small hoe in his hand, and, stooping, gave us a representation of some jhuming operations, looking to the right and left round his shield the while; suddenly, he dropped his hoe, uttered a war-cry, and drawing his dao, commenced to dance and brandish it, then running up to an imaginary foe, engaged him in combat, was victorious, cut off his head, and returned to his cultivating, till another imaginary enemy appeared, of whom he again disposed in the same satisfactory manner. The bystanders pointed to a village to the south, and we were given by signs to understand that that village was at war with them, and being a strong one, was always harassing them during their labours in the field; and that the headman's performance intended as an elaborate apology for not having more to give us. They did not understand money, except as an ornament to be affixed to the waist-belt; so we gave them some salt, a commodity highly prized by them. Leaving them with many

reciprocal signs of delight at having made each other's acquaintance, we passed on through Yangtung, and halted on the River Yangmun, which flows through a beautiful open valley with broad reaches of sand and stones, and large spaces of level land on either bank. It is joined by numerous large streams, which come steeply down from the watershed, dividing its huge spurs, whose almost precipitous sides send down most of the water which falls on them to swell the streams below. From the hills near Yangtung we saw beneath us, in a clear field on the left bank of the river, a large gaily-dressed body of warriors, escorting some women with loads; on seeing us, after many demonstrations of defiance, and dances up and down the field by each of the warriors in turn, they prudently retired to the other side. Higher up the stream was another large party of Nagas from Okha, to which village we intended to march next day. These men were encamped on the river engaged in fishing. They also retired on seeing us, and took up a position on a small eminence overlooking the reach on which we pitched our tents, and as our lines were being run up, set up a long rolling war-cry, but made no further hostile demonstrations that night.

On the 21st, as we were starting, we saw large bodies of armed Nagas collected on all the points commanding a view of our camp and road; but nothing occurred till we approached the village, after an ascent of 3,000 feet, when our flankers came across some men in ambush, who at once attacked them, wounding one man in the foot. A few shots speedily dispersed them, and though they attempted a stand at one or two points along the road, they were, of course, unable to stop us, and we entered the village and encamped on the further side near the village wells. Being out of interpretation, we were unwilling to punish the Nagas heavily for their attack, beyond helping ourselves to some of their live-stock, &c., and as I was anxious to visit Tobu, a village eight miles south of Okha, we kept the camp standing next day, orders being issued that no one was to be allowed to go into the village, in order not to frighten any Nagas who might be willing to come in.

Messrs Hinde and Ogle accompanied me to Tobu, a rather trying walk, involving a very steep descent of 2,300 feet to the stream below and an equally precipitous ascent of 3,300 feet to the top of the Tobu spur. About three miles from the village we saw the Nagas collected watching us and as we went on, we found three goats and

the same number of dogs tied up on either side of the path, green boughs being stuck in the ground near; the whole arrangement being, as we had discovered last year, indicative of a wish to open negotiations. We untied the dogs, taking one with us as a sign that we also wished for peace, and went into the village, where we were very civilly received. We did some work on the other side, the whole of the male population looking on. One or two old men pointed out villages to us, giving their names. They were especially pressing that we should go against a village just opposite, with which they were at war, telling us by signs that if we would go first and 'pung, pung, pung!' as they expressed the noise of firing they would come on behind and secure the heads of those we killed or wounded. One of the villagers had suspended on his chest a piece of the rim of an old stoneware soup-plate: I should have been very glad to find out how he had come by it. They wished us to take some more goats and dogs, but we declined them, and left. Working by the way, we got back to camp by the evening. A cruel fate overtook us after the labours of the day; for a very heavy thunderstorm, which had been long threatening, burst over us just after we had commenced our dinner, and breaking through the roof of the hut, swamped it and our dinner, and we had to beat a hasty retreat to bed. Colonel Tulloch told me that men from Chamba and Yangtang had been in with presents; also some of the Okha and Yakchung men.

Further exploration of this valley was not to be thought of, for in the absence of interpretation, we should probably have become involved in further hostilities; and moreover, to do the work satisfactorily, we should have been detained at least a fortnight longer in those parts—a delay which, in the face of the Chief Commissioner's instructions, I did not feel justified in incurring, as we had then already been a fortnight away from postal communications.

Therefore, on the 23rd March, we left Okha, and passed through Yakchung and Yanghum. Here they were very friendly, and several young fellows accompanied us to our camping-ground and encamped near us during the night. The following morning we mounted a steep hill to Afang, where we were again well received, and thence through Achung, Lungching and Chua, all large villages, to a small stream where we encamped. Chua is most curiously situated, its upper portion overlooking a precipice, the rest being built on such steep sloping masses of sharp, stratified rock as to make walking

in boots an exceedingly dangerous operation. The path, on entering the village, runs for some distance along the edge of the precipice, which is broken away in many parts, necessitating a light roadway of bamboo matting; in other places the low eaves of the houses threaten to push the passer-by over the cliff.

It may be as well in this place to note a few characteristics of the dwellers in the valley of the Yangmun, as we did not come across them again.

The men are very like those of Yaru, &c.,—fine, well-built, and in many cases handsome. Their dress and accoutrements are similar to those of their brethren farther east. Their hair is dressed in a similar manner to that of the naked Nagas, i.e. closely cut everywhere, except on the top of the head a thick tuft falling over the forehead, another long tuft hanging behind from the crown; the latter is twisted up into a tail with a band of grass. There is very little, frequently no, tattooing among these men, till they approach the naked Nagas and adjoining tribes, when a little tattooing on the face and limbs is observable, increasing in amount as we go eastwards. The women in the Yangmun valley have a very peculiar mode of cutting their hair; it is kept so closely cut as only to leave a dark shade on the head; a narrow space on each side of the head is shaved perfectly clean from the temples to the crown. They wear very little clothing: a small belt of very fine leather thongs, to which in front are attached the upper corners of a long narrow slip of cloth, about 30 inches long and 6 broad; from this point it falls perfectly free and loosely round the loins and buttocks. At Okha and neighbouring villages very quaint designs were carved in slight relief on the planks forming the front walls and doors, the designs being further brought out by a judicious use of black, brownish red, yellow, and white pigments.

The roads, though in some places steep, are good in all this part of the country, and at Tobu is a very fine stone viaduct in the middle of the village, about 50 feet in length and 20 feet in height, with a most scientific culvert through it. Outside the village the approaches are rendered secure by planting small twisted boughs and trunks of trees along them at intervals, utterly preventing any sudden rush down them.

On the 25th we went on through Chongvi (being again among the naked Nagas), hoping to be able to encamp on the Dikhu; but

the road was long and the day hot, and two hours being lost at Chingtang by a wretched guide deliberately leading the whole camp astray, we had to halt for the night in the village, and starting early next morning, crossed the Dikhu, here called Yangnu, and reached Tablung once more in the afternoon.

When we left Tablung in February there were about 60 maunds of rice in the godown. I had sent for 40 maunds more, in order to have at least 100 maunds awaiting us for our final excursion in the Eastern Naga Hills. What was my dismay, therefore, when I found that the police stationed at Tablung to guard the rice had disposed of 60 maunds among themselves, the sick I had left behind, dak-runners, &c., instead of, in accordance with my instructions, getting up their own supplies from Sibsagar. There was not four days' supply for our whole force. Our work and correspondence would oblige us to halt at Tablung for at least two days; the villages to the east we knew had little or no rice to spare, and it was, therefore, out of the question to think of starting with only two days' supply. Senua being about eight days' journey away, not allowing for any delays on account of weather, &c., nothing remained for it but to send down to Nazira for the supplies we wanted; and on the 28th I started off 100 coolies with a small guard to that place. Had we attempted to explore more of the valley of the Yangmun, we should probably not have found a day's supply at Tablung, in which case the whole party would have been obliged to leave the hills then, to the probable stoppage of all further work that season. Mr Fisher, Superintendent of the Assam Tea Company, as usual, was most kind in affording us assistance in procuring supplies. Mr Hinde has also noticed (Appendix D, paragraph 2) Mr Baker's cordial assistance later on in the season, and our thanks are due to these two gentlemen for their help at a time when it was of great importance that no delay should occur. Our coolies returned from Nazira on the 1st April.

While waiting at Tablung, Captain Brydon joined us to relieve Colonel Tulloch in command of the escort. And on the 2nd April we started again, dividing our forces,—Messrs Hinde and Ogle proceeding to Punglung and Muniting, &c., while Captain Brydon and I struck eastward. The strength of the respective escorts is given in the margin. We halted for the night on the River Shiniung. The next day we passed through the two villages of Totok, each

containing between 200 to 300 houses, where we were exceedingly well received, and halted for the night on the Yangnu, the third branch of the Dikhu. On the 4th, passing through Chao early, we arrived at the first village of Chen about noon. The villagers were assembled

With Captain Brydon
 42nd Assam Light Infantry
 2 Native Officers
 3 Havildars
 43 Sepoys
 1 Bugler
 Naga Hills Police
 1 Inspector
 2 Head-Constables
 13 Constables

With Mr Hinde
 42nd Assam Light Infantry
 1 Native Officer
 3 Havildars
 40 Sepoys
 1 Bugler
 Police
 1 Head-Constable
 10 Constables

at the top of the very steep ascent, fowls in baskets being tied up to a row of bamboo stakes on one side of the road, while on the other was a large number of small leafy packages containing rice; a big basket full of eggs occupied the middle of the road. Here we were again rather at a loss for interpreters, but they made us understand that they had heard of Okha, and pointed out a village, Changka, on a lofty hill, which they wanted us to go and polish off for them. I think it will be seen from this and similar instances how false the prevalent notion is that Nagas, though fighting among themselves, will forget their own private quarrels and combine to expel the intruder. A combination of several tribes

(not villages) for such propose is, I venture to think, an impossibility.

Chen is a cluster of large villages, on a high but narrow ridge running down from the watershed, with very steep sides. We halted on the River Tilam, and the next day ascended to the two large villages of Saha, the headmen of which were very anxious that we should halt there for the day, promising all sorts of supplies if we would. Our time was too precious to avail ourselves of their hospitality, so we went on to Tang, where we were again well received, and descended to the Yangnu, on whose banks we once more encamped.

On the 5th April, at midday, we arrived at Niassia. Here the Nagas were rather suspicious and sullen, but nothing more. In the afternoon I visited Captain Badgley's station of last year, and restored the signal, leaving a note for Mr Ogle in a small bamboo chungu half-buried by the mark stone; this note he found there a few days later. The weather had never been clear since we left Tablung. It had been fearfully hot and hazy, and the haze seemed to increase every day, and we went on the 6th to the Taokok,

passing through Bor and Huru-Kamlung. All the villages lately passed through are exceedingly pretty; instead of being divided into irregular streets, with houses crowded together, as in the western villages, the houses at Tang, Niassia, &c., are dotted about on greatly undulating grassy slopes, on which numerous white goats are grazing, tall clumps of the graceful bamboo springing up everywhere. Brightness is introduced into the scene by the flowers of the butia-tree, and the large white geranium-like blossoms of another large tree. On one side, stone parapets, as a rule, guard the entrance, outside which are the tombs, the bodies, as usual, placed on 'chang's' and covered with palm-leaves. Under a shed hard by are the effigies of the departed, painted, tattooed and dressed after life, with hair tied into gorgeous tubes of red, yellow, and black cane-work.

We encamped below Longting, intending to go through that village to Joboka next day. In the evening some men who came down from Longting told us that war was raging between them and Joboka, and that the path between the two villages was impassable, owing to pit-falls, 'panjie', and other obstacles, and that our only way was round by Bor-Utu. I was annoyed at this, as our supplies were running short, and willing as the Nagas seem to be to assist us, they actually had no rice to give away.

The story as to the impracticability of the Longting route was corroborated the next morning by some Bor-Utu men, who said also that Joboka had done no cultivation last season, having been too much occupied in fighting, and therefore could not help us with supplies. The bad weather seemed likely to necessitate a stay at Joboka of two or three days; so, after weighing the matter carefully, I decided to go at once into Senua, whence, 'flying light', and taking sufficient supplies from the godown there to be independent of the Nagas, we could easily visit Joboka. The men of Longting and both Bor and Huru-Utu told us that Joboka had a large supply of fire-arms, which made it impossible for them to cope with the men of Joboka, and they were very importunate that we should put them all on an equal footing, either by giving the Utu men guns, or by depriving the Joboka men of theirs—they did not care which, as in either case a fair fight would be the result.

NEIGHBOURS OF THE AOS

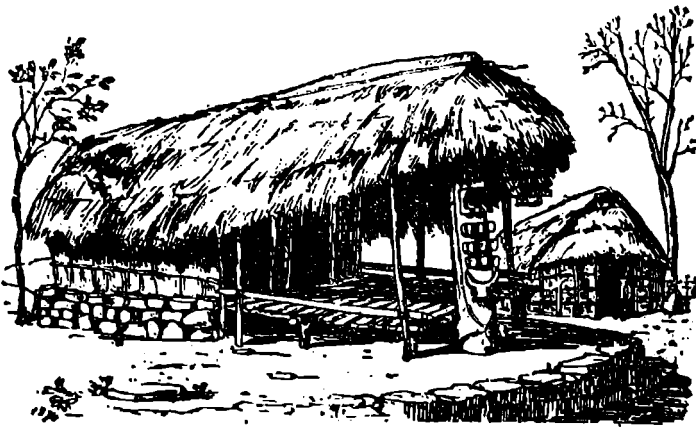
(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 245-6)

THE ONLY TWO VILLAGES OF THIS TRIBE within the district are Tamlu and Resong. These villages lie at the extreme north-east corner of the district, at the point where the Dikhu makes its bend towards the Sibsagar district. The men of this tribe differ in every point from the Aos, their next-door neighbours. In physique they are superior to that tribe, while in dress, general appearance, cut of hair, and language they are entirely different. The dress of the men consists of a few strips of blackened rattan cane or a broad strip of white bark bound tightly round the waist, a large tail of bark being often left hanging down behind. Add to this garters of cowries or strips of cane dyed red and armlets of the same, with, on great occasions, a helmet of cane and a few stripes of white paint on the face, and the costume of a Tamlu brave is complete.

The women, who are very fair complexioned, wear a white petticoat, in some cases striped with red. This petticoat is only about 12 inches wide, and only just long enough for both ends to meet when being worn, and is a garment that leaves very little to the imagination. The breasts are left quite bare. Square white glass or crystal clear ornaments are generally worn by the women. Both men and women are tattooed, the men on their chests, where each warrior keeps his record of heads in the shape of the figure of a man roughly tattooed for each head taken, and the women on their legs and breasts. Most of the men are opium-eaters. Both sexes chew pan and betel, and both have their teeth artificially blackened, a process which does not tend to enhance their beauty.

The villages of this tribe are built in regular streets, similar to the Ao villages. The houses are not raised on changs, and in this respect differ from the Ao houses. The chief difference from the Aos lies, however, in the shape of the Morangs, or bachelors' houses. These buildings are situated close to the village gate, and at a short distance look like huge thatched bungalows. They consist of a large verandah, generally raised, as at Resong, a considerable distance above the

ground, a central hall, and a small back verandah. In the front verandah are collected all the trophies of war and of the chase, from a man's skull down to a monkey's, most of them black with the smoke and dust of years. From the verandah one enters the large central hall. Lengthways along both sides of this are ranged the sleeping berths of the young men, while the centre space, which is floored with massive planks, is left quite open, and is used by the braves for their dances. Behind this hall, again, is the small back verandah, which often communicates by a raised footway with the lookout house, situated in some convenient tree just outside the village door.



Naga House and Village Drum



As amongst the Aos, corpses are not buried, but, after being smoked for 10 to 20 days, are put in wooden coffins and placed in

the fork of a big tree just outside the village gate. In the case of men of distinction the following curious custom is observed: When the body is thoroughly cured, the head is wrenched off and placed in an earthen pot. This pot is then neatly thatched over with toka pat, and deposited at the foot of the tree in which the coffin containing the body is placed.

3

THE NAGAS OF UPPER ASSAM

(E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, pp. 38–42)

HAVING NOW REACHED THE BUTAN BOUNDARY, let us cross the valley of the Brahmaputra and glance at the tribes occupying positions vis-à-vis to the Abor-Miri-Dophla-people in the opposite hills.

The learned leave us to take our choice as to whether the term Naga, the name applied by the Hindus to the inhabitants of the hills we are about to explore, is from the Sanskrit root, meaning 'naked', or the Sanskrit 'nag', snake. Whichever derivation we take, it must be admitted that the word is aptly applied, as the Nagas love to decorate, rather than to clothe, their persons, and are decidedly snake-like in their habits.

Villages: The Nagas east of the Doyang river are divided into great clans under hereditary chiefs, who appear to exercise great influence over their people. They live in large villages, some of not less than 300 houses. The villages occupy commanding and secure positions on the peaks or ridges of hills, the spurs or approaches to which are fortified, and the steep places made as inaccessible as possible.

Houses: The houses of the chiefs are of great size; that of the Sangnoi Chief was found to be 250 to 300 feet in length, a well-constructed building occupying the centre and highest position in the village as the manor house. The houses of the common people are very much smaller, but still considerable and substantial buildings. I find no written description of any of these houses, and so many years have elapsed since I saw one, that I cannot altogether trust to my memory.

In front of the Chief's house, as well as inside it, are numerous trophies of the chase and memorials of feasts, and in a separate house, dedicated to the collection, memorials of ferocity and vengeance,—human skulls arranged in shelves like books, the records of recent achievements, and baskets full of fragments of skulls, the memorials of the bloody deeds of their forefathers.

Tattooing: It was the custom of these clans to allow matrimony to those only who made themselves as hideous as possible by having their faces elaborately tattooed. The process of disfiguration is carried to such a length, that it gives them an unnatural darkness of complexion and that fearful look which results when a white man blackens his face.

To this rite of disfiguration they are not admitted till they have taken a human scalp or a skull, or shared in some expedition in which scalps or skulls were taken. It is by no means essential that the skulls or scalps should be trophies of honourable warfare, or that they should even be taken from the bodies of declared enemies. A skull may be acquired by the blackest treachery, but so long as the victim was not a member of the clan, it is accepted as a chivalrous offering of a true knight to his lady.

The various tribes were gradually induced to enter into engagements to give up the horrible custom: but how, in refraining from it, they satisfied the cravings of the young women for this singular marriage present I know not.

Communication and cultivation: The communications between friendly villages in the interior of the Naga Hills are admirably kept up. The paths are of course steep and difficult, but considerable engineering skill is sometimes shown in zig-zagging and bridging them. Much of the cultivation in the villages is of a permanent character, terraced and irrigated, but the glorious forests are very wantonly destroyed for the dry crops. They appear to have no superstitious dread of the sylvan deities like the Abors to restrain them. The trees are not cut down, but they are tortured by the ringing process till they are leafless and dry, then set fire to, and the cleared ground, scraped and sown, yields sufficient crops for a year or two.

Burials: The approaches to the village are often carefully planted with mango and jack trees and bamboos, and under the shade of these groves are miniature houses which contain or cover the bones

of their dead. At least it was the custom of the Nagas of the interior between the Deko and Dihing rivers, thus finally to dispose of them.

Religion: I have no knowledge of the religious ceremonies of the Nagas east of the Dhunsiri. They have no temples and no priests, and I never heard of any form of worship amongst them, but I do not doubt that they sacrifice and observe omens like other tribes.

According to Robinson they have 'confused and faint ideas' of a divine power, which I understand to mean none at all, and they believe in a future state which, however, they consider must be just such an existence as the present one, showing great want of imagination on their part.

Marriages: Marriages are contracted comparatively late in life. This was the necessary consequence of the condition that it must not take place till the candidate for a bride could present her with a gory token of his love; but there is also a price on the young lady, and the youth unable to pay often serves like Jacob for his wife, and at the end of his servitude is in like manner provided and set up by his father-in-law. The Nagas confine themselves to one wife, who has to work hard, but is otherwise well treated. They participate with their husbands in all festivities and social amusements.

War dance: The Naga war dances commence with a review or sham fight. I witnessed one at Sangnoi, in which vast numbers were engaged. The warriors are armed with a spear used as a javelin, a battle axe or dao, and a shield of buffalo hide or of bamboo work covered with tiger or other skin, large enough to cover the whole person.

They advance in extended order, making admirable light infantry practice, for nothing can be seen but the black shields creeping along the ground. They are thus impervious to arrows, but their cover is no protection against a bullet. When sufficiently near to their imaginary enemy, they spring up and fling the spear: this is supposed to take effect; a tuft of grass represents the head of the dead foe; they seize it with the left hand, cut it out with the battle axe, and retreat with the clod hanging by the grass over their shoulder as the skull or scalp. A sort of triumphant song and dance in which the women join follows this.

Costume: Many of the Naga chiefs, as the Namsangya Raja or Kumbo, dress respectably as Hindus when they visit the plains, like highlanders putting on the trows, but at home they wear the national

dress of a Naga chief or warrior, which is very fantastic but very picturesque.

They wear singular coronals made of pieces cut out of large shells, and on the crown of the head a little periwinkle-shaped basket-work cap, black with a scarlet border with peacocks' feathers and goats' hair dyed scarlet. Necklaces, bracelets, armlets of beads, shells, brass, and of cane-work, are worn in profusion, but no drapery to speak of. The girdle is of polished plates of brass with a kind of double stomacher above and below. A very small apron of black cloth decorated with small shells is seen below this in most of the tribes, but I have seen tribes who wore nothing of the kind. The legs are also ornamented with bands of cane coloured red. The arms are a gleaming pole-axe with a short black handle, decorated with a tuft of red goats' hair; a broad headed barbed spear, the shaft of which is covered with colored hair like a brush, and a shield of buffalo hide from four to five feet long.

The women's costume is simpler, consisting of necklaces and an apron, or sometimes without the apron. The great chiefs have chairs or rather stools of state on which they and their sons sit; the ruler's stool being the highest, that of the heir apparent a step lower, and the other members of the family lower still. On one occasion we had been for some time waiting for the attendance in camp of the Chief of Sangnoi, and the officers had left the camp to view some part of the adjoining country. On our return, we found within the beat of our sentries, a scaffolding of bamboos twenty or thirty feet high, on the top of which was seated the Sangnoi Chief's son prepared to receive our homage! He was made to descend very rapidly and accommodated with a stool.

Guard houses: In all these Naga villages of the interior there is, at each of the fortified entrances, a large building well raised as a look-out or watch-house in which a band of young men keep guard at night. They have huge drums composed of trees hollowed out, which are sounded to give the alarm, and they have also fire signals.

Physical traits: The young chiefs are sometimes fine looking men, and it is not an uncommon occurrence to find the chief himself a very portly personage; but the physique of the Nagas generally is very inferior to that of the northern tribes. They are smaller boned and have much less muscular development, and are of darker complexion.

Their faces are very lozenge-shaped, features flat and eyes small. They have amongst them many Assamese who have taken to the Naga costume. They are at once recognizable by the difference of feature: nothing can make them look like Nagas. Of the Naga females my recollections are, they are short, ugly, and waistless; too hard worked perhaps to be beautiful.

Chapter XI

THE NAGAS OF CACHAR

FOR MANY YEARS NORTH CACHAR received administrative recognition as a separate District. But its history was closely connected with that of the Angami Nagas who were formerly accustomed to harry the Kacharis living in the eastern hills. In 1839 North Cachar was annexed to Nowgong and in 1852 a separate officer was placed in charge of it to protect its people from Angami raiders. Most of the area had belonged to Tularam Senaputty (who is described in Chapter III), but when it was found that his family were unable to resist the Nagas the tract was taken over in 1854. In 1867 when the Naga Hills District was formed, North Cachar was divided between Nowgong, Cachar and the new District.¹

Very little has been written on the tribes of Cachar even in modern times. There were, according to Moffatt Mills' report (1854) 3,505 Aroong Nagas in the District, though in Allen's report of 1859 the figure rose to 5,885. Mackenzie says that these Aroong Nagas 'are an inoffensive tribe, probably an offshoot from the Kutcha Nagas who have settled down to peaceful habits'.²

Two of the authors from whom I have quoted in this chapter are themselves lost in the crushing anonymity of undistinguished Government servants, though General Dalton's fame has survived. There are some vivid pages in Bowers' *Naga Path* about the Zemis of this area. But anthropologists and travellers alike seem to have passed it by and have pressed on to what they have doubtless considered to be the more exciting villages of the Naga Hills or Manipur.

¹ Mackenzie, *History*, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

THE NAGAS OF NORTHERN CACHAR

(R. Stewart, 'Notes on Northern Cachar', *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXIV, 1855, pp. 607-17)

THERE ARE about a dozen different tribes, each possessing some marked peculiarity and speaking distinct languages, to whom the common appellation [of Naga] is given. Indeed, the natives of the plains apply it promiscuously to all the hill tribes on the frontier, and as the word is their own, and unused among the hill people themselves, they have every right to do so; Naga, it would appear, being a corruption of 'Nunga', naked, and very properly applied to those who go about with such scant clothing. Some say, however, that it is derived from the Sanskrit word 'nag', a snake, having reference to the subtle and treacherous character of the people.

In N. Cachar, there is, however, only one tribe, who call themselves Aroong Nagas. These number throughout the district about 7500 souls, and build their villages, which consist generally of from between twenty to one hundred houses, on the tops of hills and on the crests of ridges running out from the Burraill on much higher levels than those occupied by any of the other inhabitants of the country. They seem also more attached to the sites of their habitations than the rest of the tribes in those parts. Cacharies and Meekirs flit to other locations on slight pretexts; the fear of an attack, or a quarrel with a neighbouring village will make them change their sites; and on the exhaustion of all the soil in their immediate vicinity, it is their custom to remove nearer to the new jungles which it is their intention to clear: the Kookie also is a migratory animal, and never remains more than three or four years at the same place. But nothing short of the direct necessity will force the Nagas of these hills to relinquish their native spot of ground. Sometimes indeed they are obliged to do so, when placed in exposed situations, and constantly subject to attacks from parties at enmity with them, whom they cannot resist; at the present moment I know of a village site, in the neighbourhood of the Angami frontier which has been

abandoned owing to the repeated attacks which had been made on the villagers while there resident. The Nagas who occupied that site have come into the more central parts of the district, and have allied themselves with other friendly villages; but on greater security being afforded them, they would to a man return and rebuild their old village. When the soil near their homes is exhausted, they proceed to great distances to cultivate, little heeding the labour of conveying back their harvests; and for a people who appear so lazy and idle as the Nagas (the casual visitor generally finding them sitting lolling at their doors, drinking grog) it is really wonderful to see the sacrifices they make to this love of certain localities.

Their villages being placed on heights in most cases, water is not to be had anywhere near, yet they do not murmur at having to convey it on their backs from the very bottoms of the adjacent valleys, five or six hundred feet in perpendicular ascent, and perhaps as much as a mile in distance. At such villages, strings of women, laden with the necessary element contained in long bamboo choongas, are seen making the weary journey morning and evening.

From this attachment to particular sites and to the country in general, I think it may be inferred that the Nagas are the earliest inhabitants of the soil. I leave it to others to find out where they came from. But if the question be to draw a line of distinction, between the aborigines of India, and those tribes who have emigrated into it from the east, I would draw that line here, and place the Nagas, although they have some marks of a Tartar origin about them, as the rudest of the aborigines of Hindustan—whereas the Cossiahs, Meekirs, Kookies, Monipuries and Looshais, and many others are directly connected with the far east. The three latter, having approached their present localities from the south, may possibly have been crossed with the Malay: for the Cossiahs and Meekirs, who were undoubtedly earlier immigrants than either of these three, retain the peculiarities of the Tartar countenance far more distinctly than they do.

The Nagas have no kind of internal government: they acknowledge no king among themselves, and deride the idea of such a personage among others. When questioned, they proudly plant their spears in the ground, and pointing at them, declare they have no other Rajah. They appoint as spokesman of the village some elder who has the reputation of superior wisdom, or perhaps more

frequently the influence of wealth, and his position as spokesman of 'Gaon Bura' gives him a certain degree of authority; but this is very moderate indeed, and may at any time be resisted and defied with impunity, the tribe utterly abjuring the idea of subjection to any one from among themselves. The place of Gaon Bura is not hereditary, nor, in every case, is it held for life. Petty disputes and disagreements about property, are settled by a council of elders, the litigants voluntarily submitting to their arbitration.

But correctly speaking, there is not the shadow of a constituted authority in the Naga community, and, wonderful as it may seem, this want of government does not lead to any marked degree of anarchy and confusion; on the contrary, in his village, the Naga is peaceful and hospitable, good-natured and honest; for months that I have lived with him, I never heard him use an angry word or inflict a blow, however slight, on any one. Such a state of things must most assuredly arise from some peculiar cause, which cannot elsewhere be adopted, otherwise what an advantage it would be to us to throw off the whole of that ponderous and expensive system which is concentrated in Westminster, and branches forth to every colony, country and village throughout our possessions, and taking a lesson from the Nagas, learn to live peaceably and honestly without law. But our civilization and Christianity deprives us of the mainspring which acts so apparently well on the savage of the hills, and God forbid, that it should not.

The Naga's religion, the Naga's principle and sense of honour, is comprised in one word, and that word is revenge—deep deadly revenge, and the prosecution of it to the extremest lengths, for the most trifling offences. This feeling is not confined to individuals, but taken up between communities, and often by parties in one and the same community. If there is a quarrel between two Nagas of different villages, the dispute inevitably causes bloodshed, and a feud is established between the villages of the two disputants, which nothing will assuage, and which, in time as advantage offers, will find issue in some dreadful massacre. The Nagas are exceedingly treacherous in enmity, and brook no insult. An insult given, it is a point of honour to have blood—and blood shed by the one party calls for a like stream on the part of the other.

When any difference occurs between two men of the same village, which is rarely the case, each individual has his party who cling to

him and take up his quarrel, not by any means from a sense of justice, but from relationship—and a civil war ensues which it is disgusting to contemplate. It is not to be wondered at, then, with such evils before them, evils which are brought home to every member of the society, that the Nagas are so careful to curb their passions on small matters, and to avoid entrance into a quarrel, when, being in, they carry it out to such exterminating lengths: and therefore, anomalous as it may seem the most baneful passion that arises in the heart of man carried to extremity is the cause, in this instance, of the existence of a society without laws and constituted authority living in general peace and honesty.

I do not think this state of things is without precedent, even in the history of our own country. If we take into consideration the state of the Highlands of Scotland some one hundred and fifty years ago, I think, we shall find many points in which great similarity exists. There, though subjected to chieftains, the clans were left with very little more law, than that which each man carried at his side in the shape of a broad sword. There again the spirit of revenge was paramount in every breast. The fiery Celt could brook no insult, and feuds between clans espousing the cause of individuals were frequent and bloody. Yet no circumstance of internal anarchy marked those lawless days. Society was not outraged, and the different communities were among themselves peaceful, hospitable and neighbourly, rigidly avoiding all cause of quarrel, being sufficiently urged to curb their temper, by dread of the consequences which would ensue, from no other agent, but unmitigated revenge.

Notwithstanding the staidness in the Naga character, arising from the circumstances mentioned, they do, at certain seasons, find vent for the indulgence of private grudges that they owe to individuals among themselves, in a way at once harmless and ludicrous. At certain stated times, once or twice in the course of a year, all the village adjourns to some convenient spot, and a general *mêlée* takes place, every one fighting for his own band, but using no weapons save those with which nature has provided him. These conflicts are very fierce, and the bruises and scratches given and received most severe; yet they are not taken into account and never give ground for a quarrel, whereas at other times the lifting of a hand would lead to a blood-feud.

Since the regular establishment of our government in these hills, many feuds have been patched up among the Nagas, and their recurrence is less frequent; the presence of an European officer on the spot, who can expostulate with, and explain our policy to, the most influential people of the tribes, has also materially tended to check the effusion of blood. But still they do occur, now and then, and nothing will eradicate the evil spirit, until many years have passed away, and a brighter light shines among the rude inhabitants of N. Cachar.

The Nagas have a very vague idea of religion. They admit a plurality of deities having different attributes, but have none to whom they ascribe creation, the universe being pre-existent to their gods, and remaining unaccounted for. The first person in their mythology is 'Semeo' the god of riches to whom all those who seek wealth make sacrifices. He is also supposed to inflict punishment in the way of sudden reverses of fortune and sickness, on those who, having wealth, do not sacrifice to him. 'Kuchimpai' is the god of the harvest, as well as one possessing general influence over the affairs of mortals. To him sacrifices are made of goats, fowls and eggs (the large animals such as buffaloes, methans and cows, being reserved for Semeo) and prayers offered up for the prosperity of the crop.

Among the malignant deities 'Rupiaba' has the first place; to his displeasure are ascribed all the misfortunes that fall to the lot of mortals, and offerings of dogs and pigs are made to appease him when angry. He is supposed to be of a very fierce and ungainly appearance, and has only one eye, and that in the middle of his forehead. As an assistant Rupiaba has got a blind god of the name of 'Kangniba', whose temper is fierce. He is worshipped at cross roads, where propitiatory offerings are piled up for his benefit by passers-by. The fact of his being blind is wickedly taken advantage of by the Nagas, and offerings made to him seldom consist of more than a few common leaves, he being supposed to be unable to distinguish between them and articles of greater value. When fowls are sacrificed to this god, a very small fowl indeed is selected, and placed in a large basket at the appropriate place. The blind god feeling the size of the basket, takes it for granted that the contents are commensurately bulky, and deals his favours accordingly! Indeed, Naga worship is none of the most sincere, even as regards

the animals that are sacrificed to the wide-awake deities; little more than the entrails and offal is apportioned to the god, the remainder going down the ungodly throats of the petitioners!

Omens are commonly consulted, and are supposed to indicate the particular deity that is to be worshipped in order to attain a desired end or avert evil. This being ascertained, the village is strictly closed for two days, the inhabitants abstaining from all labor, and neither going out themselves nor permitting any one to enter during that period. This custom is strictly kept, and called 'Genna'; it is difficult to find out what is done during this interval of seclusion; but nothing further, I am inclined to think, than sacrificing, eating and drinking. Before burning newly felled patches of jungle for cultivation, it is the invariable custom to establish a Genna. On this occasion all the fires in the village are extinguished, and a cow or buffalo being slain, they roast it with fire freshly kindled by means of rubbing together two dry pieces of wood, make sacrifice and eat, after which they proceed in procession with torches lit from the fresh fire to ignite the felled jungle.

The Nagas cultivate rice, cotton, and tobacco as well as the more common Indian vegetables, such as yams, byguns, kuddoos, cucumbers, Indian-corn, &c. Their mode of cultivation is exactly similar to that described with reference to the Purbuttia Cacharies; but they take more crops off the ground than any of the other tribes who cut bamboo-jungle, owing to their distaste to remove to other sites, when the ground near at hand is exhausted. Perhaps it is on account of this, the soil being overtaxed, that both the rice and the cotton grown by the Nagas is inferior to those produced by the Kookies and Meekirs.

The Naga houses are built after a peculiar fashion, having the eaves down to the very ground. One gable end, the front entrance, is considerably elevated, while that to the rear slants down almost to the earth. The floors are not raised on platforms. The houses contain two rooms, the inner reserved as a sleeping apartment, while the outer serves for the domestic business and the residence of the pigs and fowls belonging to the family. The village is generally built in one irregular street, the entrance with gables facing the road, but sometimes the houses are thrown together without reference to order at all. Each family lives in a separate house; and the young men or 'Dekhas' inhabit a large hut appropriated to themselves, in

which are hung up the spoils of the chase and the implements of war, and which forms at the same time the caravansarai or inn of the village.

The Nagas attach great value to iron, and use it only in the manufacture of weapons, their cooking utensils being invariably made of wood, bamboo or clay. They manufacture dhaos, spears, hatchets and hoes, there being generally in each village an individual who officiates as blacksmith.

Two or three kinds of cloth are manufactured by the Nagas, among which are the coarse khes which they use as a covering, and a small piece of cloth of different texture, dyed with indigo, which they tie round their waists. The cloth used in dancing is the same as the white khes, but has small triangles at regular intervals woven into it with red and blue thread, and also fringes at each end made of the same, which give it a gay appearance.

This tribe is passionately fond of ornaments, and both males and females may be said to load themselves with them; many of these are manufactured at home, but they consist for the most part of nothing but brass-wire, an article much prized by the Nagas, and shells, or cowries, which are imported. One of their ornaments, an armet, is peculiar to themselves, although it has been adopted by the Kookies since their arrival in the country. It consists of a rod of brass, twisted some eight or ten times in the shape of a wire-spring, and slipped on the arm, fitting tightly to the flesh between the shoulder and the elbow, and being most inconvenient, I should say, for the exercise of the arm.

There is only one stone to which the Nagas attach any value. I have never been able to find out its name; it is a dirty, yellowish, almost greenish looking opaque stone,¹ and is cut by them into cylindrical beads, and worn, strung together, round the neck. Few among them are rich enough to have a complete necklace of such beads, but most of them will be seen to have as many as five or six of this kind strung on in company with others, and some may have half a necklace of the precious stone.

¹ Known, according to Dr Hutton, as *deo-mani* and very highly prized. It is not actually stone, but a sort of enamel, probably of Chinese origin, coloured with oxide of copper. The beads are almost always heirlooms, and the red are more highly prized than the green ones; the only source of supply now known is said to be from burial places in Nepal, whither Angami traders used in former days to go occasionally in search of them.—N.K.R.

In dancing, both men and women wear heaps of ornaments chiefly composed of shells. With the exception of a little cloth, tied round the waist, the end of which hangs over in front and covers the private parts, the Nagas go quite naked, nor do they feel any shame at the exposure of members which civilization requires to be concealed. The women wear a wrapper over their thighs which extends from below the navel to the knee. Married women leave their bosoms uncovered, but virgins have another cloth tightly tied round their breasts. Both sexes protect themselves from the cold by a loose cloth thrown over their bodies like a blanket. Neither the men nor women wear any sort of head dress. The women who are married wear long hair plaited, and knotted at the back, or sometimes flowing naturally over the shoulders. The unmarried women have their hair cut off their face in a square fashion, and brushed down upon the forehead, nearly to the eyebrows. The men cut their hair short (shaving a little at the forehead and sides) and train it to stand erect. As a general rule there is not the slightest appearance of hair, either on cheek, chin or upper lip, and a good long beard is always an object of curiosity to the Nagas, when met with in others. The Nagas, both men and women, bore their ears but not their noses; their earrings chiefly consist of brass-wire rings. But they are very fond of flowers and often place them in their ears, so also will they place any coloured piece of paper or cloth, and the blue beetle wing or even a blade or two of green grass or leaves.

Marriage among them is a simple contract entered into between the man and woman or their families; the family of the bride being presented with cows, pigs, fowls or drink according to the means of the other party. There is no ceremony performed except the giving of a grand feast to the whole village, who in return build a house for the newly married couple. In some cases a long betrothal precedes the marriage, but no positive necessity exists for this custom, and it can always be dispensed with. The Nagas are not permitted to marry, until they have attained a certain age, and are able to set up house on their own account.

In his choice of a helpmate neither the beauty of form nor face is much taken into consideration by the bridegroom, physical strength and industry being the great desiderata in a wife, the former giving promise of numerous offspring, and both being indispensable to one who is, unassisted, to perform all the menial duties of a household,

as well as give assistance in the field. The Naga woman is quite a model of labour and industry. At all hours of the day she may be seen busily employed in domestic duties, weaving cloth, pounding rice, washing clothes, carrying water, making grog, or tending children, while her husband and the men generally lie idly basking in the sun, deeming it effeminate to put their hands to any work save the cultivation of their fields, or the repairing of their houses.

The Nagas bury their dead at the very doors of their houses, in a coffin formed of the hollow trunk of a tree; after filling in the earth, a large stone is rolled over the top of the grave to mark the spot, and the streets of most Naga villages are consequently choke-full of these rough unhewn tombstones, marking the resting-places of their forefathers. Perhaps the idea of living thus in the neighbourhood of their ancestors may be one cause of their attachment to the sites of their villages. They display great affection in tending the graves of the recently departed; the spot is at first invariably fenced in, and flowers are often scattered over it, and the survivors love to sit upon the stone that covers those once so dear to them. When a warrior dies, his spear and dhao are buried with him, and it is the custom to bury with every one any article to which he or she may have been particularly attached during life. I have never heard of avarice invading the sanctity of the tomb in consequence of this custom, although dhaos and spears are greatly prized by the tribe.

The Nagas are extremely fond of dancing, more so than any of the other tribes, whom also they excel in the exercise. Men and women dance both together and separately. The men have a war-dance with spears and hatchets, in which all the circumstances of battle are acted, the advance, the retreat, the wielding of weapons, and defence with the shield, accompanied by terrific howls and war whoops, which has, when well enacted, a very imposing effect. The dance in which the men and women unite, seems to be purposeless and monotonous, displaying neither grace nor agility, and so are some of the dances danced by the women alone; one of these is, however, a very lively one, and resembles in some degree the Highland Fling. It is easily seen that the women are the chief dancers, and those who take most interest in the exercise. A very poor idea of music exists among the Nagas, and it is never practised except in dancing, where it serves to mark the time; a rude

monotonous song is chaunted by the whole company, and eked out with the clapping of hands both on the part of the dancers and the spectators. The performers, being laden with massive necklaces, armlets and bracelets, make these ornaments chink in time to the step, and a drum is also in some instances beaten in accompaniment.

The Naga cry or war-whoop is not a sound to be described in words, being something fearfully shrill and long continued, yelled with variations. But the custom among them called 'hoo-hoo-ing' is easier of description; this is a common way among this tribe of paying honour to any individual, or to the inhabitants of any other village that they may happen to visit, and it is always supposed to call forth a donation from the party honoured. Parties of from ten to fifty take up the cry in chorus, which consists of nothing but the sounds of 'hoi and hou' uttered alternately with the full force of the lungs, for about an hundred times, and finished off with a 'howh' a harsher prolongation of the 'hou'. When one village compliments another in this way, they are very careful to exact a certain value for the compliment paid, and quarrels have been known to arise, when the compensation was not thought sufficient.

The Cacharees of Sunkur, alone, of all the other tribes in the country, have this custom in common with the Nagas.

In carrying burdens the Nagas in respiring utter a sound like 'hu ho', and when a number are on the road together a chorus is maintained. This custom is practised by all the tribes with slight variations, but it must not be confounded with the 'hoo-hoo-ing' described above, which is strictly peculiar to the Nagas. For an inhabitant of the hills the Naga is very cleanly in body, washing himself pretty freely whenever he can come across a sufficiency of water. But his clothes, except when new, are very filthy, and filled with vermin. As regards eating, he is the most indiscriminate animal in creation. His staple food is of coarse rice, but his luxury consists in flesh. I do not know a single living creature of any kind which he will not eat, and that too whether it dies a natural or a legitimate death, and however far the body may have advanced towards decomposition. Insects, reptiles, carrion animals, as well as those in general use for food are eagerly sought after by him. He eats frogs, lizards, snakes, rats, dogs, monkeys, cats, &c. with relish, and will pick them up for that purpose though found dead and half rotten in the jungles. It is not to be wondered at, that there

are no jackals or vultures to be found in the hills of North Cachar; what would they do if subjected to such competition?

The Nagas make a fermented liquor from pounded rice, which they drink in great quantities, especially in the morning, when it serves them as breakfast, being of tolerable consistency. It is not very intoxicating, and has an acrid disagreeable taste. The Nagas smoke very little, and when they do, it is more for the purpose of obtaining the tobacco oil in the bottoms of their pipes, than from the enjoyment of the vapour. This oil they mix with water and drink it, and they also drink water in which the tobacco leaf has been pressed. Tobacco is also chewed by them in great quantities.

2

THE KACHCHA NAGAS

(C. A. Soppit, *A Short Account of the Kachcha Naga (Empeo) Tribe in the North Cachar Hills*, 1885, pp. 1-20)

CHAPTER I—PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

IT IS DIFFICULT to ascertain exactly the number of souls comprising this tribe, the revenue papers of the different districts merely giving the number of revenue-paying males, and the last census tables, those of 1881, embracing the Kukis and Nagas in Cachar under one head.

In the North Cachar Hills, however, there are 7,500. In addition to this there are about 600 of the tribe living on the borders of the plains, while in the Naga Hills district there are in round numbers 30,000 souls.

The total of 38,100 thus arrived at is, in all probability, rather short of the actual population, but it may be taken as approximately correct.

The term 'Naga' is of doubtful origin. In the statistical account of the Naga Hills compiled for Dr Hunter's Gazetteer it is stated that the word is derived from the Bengali *nanhta*, naked or from the Sanskrit word *naga*, a snake). The term is unknown to the

people; their designation in their own dialect being Embo or Empeo. This name is stated by them to be derived from the abode of the god who created the tribe—a land somewhere in the far east, called Em.

Many of the people from intercourse with the plains began to acknowledge the term Naga, and to answer to it, but in the remoter villages, removed from outside influences, the term is unknown; nor is it in any way recognized by surrounding tribes, Kukis or Kacharis.

The tribal designation of this people in the statistical account of Cachar in Dr Hunter's Gazetteer is given as Kwaphi. This term is quite unknown to the Kachcha Nagas. It is possible that it may be the designation of the Manipuri Nagas, the statistical account referred to having, apparently, as regards Cachar at any rate, embraced all Nagas under one head. The Kowpoi are a well-known tribe of Manipur Nagas, through whose territories the high road passes from Cachar to Manipur.

Physique and Character

The Kachcha Nagas do not compare favourably in physique with the Angamis, being, as a rule, of a much less muscular build, though well made and active. They are simple and honest in character, with a ready appreciation of honour. In appearance they compare favourably with *Kacharis* and *Kukis*, having often well-cut features, and bright, intelligent faces, though flat noses and high cheekbones are not uncommon. The tribe is not very warlike. Cleanliness is not considered a virtue among them, and though a Naga rarely looks as dirty as some Kukis, it is probably owing to the fact that his scant clothing offers no protection in a shower of rain, and so, *volens volens*, nature occasionally gives him a showerbath. Naga women are seen washing their hands and feet, and men on visiting the plains or the lower valleys bathe in the rivers. Under these circumstances, however, they appear rather shamefaced, evidently fearing their fellow villagers should consider them as indulging in some trivial and vain conceit unworthy of a man of mature age.

From a western point of view, this tribe cannot be looked upon as strictly fulfilling all the requisites to morality. Thus, there is no restriction whatsoever placed on the youths and maidens of a village

before marriage. The same girl may associate with as many men as she chooses, and may be, and is, visited nightly in her parent's house with their knowledge. Further remarks on this subject will be found in the Chapter on Marriage.

Dress

The ordinary male dress is a short kilt of blue cotton cloth, reaching from the waist to halfway down the thigh. Below the knee a number of finely cut pieces of cane, dyed black, are worn occasionally. The upper part of the body is bare, though a large cloth is generally carried for use as a shawl in cold or rainy weather. The ears are ornamented with rings, bright feathers, or flowers, and conch shells are worn round the neck. The women wear a cloth reaching from the waist to the knee, blue or white, and on occasions of dances or festivals a white cloth with coloured borders and triangular patterns of various colours worked in the centre. A second cloth is worn tight over the breast and extends down to the waist. The hair, in the case of unmarried girls, is often kept cut quite close to the head but on marriage it is allowed to grow to its natural length. Maidens wear necklaces of beads, shells, and bracelets of brass, lead, or even silver, but on marriage these are almost invariably put aside, or made over to unmarried relatives, the fashions of the day having no further charms to a Naga lady once she becomes a wife. All frivolities in the way of dances, ornaments, &c., are at the same time put aside, and the serious business of life undertaken. This serious business consists in gathering wood, spinning cloth, and generally slaving for the husband from morning to night. The hair on marriage is worn tied in a knot at the back of the head. The men sometimes draw back their hair, and fasten it in the same manner, though very often it is kept at a sufficient length to give a mop-like appearance to the head.

Arms

In late years many of the Kachcha Nagas have come to possess guns brought up from the plains; in the days gone by, when the tribe was comparatively warlike, spears and *daos* were the only weapons used.

CHAPTER II—HABITS AND RELIGION

Origin

The origin of this tribe, in common with that of most of the hill tribes of Assam, is wrapped in the utmost obscurity. The legend current among them of their creation in the land of Em, somewhere to the east, may possibly point to an exodus from some other part to North Cachar and the Naga Hills; but, if this be the case, it took place at so remote an age as to be untraceable at the present day.

The fact of their not being a wandering race, like the Kacharis and Kukis, and rarely, except for some very pressing reason, changing the site of the village, and even on these occasions, never moving more than a mile or so from the old location, would lead one to conjecture that they are descended from the earliest inhabitants of the parts they now occupy.

Mode of Building

The typical Kachcha Naga house differs from that of any other tribe. The front bears the appearance of a high arch pointed at the top. In the centre of this is the doorway. From the apex of the arch (which is sometimes as high as 20 feet) the roof slopes down and back, until it touches, or nearly touches, the ground. In the same manner the thatch on either side is brought down with a steep slope either actually on to the ground or, as is more commonly the case, to within a foot or a foot-and-a-half. The spaces on the sides and in front are planked in. The inside contains two rooms, a sitting and eating, and a cooking and store-room.

Besides the separate dwelling houses, each village is provided with a *hangseoki*, or club-house, in which the bachelors live or meet to interchange views regarding things in general. In addition, some villages have a *heleoki*, or women's house, in which the unmarried girls meet. This latter is ruled over by a matron of uncompromising disposition, generally a venerable widow who has great authority. The villages are situated on hill-tops, or on a ridge, the houses facing one another, with a broad path between.

Drink and Food

The common drink is a kind of rice-beer, tasting somewhat like acid cider. It is manufactured by the women in the village, and on festivals and feasts consumed in large quantities: a considerable amount is required to intoxicate a man, but the stomach of a Naga being apparently of a far distending kind, a fair percentage of the males succeed in imbibing a sufficiency to make them, on festive occasions, very fairly exhilarated, to say the least.

As regards food, nothing comes amiss to a Naga. Tigers and leopards are not eaten, but those are about the only two animals missing from their dietary. A monkey is a source of joy; while the successful capture of a python brings a man many friends, and renders him for the time being a popular member of the village. A small present of frogs makes a man your friend for life; while the offering of a fat bamboo rat will assure your welcome at any time in the bosom of his family.

The capture of a wild cat or a squirrel causes jealousy among the less fortunate fellow-villagers of a man, unless they be all invited to share the feast; while an invitation to a *recherché* dinner, at which a dog roasted whole forms the *pièce de résistance*, maketh the heart of a Naga exceedingly rejoice.

The body of a deer found in the jungle, sometimes absolutely rotten, is not despised. The lucky finder gives the news, and the village swarms out. If very far gone, pieces of the flesh are put into bamboos and then dried in the sun. A little of this is afterwards used to mix with rice.

Method of Planting Rice

The staple food is rice, grown on the hill sides round about the village. The land chosen is cleared, the jungle being cut and allowed to dry preparatory to burning in March and April. At the end of April and the commencement of May it is burned clear. With a hoe the surface is then slightly scraped and the rice sown. Even the very steepest of hills are cut for *jhuming* purposes, the rainfall being sufficient to mature hill rice without artificial aid. The crop is cut about the end of October. The time of planting and gathering differs slightly in different villages.

Religion

The Nagas believe in four principal gods, who work for the good of mankind; they are:—

Sibrai, the head god.

Moushini, Songhu, and Gaja.

Moushini looks after the crops generally. In sacrificing to him a pure white fowl must be used.

Songhu keeps about the villages, and hinders fights and quarrels. For sacrificial purposes, young full-grown fowls, which have not yet laid eggs, must only be used.

Gaja is the god of war. In offering to him a red cock must be used.

The four above gods are aided by a messenger, named Gubum, who carries out their behests. The evil spirits are numerous, and are presided over by Songkam, the god of death. Songkam is appeased, in common with the others under him, by offerings of goats, pigs &c.

Method of Sacrifice

The following is the procedure in vogue at the larger sacrificial ceremonies:—

A long low mound of earth is thrown up, 8 or 10 feet long, facing east and west. Along this mound, at intervals, are placed small woven baskets lined with leaves. Each basket bears the name of a god. The village priest then takes the fowls and cuts their throats, allowing the blood to drop into the baskets. The bodies of the fowls are placed alongside. At the lapse of half-an-hour or more, these bodies are cooked and eaten on the spot by the elders of the village; the young men and women being allowed no share in the feast.

On the death of a man his spirit is supposed to remain in the house for a full year, sitting alongside his former companions at meals and on other occasions. When eating, it is customary for the relatives of the deceased to take a portion of their food and place it on a leaf by their side for the use of the spirit. At the end of a year, however, the spirit leaves the house, and takes up a residence in a region, called Harnimaram, and is for ever at rest.

No distinction is made between good and bad, all claiming an equal share of Harnimaram, or heaven.

But a woman dying in child-birth, persons killed on the war-path, or carried off by tigers, do not go to Harnimaram, but proceed direct to Sibrai. Spirits in Harnimaram remain there always, and do not ultimately reach Sibrai; neither do they return to earth.

A great deal of harm is supposed to be worked by the evil spirits through the agency of witches. Many years ago a celebrated witch is supposed to have taken up her abode in North Cachar, and occasionally to this day a venerable and much unwashed patriarch will relate to a circle of credulous youths, open-mouthed and awe-struck, how the ancient dame of evil repute on her death used up maunds upon maunds of the driest wood, owing to the difficulty in burning her body. From the fact of the body being cremated, the dame in question must have been a Kachari, the Nagas burying their dead. Many Nagas profess not to believe in witches, but they are in all probability exceptions to the rule.

On the death of a person information is at once sent out to all friends and relatives, who, if it be possible, make a point of going to the village of the deceased. Each funeral guest brings salt, rice, or cloth as an offering to the dead. A tree being hollowed out as a coffin, the body is placed in it on its back, all the cloths, offerings, spears, *daos*, &c., being placed alongside, and the lid then fastened down. About eight or ten hours after death the coffin is carried to a grave dug in front of the house, a few feet from the door, and lowered down into it. The whole village then throw in earth and stones. The time between death and burial is occupied in feasting and drinking, the horns and heads of animals killed for this purpose being, on the completion of the funeral ceremonies, placed on poles over the grave. All animals belonging to the deceased accompany him to Harnimaram.

Graves

The grave is dug to a depth of five feet, and at the bottom of the right side is cut out a niche just big enough to hold the coffin. This niche is shut off with sticks or stones.

Persons dying in war or from sickness, outside the village, are buried away from the houses at some distance; it being supposed that, should they be buried in the ordinary manner inside, their fate will overtake others. But men wounded outside, and dying inside, are treated in the ordinary way.

CHAPTER III—MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE

Child marriage is utterly unknown. A man may marry a girl with the consent of her parents, in which case they receive a considerable sum of money, or with the consent of the girl alone, in which case the parents receive nothing or perhaps a nominal sum merely. The former marriage is considered correct, the latter being irregular and somewhat uncommon. On taking a fancy to a girl, and knowing she is willing, he goes to the parents, and settles the price to be paid. A meeting of both families is then held, on which occasions the sum agreed to is paid over, and the marriage considered complete; a feast generally being held to celebrate the event. The sum paid for a wife varies from Rs 20 or even Rs 10 to Rs 200 or more.

A Naga wife is very rarely known to prove false to her husband. As already mentioned, entire freedom is allowed to maidens and youths, but once the husband has been chosen, the matter assumes a different aspect, any breach of the marriage vows meaning death. In latter days the adulterer and adultress, in lieu of being put to death, are turned out of the village.

Illegitimate Children

As a natural consequence of the free intercourse allowed, many of the girls become mothers without going through the slight ceremony constituting the Naga marriage. Some of the girls marry before the birth of the children, but in many cases this is not so. The mother occasionally has doubts regarding the paternity of her offspring, and does not find it easy, among her many admirers, to obtain a man willing to burden himself with what may be the love gift of a friend, and not his own.

In former years the following plan was adopted:—The mother, if unwilling to support the child, called up the old women of the village, and informed them that she wished to have it destroyed. These women then assembled in the house, placed the child on the ground, and choosing a heavy piece of wood placed it across the throat, pressing it steadily down with the hands until life was extinct. The body was either buried in the house or thrown into the jungle. All this was carried out more or less openly, though the old women alone took an active part in destroying the child.

In the event of the father being known, but no marriage having taken place, the same plan was adopted, provided neither one or other of the parents cared to bring up the child.

Husband and wife may divorce themselves by mutual consent. No money is paid on one side or the other, and both parties are free to remarry at once.

In the event of a husband disapproving of his wife for any cause, he may divorce her, but the money he paid on marriage is not returned to him.

In the case of a wife divorcing herself from her husband of her own free will, she must return one-half of the money paid by her husband to her parents on the marriage.

A man is allowed two wives, though it is rare to find a man with more than one. More than two are not recognized. The first wife is always the head of the house, and is invested with all the authority.

The younger brother may marry the deceased elder brother's wife, but not the widow of a younger brother. A man may marry his wife's younger sister, but not the elder.

Only male children can inherit property. In the case of several, the eldest obtains the largest share, and the others in equal portions. The girls can only inherit the mother's ornaments, but no real property.

No child can inherit property if the mother be divorced. Thus, a man putting aside his wife by whom he has three sons, none of these sons can inherit. Should he remarry and have sons, these latter get the property. Should he fail to remarry, the property passes to brothers or to the nearest male relative.

Should a man have daughters only and no sons, the property passes to the nearest male relative the daughters receiving nothing.

On the death of a husband the wife is compelled at once to state whether she wishes to remain single and retain the property or to remarry. Should she retain the property, and afterwards marry, she may by the old law be put to death by the relatives of the deceased husband.¹ On the divorce of a wife all the children remain with the father, but they can inherit no property.

¹ Under British rule, a case is lodged by the relatives, and the woman not put to death.

Names

On the birth of a child, the name to be given is settled upon, not by the parents, but by the old men and women of the village, a big feast being held on the occasion.

Subsequent to the birth of a child the father and mother drop their own names, and are addressed by that borne by their offspring, the terms of father and mother being affixed, thus 'So-and-so's father', 'So-and-so's mother'.

Should a couple grow old and have no children, they are addressed as 'the father of no child' and 'the mother of no child' respectively.

*CHAPTER IV—GOVERNMENT AND AMUSEMENTS**Government of Villages*

The Nagas recognize no one head or Raja of the tribe, each village being ruled by one or more Matais, or headmen. The title is hereditary, descending from father to son. Should the son be too young to exercise authority, a relation is appointed to help him until he is considered of a sufficient age. Failing issue, on the death of the Matai, the whole village assemble, and a new man, or sometimes a relative of the deceased, is appointed. The position carries a number of privileges with it, the holder having no coolie work to do and receiving yearly one basket (about $\frac{3}{4}$ mound) of paddy from each new *jhum*.

The Matai is president of all village councils, and, with the Harateopeo, or priest, has practically the whole say in any matter affecting the community. All village disputes, quarrels, fights, &c., are brought up before him, and a decision arrived at by him, with the help of as many as care to gather round and give their opinions. In the old days this decision was never questioned by either party, but now it is frequently appealed to the nearest Magistrate. The village is occasionally broken up into clans, each such clan having its own Matai, who alone is obeyed. The Matai, aided by the old men of the village, settles the time and duration of all *hanara* or religious observances. On the war-path, one Matai is expected to

lead, and another, if there be two or more, to bring up the rear and act as whipper in to the force.

Priests

The priest takes no active part in the actual government of the village, nor has he any authority in the settling of disputes, though by reason of age and position he invariably forms one of any council assembled. His title is not hereditary, and on the death of the incumbent any other old man who appears duly qualified is appointed. The principal duty of the priest is in offering sacrifices to the deities, appeasing the evil-inclined ones on the occasion of sickness, and propitiating the well-disposed at the time of rice-planting &c.

The priest is common to all the clans of a village as a rule. In large communities, however, there are as many as three and four Harateopeo, all considered equally efficient.

Pujas, Festivals, &c.

On the occasions of *hanara* the doors or entrances to the village at either end are closed, a sentry being placed over each. No outsider is allowed to enter the village, nor is any member of it allowed to proceed outside. Either of the above occurring, the charm of the *hanara* is broken, and it must be started afresh on some more favourable occasion. During the *hanara* great feasting takes place, and a big drink is kept up from start to finish. On more ordinary festivals the village is opened to all.

The closing of villages for high festivals has occasionally been the cause of deadly feuds among the Nagas.

Some years ago a party of Angamis returning from the plains arrived at the village of Gamaigaju, in the North Cachar Hill subdivision. The village at the time was closed for a festival, and the Angamis were refused admittance by the sentries. In spite of this, however, they forced their way in, and a free fight ensued, in the course of which some of the party were killed. The Angamis left, vowing vengeance, and some months after, true to their word, returned in force and cut up the village.

There will generally be found some cause of the above kind for the greater part of the apparently reasonless raids that have taken

place at different times, in the hills. Nagas in former days had their hands fairly full in working off long-standing feuds with neighbouring villages, and could not afford to waste their energy in attacking villages at a distance; which villages, moreover, though weak in comparison, could by allying themselves with one of their old enemies, become a thorn in their side. It is very doubtful whether a big raid, except on the plains, where loot was an inducement, ever took place without any cause whatsoever, though a very slight affront was sufficient to necessitate the taking of a number of heads.

Method of Waging War

The very early morning was invariably the time fixed for attack, the march to the hostile village being undertaken during the night.

They usually advanced with a rush and destroyed men, women, and children; occasionally prisoners were taken and kept as slaves to be afterwards redeemed by their relatives.

Disposal of Heads

Any heads taken were kept in the village and afterwards exchanged for those of relatives, or redeemed by the payment of money or mithan. It was of common occurrence for two villages at deadly feud to agree to keep from the war-path for a period of two, three, or four months. During the truce the heads taken on either side were often exchanged, the two villages meeting and holding a big feast. At the conclusion of the specified time, the contest was renewed with fresh vigour.

In common with the Angamis, in old days the Kachcha Nagas looked upon no male as worthy of the name of man, unless he had taken at least one head. Any head was sufficient to stamp a warrior, —an old woman's or a child's. In all probability the proud owner waited at the drinking-place, or on one of the many paths to the village *jhums*, and smote some venerable dame toiling home with her basket of sticks. It mattered not, the head was just as valuable in the eyes of the people, and brought him as much in favour with the village belles.

Dancing

Dancing is one of the principal amusements in a Kachcha Naga village. There are two kinds. The first is a war-dance with spear and

shield, in which the men alone take part; and the second a general dance, in which the women share. The latter has many figures, and is danced in pairs, the men and women facing one another. Music is supplied by the non-dancers, who stand in two rows and keep up a chant which varies with the nature of the dance. A portion of one of the songs danced to, showing as it does that blarney is not quite foreign to the Naga character, is, freely translated, as follows:—

‘We come together to the Raja’s house, and will see what he intends to give us;

We fear not a hundred, but him alone we tremble at;

We salaam not to others, but to him we pay homage, &c.’

At the conclusion of a dance given in honour of a visitor, the performers remove to the house of the Matai, and give him a similar treat. The dance takes place at night by the light of fires and torches. The women (all unmarried) display their finery and best cloths, and appear most thoroughly to enjoy themselves. Some of the girls in the high-lying villages (4,000 and 5,000 feet or more) are fair and sometimes pretty, with cheeks that are almost rosy from the cold.

Amusement

In addition to dancing, the young men and boys may frequently be seen jumping. A stone is put up at an acute angle from which to take off, the object being to jump as far as possible. High jumping is not indulged in.

One kind of long jump is rather out of the common. A man jumps from the top of the stone, with a run, and falls on his back, endeavouring at the moment he touches the ground, which is dug up for the purpose, to stretch out a foot and make a mark across with his toes. The man who reaches the furthest wins.

A very extraordinary custom exists as regards winners. They have to give in lieu of receiving a prize. Thus in a match between two villages, the old men of either side act as umpires. On the conclusion of the contest those of the losing side seize the winner, and strip him promptly, in spite of violent struggles, his clothes becoming their property, while he remains in a state of nature before the festive crowd, composed of men and women, until he succeeds in borrowing a cloth from a friend. The Naga argument is that a man finding himself a winner, and therefore, in that particular line, a better man

than others, should be thankful and willing to pay for his good fortune.

CHAPTER V—CRIMES AND OATHS

Punishment for Murder

A man killing another for the purpose of robbery, or in any way except in fair fight, may, by the old Naga law, be put to death by the relatives of the deceased, but by no other person.

Theft

Any person is at liberty to take the life of a man who has stolen, or is stealing, his property. The thief may be killed in the act or at any subsequent time.

Treatment of Prisoners of War

In former years all persons captured in war were looked upon as slaves of the captor. They could, as a rule, however, be redeemed by the relatives, on payment of a certain sum.

The ordinary procedure in the case of disputes and quarrels is for both parties to be brought up before the Matai and the villagers, and a decision given. A cup of liquor is then produced by the Matai, and each of the disputants drinks one-half. This is supposed to re-establish peace, and the quarrel is at an end.

Form of Oath

It sometimes happens that two villages at war with one another agree to cease hostilities, and maintain a permanent peace. On this occurring, an oath is taken—in the following form—to maintain friendly relations with one another:—A leaf is placed on the ground in the centre of one or other of the villages interested, and on it are put an egg, a tiger's tooth, a lump of earth, a red thread and red dye, a black thread, spear and *dao*, or bill-hook, and the leaf of a very sharp stinging-nettle common in the hills. The Matais of both villages

then take their place on either side of the leaf, their respective villagers being collected behind them. Each Matai in rotation now calls upon one of his men to step forward and take the oath, until all have been sworn.

The villager, on approaching the leaf on the ground, looks up to the sky and states his willingness to be struck by lightning if he speaks falsely. He then repeats the terms of the treaty regarding the cessation of hostilities, and, pointing to the leaf, says 'May I, if I speak false, and break faith, be as this egg, having neither hands nor feet, ears or head, without sense and lacking all power; may a tiger, similar to the one this tooth belonged to, devour me; may I become as the piece of earth to be washed away by the rain; may my blood pour out in war as red as the thread before me; may my sight fail and the world be as dark to me as the black thread on this leaf; may I be wounded with spear and *dao*; and may my body be continually subjected to the tortures this nettle is capable of inflicting.'

After the administration of the oath, it is customary to bathe the hands and face. A big feast is then held, and friendly endeavours made to outdo one another in the consumption of liquor.

CHAPTER VI—LEGENDS AND SUPERSTITIONS

Legendary Origin of Lightning

Lightning is accounted for by the following legend:—Formerly there were two gods on earth, who were brothers. One day a serious quarrel arose, and the elder, turning the younger into a black squirrel, left the earth and went up to heaven.

The younger brother, in the form of the squirrel, is continually making a squeaking noise, which is interpreted by the Nagas as being a challenge to the brother above to strike him if he can. Occasionally, the god-brother loses his temper and hurls down lightning.

Wind

The gods are believed to travel on heavy blasts of wind. During storms Nagas keep within their houses, and wonder that particular god is passing over, and where he is going.

Some time shortly after the creation of the earth the white-ants and the gods had a meeting. The white-ants said that, should the blasts of wind the gods travelled on not blow down a sufficient number of trees for their consumption, they would throw up a huge mound of earth and block the way for ever. The gods then took council together, and agreed that, as they travelled, the wind should break off a certain number of branches and trees to keep the white-ants in food.

The Creation

The following is the Naga account of the creation:—

In the beginning the earth was covered with one vast sheet of water, overlooked by an elevated hill inhabited by the god Sibrai.

One night a huge bat came flying over the surface of this vast sea, searching for a place on which to rest. For many hours he could find none, but at last saw the leaves of a *jam*-tree floating on the waters, the roots being attached to the earth beneath. To these leaves he clung and rested for a day. He then continued his flight and ultimately came to the hill occupied by Sibrai. Approaching the god, he informed him that he had come from a far-off land in another world, where there were many men and animals, with but scant room for them. He had, therefore, he said, started to find a new earth, but could see nothing but water. Sibrai, upon this, agreed to make more land, and for the purpose created earth, and threw land to the sea. In the course of time, land appeared over the water, but much of the earth created by Sibrai still remained unexpended. Seeing this, and in order to get rid of it, the god took handfuls and threw it carelessly here and there. These handfuls are the present mountains and hills. The Creator now looked round, and seeing that the waters had been soaked up by the land, and that there were no rivers, ordered the crows, brought in by the god who had assumed the form of a bat, to scrape waterways. These waterways are the rivers of today. Trees and grass were then created; and the god, seeing they were without movement, made the winds to blow. Animals were now placed in the new land, and ultimately man. The birds and beasts each had a ruler of their own kind over them. Birds were deputed to do different duties,—thus, the duty of the wag-tail was to guard the rivers. In choosing the king of birds a large assembly

of all species was held. On the way to the meeting-place the toucan (hornbill) met an owl, who said—‘I am old looking and very ugly, and will find no favour with the assemblage; hide me, therefore, under your wing.’ The toucan agreed to this, and flew on to the meeting, where he perched on a tree. Seeing him, the birds assembled shouted out ‘He is fit to be king; see his mighty beak!’ Delighted at this welcome, the toucan, the better to show himself off, flew off the perch, and in doing so let go his protégé, the owl, who fell to the ground. On the sight of the repulsive bird the toucan had protected, the feeling of the meeting changed, and ultimately the *bhimraj*¹ was appointed king.

All animals, with the exception of the flying-squirrel, paid tribute to their king. The flying-squirrel by adopting the following plan avoided doing so:—When the *bhimraj* asked for payment saying ‘You are a bird; can you not fly from tree to tree?’ he replied, ‘Not at all, I always walk: look at my paws’ and, saying this, he walked along the ground. The king of beasts then came, and asked for payment. ‘Why should I pay?’ retorted the squirrel ‘See, I am a bird’, and he flew from tree to tree. In this manner he avoided paying tribute to either one or the other.

At the creation all men were of one race, but they were shortly destined to be broken up into species.

The king of the men then on earth had a daughter by name Sitoyle. This daughter was wondrous fleet of foot, and wandered all day in the jungle a great distance from her home, causing much anxiety to her parents, who feared she would be killed by wild beasts. One day an idea struck the father, and sending for a basket of linseed he upset it on the ground, and then ordered the daughter to put it back seed by seed, counting them carefully. Thinking that this task would occupy her for the whole day, he went away. At sunset, having hurriedly completed her work, Sitoyle started for the jungles, and on the return of the parents no sign of her could be found.

After searching for days and days, however, they at last came across a monster python lying gorged in the shade of some trees.

All the men being assembled, the beast was attacked with axe and *dao*. As the men struck the snake their appearance changed,

¹ King-crow—*Dicrurus*: in this case probably the racquet-tailed drongo, whose tail feathers are also worn by Thado Kukis of consequence.—N.K.R.

and they found themselves, speaking various dialects. The men of the same speech now formed different bands and drew apart from one another. These various bands were the ancestors of the different nationalities existing on earth.

Earthquakes

It is believed that many years ago a Raja who had great authority on earth died and went to the abode of the gods. He there married the daughter of Sibrai. At the lapse of some time he set himself up as his co-equal, and great disturbances took place. To put an end to this state of things it was at length decided that a wrestling contest should settle who was to be the head god; the agreement being that the loser of the match should be confined for ever in the centre of the earth.

A long struggle ensued, and the result appeared doubtful, until the wife of the Bangla Raja, Sibrai's daughter, tied her husband's feet together with her hair, which was twenty feet long. Sibrai then succeeded in throwing his adversary to the ground, and, in accordance with the previous arrangement, confined him in the centre of the earth. His occasional struggles to free himself are still felt in the form of earthquakes.

An earthquake taking place in the early morning, or late in the evening, is the forerunner of want and sickness; occurring late in the morning, it is a lucky sign.

The Sun

The Nagas have no theory regarding the origin of the sun. It is believed to rise out of the earth and set in the earth, passing during the night through the centre, so as to appear in the same place the following morning. A large tree with matted leaves is supposed to grow directly in its path as it comes out of the earth. The noise made in passing through these leaves is heard by the cocks in the different villages before the sun itself is actually seen, and they start crowing.

The Moon and Stars

The moon when not visible is supposed to be resting in the home of her parents. The Nagas have no particular theory regarding the stars.

The Tigers

The meeting of a tiger is the forerunner of misfortune, and sacrifices must be offered to the deities at once to arrest the impending evil.

Barking-deer

A deer while in the act of barking, or calling is never shot by a Naga. It is believed that the animal is calling from some fear or trouble, and that the destroyer of its life will inherit its griefs.

Snakes

On the capture of a python it is brought by the Nagas alive into the centre of the village, and there let loose. The house it first approaches is considered to be very fortunate, and the owner is expected to kill a pig or two for the entertainment of the village. As soon as the python has pointed out a house, it is promptly decapitated, the body, cut into small pieces, being distributed.

The Toucan or Hornbill

The Nagas hold the toucan, or hornbill, in great reverence, as being the favourite of the gods. They do not, at the same time, hesitate to shoot it, and they look upon the flesh as a great delicacy. Many of the village songs treat of this bird. The following few lines are given as an illustration:—

‘See the toucans gathered in the house of the Raja.
We live together in our village now as they do;
Soon we will join them in the abode of the gods.’

When a nest, generally in the hollow of a tree, is found, and the entrance to it is facing the setting sun, it is never robbed. That particular pair of birds is considered especially under the protection of the gods, and any interference with them will be followed by evil consequences and bad fortune. Should the entrance to the nest face east, or in any other direction except west, the nest may be taken without fear of incurring the anger of the gods.

CHAPTER VII—TRAPS AND SNARES

Methods of Hunting

There are several different kinds of traps in common use among the Nagas. The first is the ordinary pitfall, which is too common to need description here. A second and more uncommon one is the *tapising*. This is constructed in the following manner:—A deer-run is found leading over some steep bank to a ravine or river. This bank is then strewed with dead bamboo leaves, which offer no foothold, and are very slippery. At the foot of the slope are placed a large number of long *panjis* (sharpened bamboo splints) at an angle of 45° with the ground. A deer, or other wild animal, coming along the run, slips at the bank, and before he can pull up he is impaled on the *panjis*. The trap is only set in unfrequented places, being most dangerous to human life if placed in the vicinity of villages. Another trap of the above description is constructed by running a rough high fence across the path leading to a saltlick, and planting sharpened bamboos on the near side. The deer bound over, and are impaled.

The fourth kind is constructed in the following way:—A strong young tree is bent to the ground, and a noose and catch attached. The catch is set free by the feet of any animal passing, and the sapling springs back, suspending the animal by the fore or hind leg some 12 or 15 feet in the air.

The last trap is the most common in some parts of the country, and is also the most dangerous to shikaris or to people wandering in the jungle.

A rude fence, bearing somewhat the appearance of having been caused naturally by the dropping of dead branches from the trees, is put up across a length of country varying from two to three miles. In this are made openings at intervals for animals to pass through: at each such opening is planted a bamboo, to which is attached an iron spear, a foot or a foot-and-a-half long. The bamboo is then bent back in such a way that, a catch being touched, it is released, and the spear flies across the path. While shooting in the jungle it is not uncommon to come across this natural-looking fence, and, to avoid the cracking of the branches, the shikari adopts the same course as would a sambar or any other deer, that is to say, he walks down the side of the fence until an opening is met with.

The author on one occasion had a very near escape of being killed in this way; and for many a long day after never sighted any kind of fence without a natural inclination to shy off.

CHAPTER VIII—MISCELLANEOUS

Treatment of Aged People

All old people in a village, incapable of work, are carefully looked after by the community at large. Those having sons and daughters take up their abode with the sons; those with daughters only reside in the house of the son-in-law.

Fools and Simpletons

Fools, and all persons of unsound mind, are well treated, but if at all violent are securely fastened. A common method of doing this is to pass the feet of the person so afflicted through two holes cut in a heavy log.

Madmen are believed to be made so by visitation of the gods.

Relations with Surrounding Tribes

There is no case on record of the Kachcha Nagas having raided on surrounding Kachari or Kuki villages, though they fought freely with one another. Their relations with the two tribes are, and, as far as can be ascertained, always have been, friendly, though this friendship never assumes a demonstrative form, there being nothing in common between them. They do not intermarry, and the language, manners, and customs of each are distinct.

During the period the Kachari raj was established at Maibong, in the North Cachar Hills, the surrounding Kachcha Nagas paid revenue. They were, however, very little interfered with by the Raja, retaining all their own customs, and settling their disputes in accordance with Naga, and not Kachari, law.

Land Disputes

Land disputes are very rare, owing greatly to the scant population as compared to the area available for cultivation; one village having no reason to encroach on the ground of another.

In old days, when a quarrel did arise, might was right, and the stronger held the land.

Manufactures and Trade

Very little in the way of manufactures is carried on among the Nagas. Iron in the shape of *dao* blades is imported from the plains, and after being beaten out is shaped into spear-heads. Cloth is manufactured by the women from cotton grown in the *jhums*. The crop is planted in March and April, appears above the ground in June, and is gathered in November and December. The price per maund of uncleaned cotton varies from Rs 4 to Rs 5. Cotton from which seeds have been extracted is far more expensive, the price being from Rs 10 to Rs 12 a maund.

Various dyes are used to colour threads. The red is obtained by soaking the root of a tree in water for five or six hours, and then steeping the thread in the mixture. Blue is obtained from a species of indigo. This latter dye is, however, generally purchased from one or other of the neighbouring tribes. A Naga cloth with dyed borders, six feet by four, is priced Rs 3 to Rs 5.

The *eri* silkworm (*attacus ricini*), so commonly reared by Mikirs in the lower hills, and by Kacharis in the plains, is not kept in Kachcha Naga villages, and all the Naga cloths are woven of cotton thread.

A certain amount of the cotton grown is taken down in the cold weather, with wax and chillies, and sold in the bazars, or, as is often the case, bartered for dried fish and salt.

Nagas, when going down to the plains for trading purposes, carry very heavy loads, often a maund and more, and travel great distances.

The odour emitted from the baskets, half filled with semi-dried fish, of a party of ten or twelve returning to their homes, is sometimes almost unbearable to any less sensitive nostril than the Nagas'. The odour appears to precede and follow the party for some distance. Doubtless however, it cheers the possessors on their weary march, and, as visions of roast dog well browned, with an entrée of dried fish, float before their eyes, their spirits rise and the day's journey appears less than it otherwise would.

NAGAS WEST OF THE DOYANG RIVER

(E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, pp. 42-4)

GOVERNMENT: Of the Naga tribes between the Doyang and Kopili Rivers, we have a comprehensive account in Major Steward's¹ very interesting Notes on Kachar, published in the Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, No. VII, for 1855. It appears from it that their polity is very different from that of the Naga tribes East of the Doyang. West of that river they acknowledge no chiefs. They appoint, as spokesman of the village, some elder who has the reputation of superior wisdom, or, perhaps, more frequently, the influence of wealth, but they give him no real power, and are not bound by anything he says. The office is not hereditary, nor always held for life. A council of elders sometimes sits to decide disputes, but no one is bound to attend to their award. Disputes between people of the same clan become feuds and lead to intestine wars, but the very great misery that this entails on the community acts as a deterrent. Passions are repressed by fear of the consequences of giving them vent, and order is thus generally maintained from the very absence of any rule or legitimate power to enforce it. It is, however, found necessary to give the fighting propensities of the people full vent once or twice in the year. A meeting is appointed at a convenient time and place, and a general *mêlée* takes place, every one fighting but using no weapons, except those with which nature has provided him.

Gods; sacrifices: These Nagas sacrifice to several spirits to whom different attributes are ascribed, but these are creatures, and they do not profess to have any knowledge of a Creator. They appear in their polity and psychology very much to resemble the Chulikata Mishmis, but they have names for the gods or spirits they adore. The first is 'Semes', the god of riches, to whom large animals, buffaloes, mithuns, and cows, are offered, and 'Kuchimpai', the god of harvests, who has to put up with goats, fowls, and eggs.

¹ This is a mistake for Stewart.

Among the malignant deities 'Rapiaba' is first. He is appeased by sacrifices of dogs and pigs. His assistant is the spirit 'Kangniba', very fierce but blind, and as he cannot distinguish between costly and trifling offerings, the poorest things are given to him.

When omens have to be consulted in behalf of the community, the village is placed in a condition of taboo, called Genna. No one is permitted to enter or to leave it, and all labour is suspended for two days. If the Genna is established in consequence of the villagers being about to cultivate new ground, all the fires in the village are extinguished, and fresh fire for the purpose having been obtained by the friction of sticks, a buffalo is roasted, and after the offering and feast, they proceed with torches ignited from the fresh fire to burn the felled jungle.

Houses: The houses are built with one of the gables elevated, whilst the other, that to the rear, slants down almost to the earth. The floors are not raised on platforms. The houses contain two rooms, one reserved as a sleeping apartment, the other appropriated to pigs, fowls, and general purposes. Each family has a separate house, but the bachelors have a house to themselves, where are hung up the trophies of the chase and the implements of war, and which forms at the same time the caravanserai or inn.

Dances: These Nagas are fond of dancing. The men have a war dance, in which, as previously described, a representation of a battle is enacted, a dance in which the men and women unite, and one in which the women dance alone; the latter is the most lively.

Ornaments and dress: They are very fond of ornaments: one peculiar to this tribe is a coil of brass wire twisted round the arm above the elbow. They greatly affect cylindrical beads of a yellowish, almost greenish looking opaque substance, but few are rich enough to have a complete necklace of these valuable jewels: as clothes, a fragment of cloth is all that is worn by the males: the women are covered from the navel to the knees. The married women wear their hair long and plaited behind. The unmarried cut the front hair square across the forehead, and wear it brushed down nearly to the eyebrows. This is also the custom of the Manipuri virgins.

Marriages: The marriages are arranged by payment to the parents of the bride of her estimated value in cows, pigs, fowls, or drink. A feast is given, and those who are invited to it help to build a house for the young couple. The maidens are prized for their

physical strength more than for their beauty or family. The women have to work incessantly, whilst the men bask in the sun.

Burial: These Nagas bury their dead close to their houses in a coffin formed of the hollow of a tree. A large stone marks the spot, and the antiquity of the village may be estimated by the number and appearance of the cenotaphs found in them. They evince great tenacity to their village sites, and Major Steward attributed this mainly to their reverence for the dead.

Food, &c.: In regard to food they are truly omnivorous—frogs, lizards, snakes, rats, dogs, monkeys, cats, &c. are all delicacies, and an animal that has died a natural death is as acceptable to them as the best butcher's meat.

They drink daily quantities of rice beer, which is made of such consistency that it serves them for breakfast. Their use of tobacco is unique. They collect the tobacco oil that is precipitated in the bowl of the pipe, and drink it mixed with water.

The Angami and Kachu Nagas: The Angami and Kachu Nagas occupying the tract of land immediately to the east of northern Kachar are computed at about 125,000 individuals. The several clans are frequently at war with each other, and it is noticeable that in these intestine wars the women of the contending parties visit each other at their different villages without fear of molestation. But when at war with other tribes, their attacks are treacherous, and they spare neither sex nor age.

Weapons: The Angamis have of late years taken to fire-arms, and have succeeded in supplying themselves with a considerable number. Their national weapons are the spear and the dao. They use panjies to protect their villages and the positions they take up and to cover their retreat, and they carry shields five or six feet in length, made of matwork covered with tiger or bear skins, and decorated at the side and top with dyed goats' hair and feathers.

The other Nagas described by Major Steward are the Arung tribe, numbering about 7,500 souls.

Chapter XII

THE NAGAS OF MANIPUR

IT IS STRANGE that so little has been written even now on the beautiful and fascinating territory of Manipur. Although we have a general work on the Naga tribes of Manipur by Hodson and there are a few books on the Kukis, no separate monograph has ever been written on the Tangkhul or Kabui Nagas, let alone the other Naga groups living in the hills.

T. C. Hodson collected a great deal of material 'without any idea of publication' at the very beginning of the century. Ten years later, after his retirement to the East London College (later he became Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge), he published his *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, a rather confused book which attempts to bring far too much within its compass. The indefatigable Colonel Shakespear wrote short articles on the Tangkhul and Kabuis which were published in *Man* and recorded a number of Tangkhul folktales which appeared in 1922 in *Folklore*. But his main interest was with the Lushais and Kukis.

Of the earlier writers I have already introduced Johnstone, as well as Mackenzie who wrote on the history up to February 1883; Reid carries on the story to the end of the century and beyond.

My first extract gives a very useful summary on the Manipur tribes which was delivered as a lecture in 1887 before the Royal Anthropological Institute in London. Dr Watt also wrote on the forests of Manipur but probably his most important work is his *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, which was published towards the end of the century.

Next come two extracts from Dr R. Brown's *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule* (1874), which is frequently quoted by Hodson, though for some reason he completely ignores Watt's lecture, possibly because much of it is based on Brown's earlier work, which itself reproduces almost word for word an account of the hill tribes which he included in an Annual Report on the *Manipur Administration* written some five years previously. Brown became Political Agent in Manipur in 1868 and in 1873 went with a Survey party to settle the boundary between the Naga Hills and the State.

His 'photographic skill' was utilized by Colonel Dalton for the illustrations of the Manipuris and neighbouring tribes in his *Descriptive Ethnology*. Captain Butler considered that Brown muddled up some of his captions.

In order to give a brief notion of the tribes discussed in this chapter I will quote Hodson:

'The Naga tribes in Manipur are (1) the Tangkhuls who inhabit the hills immediately to the east and north-east of the valley of Manipur; (2) the Mao and Maram Nagas who inhabit the hills north of the valley and to whom the title quasi-Angami Nagas has been given by some writers on the ground that they are more closely connected with the Angamis than with their fellow subjects, the Tangkhuls and the Kabuis; (3) the Kolya, Khoirao or Mayang Khong group in the hills south of Mao and Maram; (4) the Kabuis who inhabit the hills to the west and north-west of the valley and (5, 6 and 7) Quorengs, Chirus, Marrings, smaller tribes, who are to be found in the hills bordering the valley.'¹

¹ Hodson, p. 2.

THE NAGAS OF MANIPUR

(George Watt, 'The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XVI, 1887, pp. 346-70)

HAVING SPENT the greater part of a year in Manipur, in connexion with the recent boundary expedition, I took some pains to preserve a diary of my sojournings among the wild tribes of that country. When asked by your President, Mr Francis Galton, to read a paper before the Anthropological Institute,¹ I was, I now find, a little too hasty in selecting the subject I have the honour to lay before you this evening. The Journal of your Institute already possesses some most valuable papers on the primitive people who inhabit the charming mountainous country which separates Assam from Burma. Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe in two most admirable papers has placed before you a detailed account of the Angami Nagas, and of the other wild tribes who inhabit the so-called Naga Hills. These are the northern neighbours of the hill tribes of Manipur, and are indeed so intimately related to one or two of the Manipur tribes that they can with difficulty be separated from them. A most valuable series of papers has also appeared in your Journal on the monolithic monuments of the Naga Hills and of the Khasia Hills, from the pens of Colonel H. H. Godwin-Austin and Mr C. B. Clarke. A charmingly written paper, which will ever remain a memorial of the noble minded officer whose name it bears—the late most unfortunate Captain J. Butler—gives a life like picture of the Angamis. This appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1875. Several other brief notices of the Nagas and of their mountainous country, have also appeared, but of Manipur proper only two pamphlets have been published, and these are, I regret to say, not readily procurable in London. I allude to Colonel McCulloch's and Dr Brown's official reports of Manipur. These two officers were

¹ This is a paper, followed by a discussion, read before the Anthropological Institute in London.

for many years the political agents in that State, and took great pains (more particularly the former) to collect trustworthy facts regarding the people amongst whom their lives were thrown. My distinguished friend, Colonel (now Sir James) Johnstone, K.C.S.I., who for many years acted as political agent, in his reports also added greatly to our knowledge of the people of Manipur, and I may be pardoned if I add that to Sir James' friendship I owe entirely the opportunity of being permitted to visit some of the more distant and therefore more interesting races met with in that country.

I have deemed it desirable to give this brief history of the papers which have appeared on Manipur, since I hope to lay before you tonight the facts contained in my diary only which I deem new, or which I think have not obtained sufficient publicity, but I may here explain that I have consulted very carefully, and often borrowed largely, from the works enumerated above, so as to make my present paper as nearly as possible a complete though brief abstract of all that is at present known regarding the interesting region to which I desire to call your attention. It may, however, be as well to give in this place a general account of the geographical position of Manipur, and to indicate its main physical peculiarities. There are perhaps over twenty different races of human beings met with in that small region, and it would seem that the nature of the country itself has exercised a considerable influence in the isolation and formation of the separate and antagonistic races within an area of only about 8,000 square miles.

It may in popular language be stated that from the Bay of Bengal near Chittagong, a closely packed belt of mountains rises from the plains of Bengal, Cachar, and Assam, on the one side, and from Burma on the other. This wall extends through the so-called Chittagong Hill tracts to Manipur, and onwards to the north east to the so-called Naga Hills, and terminates with the Patkoi Mountains at a point where that range is joined on to the Bhutan Himalaya. Manipur is thus the middle portion of this highland country, and is traversed by a perfectly bewildering series of more or less paralld ranges which are every now and then knotted together by transverse spurs in proximity to the culminating points. These lofty knots exercise a most important influence. They cause the rivers which have been flowing south west for miles to return down the other side of the same range only to escape round a second range, and to

thus resume their south westerly direction. Within these valleys, and with their villages perched on commanding spurs, the various tribes seem also to have wandered, and the lofty knots appear not only to have determined the drainage, but also to have influenced the diffusion of the people.

To the north and north-west of Manipur, one of the most important ranges (the Barail) culminates in Japvo—a peak over 10,000 feet in altitude. From this elevated mass transverse spurs connect the neighbouring parallel ranges. These links not only determine the watershed of the rivers which are to traverse the valleys of Manipur from those one might be almost pardoned for viewing as the northern extensions of the same valleys into the Naga country, but along these very transverse spurs may be traced the line which demarcates the Nagas of the north from the Nagas of Manipur. So again similar though less important instances occur of the connecting spurs forming the limitations of the races who have come to live within the aggregation of parallel valleys or on the enclosing mountains which go to make up the little state of Manipur.

One of the most striking features of Manipur is the pleasing way in which the mountains, at intervals, widen apart so as to enclose the fertile plains formed by the rivers. The valley of Manipur proper is the largest and most valuable plain of this nature, but many other smaller ones burst upon the view of the traveller, each appearing like an oasis, hung from the confusion of wild and rugged mountains. It is perhaps safe to assume that the superiority of land of this kind over that laboriously formed by terracing the slopes of the hills, must have been the reward ever kept in view by tribes rising into importance and power. The conquest of one race over another most probably led to the valleys passing time after time into new hands. That this idea may be the correct one receives countenance from the fact that many of the hill tribes have traditions that they once held the great valley of Manipur. Modern history fully supports this also, for, in perhaps no other part of India, have greater or more cruel struggles taken place, than amongst the tribes of Manipur. Each great period in the history of that little state has seen one tribe a terror to all the others, owing to its young men being entirely devoted to raiding on the villages of the neighbouring tribes. During these unprovoked attacks and marauding expeditions the villages were completely destroyed, the old and weak men and women

murdered, the strong and young men and women carried into slavery, and the infants cruelly butchered before their parents' eyes. This wholesale capturing of slaves must in time have exercised a powerful influence in modifying tribal characteristics, for the slaves were often well cared for, the younger ones being allowed to take wives, or were given in marriage to their captors. All this has happily been changed, and the raiding habit, through the strong hand of the British power, has been almost entirely put down.

The last great race of invaders and conquerors who entered Manipur was the Kukies or Lushais. These people seem to have taken their origin in the upper Chittagong Hill tracts, but finding it necessary to immigrate, the surplus population, during the past two or three centuries at least, has kept moving to the north, or in other words into Manipur. One wave of these invaders received the name of the Khongjai Kukies, another the Kom Kukies, and these two in their numerous clans or subdivisions seem to have poured into Manipur territory, and wandering up the mountains which constitute the western wall of the valley, ultimately descended into the valley itself. A third great wave, the Suktis or Kumhaus, now inhabit the country immediately to the south of the valley of Manipur or have wandered along a portion of the eastern ranges. A fourth, the Chasads (or Chuksads), a branch of the Suktis, have attracted attention within the past few years. These modern raiding Kukies seem to have come from Burma into Manipur, and most probably at the instigation of the Rajah of Sumjok, a Burmese feudatory chief. It was Chasad raidings that led to the Burma Manipur expedition, since, while occupying territory claimed by Manipur they acknowledged allegiance only to Sumjok.

A fifth great branch of this same family, the Lushais, has not only been pressing on the Kukies from behind and raiding upon them, but their attacks on the British district of Cachar led to the Lushai war. It may thus be observed the Kukies and Lushais close in the southern extremity of Manipur, and it is perhaps safe to assert that these southern tribes, broken into their respective clans, are two branches of the same great family. They speak dialects of a common tongue and are very similar both in appearance, dress and social customs. Their influence in Manipur has been great, especially on the races who now inhabit at least the southern half of that state. Indeed the Manipuris proper, or the ruling people who inhabit

the fertile plains of Manipur, speak a language acknowledged to belong to the Lushai group. By the casual observer the so-called Manipuris (or as they call themselves Meithis) would be pronounced a mixed race between the Kukies and the Nagas. Indeed, this is most probably the true definition of that people, and it may safely be said that it is difficult to limit the influence of Kukie blood in a very large number of the tribes of Manipur. Commencing with the Kumhaus in the south and passing north through Manipur, race after race is seen to blend into each other so that the neighbouring peoples can scarcely be distinguished. If, on the other hand, two clans at a greater distance from each other be compared they are found to be perfectly distinct. It is perhaps not far from the truth to assume that the present inhabitants of the plains and hills of Manipur have sprung from four great influences: the Kukies in the south, the Nagas in the north, the Shan and Burmese tribes on the east, and certain hill tribes on the west more or less related to the great Kachari family now distributed throughout the valley of Assam. Starting with this assumption, on going north the people are found to become more and more of the accepted Naga type just as on passing south they become more and more Lushai, while on wandering to the east a Shan and Burmese taint appears, and on passing west tribes more and more allied to the hillmen of the Northern Cachar hills and to the people of the Khasia and Garo hills are found. The southern half of the eastern people—the Mur-rings, and, in the Kabo Valley, the Kubaus—are more Burmese, or rather Shan, than anything else, while the northern section lose their Naga type and come to bear a stronger affinity to some of the wild hill tribes of Burma.

Sarameti is the loftiest peak of the mountain region we are considering. It rises to close upon 13,000 feet and it may be stated to be north east of Manipur or very nearly due east of Khomia, the capital of the Naga hills. To the west of this lofty peak occur the powerful Angami Nagas, to the south and south west the great family of the Tankhul Nagas of Manipur. But on nearing Sarameti both the Angami and Tankhul types change, and a distinct Burmese influence makes itself felt. Some of the more important branches of the wild tribes of the Naga Hills described by Colonel Woodthorpe in his second paper (read before this Institute), inhabit the regions lying east and north east of the Angamis, or in other words, in proximity

to Sarameti. The people to whom I more particularly desire to draw your attention in this paper are those to the south and south west (the opposite side) of Sarameti, in other words, to the Tankhul and allied Naga tribes.

Having now in a general way indicated the characteristic features of Manipur and of its people, I shall proceed to examine in greater detail some of the typical races but in so doing I shall endeavour to be brief and to follow as closely as possible the narrative of my own personal travels amongst these people.

The road from Cachar to Manipur passes over nine nearly parallel ranges, and these constitute the western wall of the valley. This road is carried by giddy cane suspension bridges across the deep and blue rivers which flow between the hills. These bridges are in many respects unlike the platted bark bridges of the Himalaya, being stronger and more durable. A long cane, (the scandent stem of the palm, *Calamus Rotang*), three or four hundred feet long is carefully selected and drawn across the river. This, stretched at each end over a natural rock, or masonry or a wooden pillar, constructed for the purpose, is fastened by beams driven into the ground beyond the pillars. A second or even a third cane is similarly stretched across, and the belt formed by these canes is thereafter platted into a pathway of about a foot in breadth. The pillars are then carried to a farther height of six feet, and two other strong canes are carried across from the top of the pillars and about three feet apart, these are fastened by more distant beams into the ground. A small doorway is left in the upper portions of the pillars leading to the pathway. By means of a carefully selected set of canes cut so as to leave at one extremity a V-shaped stump of a branch, the upper suspension canes are bound to the pathway by the V-shaped end being hooked on to one of the upper canes, and carried below the pathway and tied to the opposite upper cane. The next one is hooked on to the opposite cane, then carried under the pathway and tied to the other suspension. In this way the suspension canes are securely bound throughout the entire length of the bridge to the pathway and while with the weight of the passenger the bridge curves and sways to an alarming degree it is impossible to fall off the tunnel like structure through which the traveller has to pass. Some of these bridges providing for the great rise in the rivers, during the rains, are carried as much as 50 feet above the ordinary level of the water, and, while

a giddy sensation is caused by the water being seen to flow beneath the feet—a sensation as if running violently up the stream sideways—still, at all seasons of the year the rivers of Manipur may be crossed in safety.

To illustrate more forcibly the deep gorges which cut up the mountainous tracts of Manipur, it may be here added that on the road from Cachar to Manipur the following large rivers are crossed:—the Jiri, the Makru, the Barak, the Irang, the Lengba, and the Limatak, in a journey of only about 80 miles. So deep are the gorges in which these rivers flow to the south, that in most of them the sun sets on the river some hours before its golden tints have faded away from the forest clad summits of the hills which cast their gloomy shadows on the deep and still waters. Nothing could more forcibly depict the configuration of Manipur than a history of its rivers and their contortions before they are permitted to escape to the plains below. The Barak, the largest and most important river of the country, for example rises north east of the Makru and Irang rivers, and flowing S.W., then N.E. and turning W.N.W. it resumes again its S.W. course thus sweeping round the head streams of the Irang and Makru. Again flowing south east, it receives in its course in addition to the Makru several small streams; next the Irang; still pursuing a southerly course it receives the Tepai, which flows north from the Lushai country to join it, at this point it now makes a sharp bend and flows nearly due north until it receives the waters of the Jiri, after which it enters British territory and flows west through Cachar. This is a brief history of the river system within the western wall of Manipur, a wall in which the Barail constitutes the most lofty range. An illustration of this kind shows how closely the mountain tracts of Manipur are packed with parallel ranges of hills and deep gorges.

The wall which forms the western side of Manipur—the wall of which I shall presently speak—is inhabited by:—

1st. A tribe of Nagas broken into various more or less distinct clans, which all speak dialects of the same language, although these are often so different that they have to resort to Manipuri when conversing with each other. I allude to the inhabitants of the western ranges, to the north of the road from Cachar to Manipur, these may collectively be called the Kaupuis.

2nd. The Khongjai and Kom Kukies to the south of the Government road.

I do not propose to describe to you tonight the various races of Kukies and Lushais, for these are but comparatively modern invaders of Manipur. The Kaupuis, on the other hand, are perhaps one of the eldest races, but from being much more peaceable they have attracted less attention, they are accordingly very interesting from an anthropological point of view.

The Kaupuis

There are said to be three great clans of Kaupuis, namely: 1st. Sungbu, 2nd. Koiveng, and 3rd. Kaupuis proper. The number of this tribe has been estimated at about 5,000 persons. They would appear to have occupied their present position from great antiquity, having been only compelled to resign positions they formerly held, through the persecution of the Kukies. They are much devoted to their village sites, not so much because they were born there, but because their ancestors rest in the village cemeteries. The Sungbu branch of the tribe is the strongest and most powerful.

Characteristics: They are of moderate stature, sometimes very short, well formed, but generally not very muscular. Some of them have good looks, but the greatest differences in countenance are often met with. Some have Mongolian faces, others are almost Aryan, with oblique eyes. This is, however, a feature of most of the tribes of Manipur, oblique eyes, without the flat noses and high cheek bones of the typical Mongolian, being common. The hair is worn short amongst the males, sticking straight up from the head, and cut to within an inch and a half of the scalp. Others wear the hair long, and cut straight round, divided in the middle, and kept back by means of a thin strip of bamboo.

The dress of the males is scanty the working dress consisting of only a small square, apron-like piece of cloth, suspended in front. The more fashionable costume is, however, a kilt-like piece of cloth bound round the waist, and hanging down in front. The lower portion of this cloth is often elegantly embroidered, and has red tassels and tufts of yellow orchid bark forming a neat fringe. The shawl thrown over the shoulders is generally white, with an elegant red border, the narrow strips of which it is composed having, where these are joined together red triangular embroidered ornaments. The women wear a piece of cotton cloth of a thick texture. This is

generally blue with red stripes and quaint embroidered designs. It is fastened under the armpits so as to cover the breasts, and hangs down to the knees. A waist band, with the characteristic yellow and red fringe, serves as an additional means of fastening up this skirt. In the cold season the women also wear a sort of short jacket, which seems to have been borrowed from the Manipuris. Over the shoulders is also thrown a blue scarf-like piece of cloth with an elegant fringe. The men wear in the left ear a bunch of brass earrings, with generally nothing in the right. The female earrings are often like those worn by the Garo women, large, numerous and heavy. Necklaces of beads and shells, but more particularly of reddish pebbles, are much prized. On the upper arm a bracelet is worn. This consists of a wire as thick as a quill, wound tightly ten or twelve times round the arm, both ends being flattened out into a head piece about the size of a shilling, and tapering backward into the wire. Above the calf of the leg numerous rings of cane dyed black, or of the black fibres of *Caryota urens* are worn. The articles of jewellery prized by the women are similar to those of the men, only larger and more numerous; the legs and feet are, however, left bare.

The villages: The villages are built on the commanding spurs of the hills, and are protected by a wooden palisade. The houses are strongly built and admirably thatched. The front gable is large and ornamented by rudely carved horns projecting above, in which are fastened bunches of epiphytic orchids. The roof slopes backward, so that the further gable is often very small. Each household preserves its grains and other valuables in a strongly built granary. As a proof of the respect which they show for individual property it may be mentioned, however, that these store houses are bolted on the outside, for they know nothing of locks and keys, and indeed, have no need of either, since the habit of stealing from each other is quite unheard of amongst these simple people. A partition divides each house into two compartments. In the front compartment the family sits, and in the rear apartment they sleep and cook their meals. The boys of the family from the time they reach maturity sleep with all the other young men of the village in what may be called the guard house. The women do all the heavy work, and the men, when not employed in agricultural labour, sit all day long near the house door, smoking pipes with bamboo water bowls.

They use green tobacco, but admit that the pleasure of smoking is not to be compared with that of holding in the mouth a sip of the nicotized fluid from the water bowl of the pipe.

Every village has its hereditary officers, namely the Kul-lapka, the Lul-laka, and the Iampu. The hereditary chief is a man of influence according as he is wealthy or has a high personal reputation for sport or deeds of daring. Usually, however, this is not the case, and each village is a sort of miniature republic, the safety of which all acknowledge to depend upon the strict observance of the natural laws of personal rights and property. Without laws or law-givers, without even an elective governing body, they live in peace and happiness the head men sitting in council only when a crime has been committed. The highest punishment that such a council can inflict is expulsion from the village, for blood feuds are left to be avenged by those who are implicated in them. The certainty of vengeance makes such rare within a village, but blood feuds between two villages are never forgotten and are handed down long after the cause of such feuds has been entirely forgotten.

Marriage system: Intercourse between the youths of both sexes is perfectly unrestricted and attachments between individuals repeatedly spring up, but if such attachments are not approved by the parents they are broken off, and the young man's father goes to the home of the girl of *his* selection to treat for a daughter-in-law. These parental forced marriages never seem to give origin to any unhappiness afterwards, although young couples often do run away and get married against their parents wishes. Such matches create for a time much indignation but they are not regarded as sufficiently serious to necessitate the flight of the parties. The young couple merely take refuge in a friend's house who looks after them until a compromise has been come to by the parents. In the case of adultery the woman escapes without punishment, and should the adulterer be killed by the offended and injured husband the wife returns to her father's house.

One of the most extraordinary peculiarities of the Kaupuis is that of taking 'bone money' (*Munda*). On the death of a wife her father demands *munda* from the husband, or if he be dead, the late husband's nearest relative. On the death of a child *munda* is also demanded by the wife's father. The *munda* generally consists of a buffalo, and the demander of *munda* has to kill a pig for the family

feast. No *munda* is required for a person killed accidentally or in war, or by cholera or small pox. Should a woman die in childbirth the child is not permitted to live but is buried with her. If the husband dies before the wife she is taken by his brother or nearest male kin. This curious system of bone money may be viewed as securing the protection of individuals under whatever circumstances they may be thrown, and the *munda* ensures that every care will be taken both of wife and offspring.

Polygamy is permitted but is rare. Divorce occurs if all parties concerned are agreeable, but the wife can only separate provided her parents return the marriage purchase money.

Burial customs: On the death of a Kaupui a feast is given by the survivors to their family and friends. The corpse is buried on the death in a coffin and under the body and within the coffin are placed a hoe, a spear, cooking pots, and cloths, for use in the next world. The grave consists of a deep trench with an opening or recess excavated at right angles to the trench, in the recess the coffin is deposited and the earth filled in. A large flat slab is placed over the mouth of the trench. In the graves of females are buried the wearing cloths, spinning wheels, and cooking implements. While the Kaupuis thus bury their dead somewhat after the way the ashes of the Khasias are deposited in graves over which large slabs are placed, they do not erect the memorial monoliths so common in the Khasia and Naga Hills.

Implements: A short spear not ornamented, wicker-work shields ornamented with painted figures and dyed hair. These shields are of great length and slightly curved. The *dao* is of the ordinary curved Bengal pattern, and is worn stuck in the waist cloth either at the side or more commonly behind. The Kaupuis are great experts in throwing the spear.

Religious ideas: The Kaupuis believe in a supreme being who is benevolent. This deity is creator of all things. They have an obscure idea of a future state. In addition to numerous spirits they recognize the existence of one who is especially employed in inducing men to do evil. After death they say that men go to an underground world where they are met by their ancestors who introduce them to this new life. It is remarkable that not only does this same idea prevail throughout all the various Naga races of Manipur, but most of these aboriginal tribes believe also that they came into this world by

escaping from a cave which many say was in the country to the south, others to the east of their present abode. A murdered man meets his murderer in the next world, and makes him his slave.

Each village generally has a priest who directs the sacrifices. He is held in sacred esteem, and is not allowed to do any work, but his office is not hereditary. Before going on a journey or commencing any important work, the priest is consulted as to a propitious day, and on these occasions eggs are frequently consulted. A simple method of divining omens consists in rapidly scratching the ground with the finger or a piece of bamboo, and thereafter counting the number of lines made: an even number is unlucky. Meeting a mole on the road is very unlucky, and the Kaupuis accordingly try to secure and kill this objectionable creature. The barking of a deer in front is also a bad omen.

The Kolyas

Having now briefly indicated a few of the more striking peculiarities of the Kaupuis, I shall endeavour to direct your attention to the people met with during a journey to the north from the town of Manipur to the British possession now known as the Naga Hills. The path leads up the valley of the Tiki River (the river called Imphal in Manipur) for a distance of about three days' journey, until it reaches the watershed near the village of Sangopung, and not far from the Manipur police station of Myang Khong. Still to the north, it follows down the Khomaru to the outpost of Karong. Here the Barak is seen to make one of its remarkable reversions. The river from Meithiphum flows south-west to form with the Khomaru the Karong head stream of the Barak. From the plateau-like spur of Karong, however, the Barak flows north-east in a somewhat confined valley so that its banks are little more than two or three miles distant from the Meithiphum, the two valleys being almost quite parallel for a distance of eight or ten miles. Thus the path from Manipur to the north follows up one stream and down another but it also skirts along the eastern flank of the Barail range of rugged and bold peaks. To the west and north-west of this portion of the Barail, the mountainous country is broken by the deep and almost precipitous valleys of the Makru, Irang, and Barak. The head streams of these rivers drain their waters from the

great transverse range which forms the watershed of the rivers which flow south through Manipur and ultimately to Cachar from those which find their way to the north through the Naga Hills to Assam.

To the south of the transverse range and within the upper drainage area of the Barak (the region I have tried briefly to indicate), reside the various clans of the tribe of Nagas whom the late Dr Brown was, I think, the first to designate collectively, as the Kolyas. On the journey from Manipur to Kohima the visitor has thus the opportunity of studying one or two of the more important clans of this tribe of Nagas, and it may be repeated that they occur on the west and north-west of Manipur between the Kaupuis and the Angamis, but it may be added that they extend east of the line of the Tiki until they meet the great tribe of Tankhul Nagas.

Intermediate in geographical position the Kolyas may be said to resemble the Kaupuis in the south, to blend into the Angamis on the north, to approximate to the Tankhuls on the east, and to gradually become more and more like the Kachcha Nagas on the north and north-west. Isolated however, within their respective wild mountain homes the various clans of Kolyas have come to possess peculiarities in dress, social habits, and language which render it no difficult task to assign to each man his proper clan, if not to fix the very village to which he belongs. They have little or no dealings with each other, but on the contrary exist in what one might be almost pardoned for describing as a chronic and hereditary state of feud one with the other.

There are said to be eight clans of Kolya Nagas named Tangal, Mao, Murram, Pural, Threngba, Meithiphum, Myang-Khong, and Tokpo-Khul. These clans have been returned as about 5,000 souls each clan occupying from one to at most ten or twelve villages. Their customs differ but slightly from those of the Kaupuis, but in language, dress, and facial peculiarities they are much more nearly related to the Angamis. Indeed the Mao and Murram clans claim to have descended from the Angamis (or as they are here called the Gnamis) and the Angamis themselves, tell an amusing story of *their* history which tends to give credibility to the Kolya tradition. There was a lake, they say, out of which emerged three men, one went south and gave origin to the Mao and Murram clans, another west, the great ancestor of the Kachcha Nagas, and the third remained in the country and became the Angami.

Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe has divided the Nagas of the Naga Hills and the country to the north of the Angamis into kilted and non-kilted Nagas. The Kaupuis and many of the Kolyas are non-kilted and wear a figleaf-like apron suspended from a waist string, or don a sort of tightly bound *dhoti* which covers the back as well as the front of the body. The *dhoti* worn by the Mao and Murram Kolyas, however, very much resembles the Angami Naga black kilt, only that the ornamental shells on it never (as was formerly the case amongst the Angamis) denoted a warrior who had captured so many human heads. The Kolyas as a race are, however, far inferior to the Angamis or even to the Kaupuis in matters of personal adornment. The Mao and Murram Nagas rarely wear any other garment beside their black kilt, and only occasionally do they possess ornaments or jewellery. The ears are however perforated by persons who desire to wear earrings during the winter months, and coloured cotton thread, red and blue, is worked into ear pendants eight inches long. The upper ends of these pendants are formed into a sort of long ring which projects in front, the ends dangling from behind the ear.

Amongst both, the Maos and Murrans the young men never sleep in their parents' houses but live in a club or watch house, and in this house in the case of the Murrans, the younger married men are also to be found. This fact would seem to point to a state of constant preparedness against the approach of an enemy. The young unmarried girls however, are never (as amongst the Angamis) found living promiscuously with the young men. Marriage is preserved with the utmost rigidity adultery being punished by the death of the male offender, and by the woman having her hair cut off, her nose slit open, and deprived of her jewellery and personal property, by being returned to her parents. Divorce is, however, easily procurable, the consent of both parties being obtained, the property is divided and the woman is thus once more free to marry whom she pleases. Although as amongst the Kaupuis and the Angamis, the young parties are consulted and their likings as a rule followed, marriage is contracted by the parents. The father of the boy or girl who wishes to get a daughter or son-in-law goes to the pre-arranged family with a present, and if this be accepted, marriage arrangements are rapidly completed and feasts given to all the friends and relatives. The rule usual amongst all Nagas, is with the Kolyas strictly

observed of marriage never being permitted within the same family.

Theft is extremely prevalent and is practically viewed as a crime only when detected, but even then the punishment inflicted is simple, namely the compulsory return of the stolen property. To charge a man with stealing without being able to prove the theft might, however, mean a blood-feud. This looseness in the respect for personal property contrasts most forcibly with that which has been narrated regarding the Kaupuis where even the granaries are bolted only on the outside and still theft is quite unknown.

The whole of the Mao tribe is under one chief who receives tribute in the form of one basket of rice a year from each family, and exercises the usual authority possessed by all monarchs or rajahs. There are twelve villages of Maos, each comprising on an average about one hundred houses. In this respect the Maos are very unlike the Kaupuis, where each village has its nominal hereditary chief, who is, however, powerless, the village being a miniature republic, and they are equally unlike the Angamis, where every village is broken into two or more *Khels*, each under its respective headman. Combination is thus possible amongst the Maos, but impossible with the Angamis, since nearly every *Khel* has a feud against at least one other *Khel* in one or more villages. The Mao houses are like the Kaupui and Angami houses, gable ended but the walls are much higher than those to be seen in the Kaupui villages.

The Murrans are contained within one large village of nearly 1,000 houses. They have two hereditary chiefs, the greater and the lesser chief. Colonel W. J. McCulloch gives an amusing description of the tradition prevalent to account for this remarkable fact. 'A former chief had two sons, of whom the younger, who was the greater warrior, desired to usurp the place of his elder brother. He urged his father to give him the chiefship. The old chief, afraid of his younger son, and unable to give up the birthright of the eldest, determined on a stratagem.

'He told his eldest son to go and secretly bring home the head of an enemy. This having been done, the old chief summoned his sons, and giving each a packet of provisions, desired them to proceed in such directions as they chose in search of enemies, for he who brought in first the head of an enemy should be king. The brothers took their leave, the youngest proceeding where he thought he would soonest procure a head, the eldest bending his steps to where

he had concealed the one already taken. This he brought out of its concealment, and proceeded with it in triumph through the village. Nor was the youngest long in returning with a head, but having been preceded by his brother, the chiefship was declared to be the right of the eldest. This, however, did not satisfy the youngest son, he persisted in being called chief, and the matter was compromised, by both being allowed to remain, one as the great the other as the little chief, neither of them has any fixed revenue.

But the village, when it is necessary, makes the great chief's house and they give him the hind leg of all game caught, the little chief has no right to anything; the houses in his vicinity however, do at times give him a leg of game. Formerly no one was allowed to plant his rice until the great chief allowed it, or had finished his planting. This mark of superiority is not at present allowed by the little chief, who plants without reference to his superior. There are many prohibitions in regard to the food, both animal and vegetable, which the chief should eat, and the Murrans say the chief's post must be a very uncomfortable one.'

The Murrans houses are just the reverse to the Kaupuis houses. In sickness, offerings are made to the deities, and a feast is occasionally given to the poor, but the priest and priestesses, who officiate on all such occasions, are not held in high esteem: the people, for example, never impoverish themselves, as the Kaupuis do, to merit the praises of their priests.

On the journey from Manipur to Kohima, the Murrans could not be visited, as their country lies considerably to the east of the path followed, being between that of the Maos and the Lahupas. The principal village of the Maos, however, forms the frontier of Manipur territory, bordering with the Angamis of the Naga Hills. I have discussed the Maos and Murrans first, because they are more numerous and more powerful than any of the other Kolyas. In passing, however, from Manipur to Kohima the Myang-Khong clan is first visited, and then the Meithiphums, before reaching the Maos. The Myang-Khongs possess nine villages, and each village has its nominal chief, but in village government, as in many other respects, the Myang-Khongs resemble the Kaupuis far more than their northern neighbours the Murrans.

The village of Tangal, which stands on a hill to the east of the lovely plain of Keithimabi, enjoys the high reputation of having been

the birthplace of the founder of the present Manipur dynasty. But the Tangals differ so little from the Myang-Khongs and Meithiphum clans that they need scarcely be more than mentioned by name. On the crest of the hill above Myang-Khong, the visitor is first made acquainted with the commemorative monoliths erected by the Kolyas, in honour of great feasts given on historic events. These are often nine or ten feet high, and occur as a rule in rows along some prominent and commanding ridge leading from the village. They do not, however, appear to be arranged according to any definite plan, either as to height or number. Sometimes a great stone will be found standing all by itself with a cairn of pebbles gathered around it, at other times two, three, or it may be twenty or thirty occur over the crest of the hill or along the path leading to the village. At a distance, these remind one of the slate slabs which, in the far north of Scotland, stand in rows around the fields or enclose the roads which are there in many places carried, like water ruts, below the level of the fields. The habit of raising commemorative stones forcibly isolates the Kolyas from the Kaupuis and allies them to the Angamis, but I could not discover any instance where these monoliths marked the tombs of great men, as is the case with many of the monoliths in the Khasia hills and among the Angami Nagas.

After passing the frontier of Manipur near the village of Mao, the visitor finds in a very short time that he has entered the country of a new and more cheerful people, for the contrast between the Nagas of Manipur and the Angamis is extremely great. Instead of the untidy race, neglectful of all personal appearance, among whom he has sojourned for some days, he finds himself among a bold warlike mountain race, who are as proud of their personal appearance as of their wild mountains and laboriously terraced hillsides.

The Angamis

It is not my present purpose to dwell at any length on these people. They have been so fully discussed by Colonel Woodthorpe and Captain Butler that little is now left to be told regarding them. The *Khel* system by which their villages are split into rival communities does not however appear to have been fully understood. Instead of the sub-clans occupying different districts they are dispersed throughout the country, each village consisting of two or more of

these sub-clans or *Khels*. It is no unusual state of affairs to find *Khel A* of one village at war with *Khel B* of another while not at war with *Khel B* of its own village. The *Khels* are often completely separated by great walls, the people on either side living within a few yards of each other, yet having no dealings whatever. Each *Khel* may be described as a small republic. The club system for the youths of the village prevails, each *Khel* having its own club house or *dosta-khana*, in which not merely the young men, but also the young women all live together instead of with their parents.

It has been stated by some of the writers on the Naga Hills that the young men in the Angami villages do not live together, as is the case with most of the Naga tribes. This mistake appears to have risen from the fact that the men, not of the whole village, but of each *Khel* within the village do so, and indeed the men in the club or watch house belonging to one *Khel* have often to keep as close a guard against those of another *Khel* as against the approach of an enemy outside the common fortifications of the village. While scrambling over the walls dividing the *Khels* of Kegwima I was not a little surprised when I came across a stone 5 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches broad, covered with cup-shaped markings. There were at least thirty-one such markings all apparently very old, most being coated with lichens. Some of the better markings were 2 inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. These on inquiry of the bystanders were at first said to be 'nothing at all', then by and by an explanation was offered. Their fathers when they were children made these holes by imitating the grown-up people husking the rice in the large wooden mortars. When cross-examined as to how this game of childhood had disappeared they could give no answer. From one village to another I wandered with my eyes opened to see a new fact, which, whatever explanation may be given if it exists, namely, that numerous stones built here and there, now in the village fortifications and now in the commemorative piles, are freely covered with artificial markings closely resembling those found in many parts of Europe. A few of the more striking of such stones were photographed. I venture to give no theory regarding these markings, and I have called them by the name by which they are known in Europe, 'cup-shaped markings', because they are identical in size and form with those which my friend Mr J. Linn, of the Geological Survey, took me over the North of Scotland to examine. Still less do

I propose that there is anything more than a coincidence in the fact that they are in many cases associated, although apparently unconnected, with the habit of erecting great monoliths, such as are also to be found near some of the cup-shaped markings of Scotland. In one or two instances I discovered monoliths, each with one deep cup-shaped marking on its apex, and I could get no explanation of this fact.

The Angamis are, however, believers in evil spirits, and pile up great masses of leaves in the forest foot paths dedicated to the spirits that dwell there. It is by no means uncommon to find near these heaps a pole stuck in the ground with a globular ball cut on its apex, and even a small hole drilled on the top. Poles of this kind I came across once or twice while wandering through the more inaccessible forests of Manipur, and I recollect to have seen a most remarkable accumulation of this nature in native Sikkim. Two or three poles, spear like, were stuck in the ground and across the path was drawn a string with feathers and broken eggs attached to it. Strings said to be for the spirits of dying men to cross by, are regularly carried over the rivers by the Santals of Bengal, and cairns of stones, with sticks and bits of red coloured cloth occur on every difficult mountain pass throughout India. It is worth adding that it is an universal custom that all cairns of stones or of leaves dedicated to the spirits that reside there are passed by the traveller on his right be he the bold Angami Naga, the miserable-looking Tankhul of Manipur, or the happy Leptcha of Sikkim.

Music is practically unknown amongst the Angamis, and their only song is the monotonous grunting of the *hau-hau* in different tones, indulged in and kept up by every man engaged on any kind of work. A song with words I believe to be unknown and with the exception of the cow bells and bamboo reed whistles they have no musical instruments—except one, by-the-by, which I do not recollect to have been described a bamboo, Jews-harp used both by the Angamis and the Khasias.

Among the Angamis omens are generally consulted by rapidly cutting the woody stems of *Adhatoda vesica* into thin slices and watching in how many cases the dark heart shaped pith falls directed towards or away from the operator.

The Angami is an expert cultivator so far as his primitive agricultural implements admit of his being so. He has most marvellously

terraced the slopes around his villages, cleverly carrying from a great distance by ingeniously constructed channels the water necessary for the irrigation of his crops. Rice is the principal crop, but Indian corn is now largely cultivated along with several species of beans and peas.

De Candolle, in his most admirable little book on the cultivated plants of the world excluded the soy bean (the seeds of *Glycine Soja*) from being Indian on the ground mainly of its having no vernacular names. It not only has a name in every vernacular in India, but it is largely grown by the Angamis, a people who have only taken from India the Indian corn and tobacco, and the Angami name for it, *Tzo-dza*, looks remarkably like *Soya*. It may be worth adding that while buckwheat and amarantus grains, extensively cultivated by nearly all the hill tribes of India, are apparently unknown to the Angamis, they cultivate in their place a labiate plant, *Perilla ocimoides*, known to them as *Kenia*.

To the Manipuris, the Kolya Nagas, and the Angamis the wild madder, *Rubia sikkimensis*, is far more valuable than the equally abundant manjet, *Rubia cordifolia*. Few people can live long among the Angamis and not admire the beautiful scarlet coloured human and goats' hair with which they ornament their spears, earrings and other ornaments. The power to dye human hair is doubtfully known to the European dyer, still less can he stain the siliceous layer of the rattan cane. Both these arts are fully understood by the Nagas, but they declare that if manjet be used instead of *Rubia sikkimensis* the result will not be obtained. This curious fact appears to be quite unknown to the hill tribes of other parts of India who alone use the manjet and pronounce the more extensive climber, *R. sikkimensis*, as quite worthless. To obtain the red dye from the latter plant the bark of the *Alnus nepalensis* is employed along with a handful of the seeds of *Perilla ocimoides*, and a little of the bark of *Symplocos racemosa*. The blue colour used by the Angamis is derived from *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*, the *rum* plant of all the hill tribes of Assam, and not from the common indigo plant. This fact is even still more curious since *rum* is the indigo yielding plant used in the adjoining provinces of China.

This apparent digression has been made to explain the red and blue colours used by the Angamis, for their blue drapery and red hair ornaments are their most striking peculiarities of apparel.

The Murring Nagas

Having now dwelt in some considerable detail with the people who inhabit the western and northern mountain tracts of Manipur, I must hasten to say something of the more primitive although none the less interesting people found on the eastern side. In a general sort of way it has already been explained that far to the south abutting on the Khongjai Kukie the Murring Nagas inhabit the Hirok mountains. These are a very Burmese looking people who tie the hair in a knot and allow it to rest almost on the temples. In stature they are medium sized. They wear a white sheet striped, or with only a coloured border. This is folded across the waist and tucked in at the side. Over the upper part of the body is thrown loosely a checked shawl. In the ears are worn small rings.

While in many respects these people closely resemble the Burmans, in religion and social customs they more nearly approach the Kaupuis, but like the Kolyas they love feasts and erect a commemorative pile of stones after each great occasion.

The Tankhul Nagas

From the Hirok mountains north until they are met by the Murrans and Angamis and certain Burmese hill tribes, said to reside on the east and south east of Sarameti, occur the Tankhul Nagas. These have been divided into two sections, the more timid and wretched Tankhuls to the south, who, like the Murrings and Kukies, use a bow and arrow, and to the north the stalwart Lahupa Nagas, who have held their own alike against the Angamis and the Burmans mainly from the reputation they enjoy of being from their greater stature able to wield a much longer spear than any other tribe on the Assam frontier. The Manipuris call these people Lahupas from the basket like helmets which they wear. The Tankhuls in the south are a diminutive race who wear the hair long behind and on the sides, but cut across the crown like the unmarried girls of Manipur. The Lahupas on the other hand cut off all the hair except a band across the head from the brow to the neck about two inches in breadth, in which the hair is left about an inch and a half high, and so trained as to stand on end. This gives them a wild expression which their more stately form greatly enhances.

The Tankhuls and Lahupas are said to number about 20,000 they regard themselves as consisting of many sub-divisions but for the most part these are but the distinctions into villages and districts, for with the exception of the southern and northern tribes the others do not deserve separate notice. They are a tall race with large heads and heavy, stolid features, but still not unlike the lively Angamis with their small faces, small eyes and high cheek bones. Their dress is often very scanty, especially that of the men, consisting in holiday attire of a piece of cloth folded around the waist with a portion hanging down in front. Over the upper part of the body they throw loosely a large white shawl with stripes of red composed of little patches, in a somewhat checkered pattern. But while working all these garments are rejected and they are then seen to possess but one article of dress a horn or ivory ring about an eighth to a quarter of an inch in breadth drawn over the person. Dr Brown says, 'the object of this custom which is of great antiquity, is to prevent an *erectio penis*, they holding apparently that a mere exposure of the person unless so attended is not a matter to be ashamed of'. This ring is assumed on reaching puberty and is worn until death. Among the poor people a blade of grass is made to serve the same purpose as the ring. Numerous explanations of this remarkable practice have been offered but as yet without any satisfactory result. Dr Brown seemed to think that it had some relation to the strange habit of the eldest son, on marriage, turning his parents out of their home and claiming two thirds of all they possess. But surely if this habit proved irksome rather than to retard the period when marriage would be desired, it would have been a simpler solution of the difficulty to alter the inhuman conception of the selfish rights of a first born son.

On the birth of a child fowls are sacrificed and the women only of the village are treated to liquor. The child soon after birth has chewed rice placed in its mouth and is immersed in water nearly boiling from a supposed idea to make the child hardy. The mother is also made to perspire freely by being wrapped in hot water blankets until faintness ensues, on the third day the woman is allowed to go about and to resume her usual occupation.

Of the personal ornaments worn by the Tankhul little need be said. The ears are always perforated, the opening being greatly dilated at first by means of a V-shaped piece of cane, and afterwards

by a W-shaped piece. The process of perforating the ears is however, expensive, as a feast has to be given, it is accordingly customary to delay until a good number can be operated on at once. When properly formed the ear is ornamented with a miniature bale of white cotton wool at least two or three inches in diameter. At other times six or eight pieces of *solah* pith are placed together within the ear. Metal ornaments are never worn. The armlets consist of a piece of light wood about three inches in diameter hollowed out so as to admit the arm, and then reduced until the ring of wood is not more than a quarter of an inch in thickness. The outer surface of this armlet is then ornamented with red-coloured cane, covered over with the yellow bark of an orchid so as to leave exposed two rows of diamond-shaped spaces surrounded by the yellow.

Whether on the death of a great personage or on the perforation of the ears, notice is given of the feast by the construction of a great basket work triangle of bamboo supported on two feet. This frame work is variously decorated, and it is so constructed that all persons seeing it can learn the day the feast has been arranged for. While passing the village of Khongui I had the pleasure to witness a ceremony to the great god Kanchin Kurah praying that rain might come. This consisted of rice flour kneaded into dough and cut into round, biscuitlike pieces and fried. Eleven pieces were prepared for each family, six for the husband and five for the wife. Sitting upon a conspicuous spot each couple was devoutly engaged eating a little dog's flesh and breaking the biscuits. At each mouthful a fragment was thrown to the unseen, while his sacred name was repeated. Although no Naga will drink milk they all enjoy dog's flesh immensely, and will eat eggs only when quite rotten and liquid. They say that once upon a time they were cannibals, and they point to a distant hill saying the people beyond it are cannibals to this day. While not eating human flesh, they will eat anything except horse-flesh. Elephant, after being dead for some time and half putrid, is much relished.

The names for the various hereditary chiefs and headmen in the Tankhul villages are the same as those which prevail with the Kaupuis, and indeed their religious ideas are also closely similar. They do not erect monoliths like the Kolyas and Angamis, but outside their villages they construct curious memorial tombs in commemoration of their great men. These consist of great platforms

about 20 feet long, and perhaps three feet in height. They are three feet broad at the end nearest the village, and become about six feet broad at the further end. They are paved all over with slabs, and in time become most convenient resting places. When recently constructed however, they bear at the further end five wooden pillars curiously carved, three in front and two behind, upon which are placed the skulls and horns of the animals offered at the great feast. The two shorter pillars are each bifid at the top. The Tankhuls bury their dead.

In conversation with the Tankhuls, I learned that once upon a time their villages were just as with the Angamis, broken into *Khels*, but that long ago this system was abandoned.

The Lahupa agriculture is much more primitive than that practised by the Angamis. Carts and ploughs are of course absolutely unknown in any part of Manipur territory. The Tankhul hoe is, however, only a small blade of about two inches in diameter, lashed on to a bent stick. By this means the surface is very indifferently scratched, and the wonder is that he succeeds in getting crops of any kind to grow. One curiously clever agricultural implement, however, I saw in use near Khongui. This was an implement to free the ground of weeds. It consisted of a hoop of iron about half-an-inch in breadth, the diameter of the hoop being about one foot. To each end of the hoop a handle was attached, and the implement was so held in the hand that when dashed on the soft soil it passed completely underground, cutting off the roots of all the weeds. This I regard as a much more expeditious weeder than any hoe I have ever seen in Europe. As far as the Manipur tribes are concerned I saw it only amongst the Tankhuls. In addition to rice, the Tankhul cultivates Job's tears (*Coix lachryma*) as an article of food, a plant which by the Santals of Bengal and the hill tribes of most other parts of India is regarded as a most objectionable weed, and neither fit for human nor for animal food.

The Manipuris

Having now briefly enumerated the leading hill tribes of Manipur, it would naturally conclude any such account to say something of the Manipuris themselves. This could not be done satisfactorily however, in the space which I have at command, and I shall therefore

conclude by saying that both in language and facial peculiarities the Manipuris would appear to be a mixed race between the Kukis and Nagas, and most probably the Kolya Nagas.

Discussion

Captain R. C. Temple, with reference to the author's remarks on the cane bridges of the Nagas, pointed out the analogous rope bridges of Kashmir, called the *jhola* and *chika*. The *jhola* bridge consists of a footway composed of a hawser of loosely woven ropes with another rope about three feet above it as a handrail. The *chika* consists similarly of a hawser from which is swung a large wooden ring in which the passenger is seated and which is hauled across the stream by a second rope. Captain Temple also pointed out that like the Nagas the inhabitants of Sikkim and Nepal dwelt on hill tops and high plateaux, so as to be out of the way of malaria, while their cultivation was often carried on at much lower levels.

As regards the ground plan of a Naga house, broad in front and narrow at the back, it is curiously the very form that is so 'unlucky' in the West of India that no native will live in one of such a shape. In the Punjab it is called *sherdahan*, and Captain Temple having about seven years ago, to induce certain people to settle in a portion of a Punjabi town, found it impossible to do as the shape of the required spot was *sherdahan* (lion-mouthed).

The Karens of Burma, who are related to the Angami Nagas, north of Manipur, and to the allied tribes of Khyens and Kakhyens of Burma have a system of external justice which would account for the perpetual blood feuds alluded to by Dr Watt, the origin of which is unknown to the tribes themselves. A Karen may revenge a wrong done by an outsider on *any* member of his race or family—e.g. an English planter had a dispute with some Karens of Henzada about the price of some land, and then left Burma. Afterwards his son came to the spot from England to settle, having had no connexion with the old dispute. He was murdered as being a member of the planter's family, according to the Karen notions of proper justice. Of course, such a notion would tend to perpetuate blood feuds for ever. The Karens, too, like the Nagas have a personal god, but not apparently an evil spirit. This god, however, having deserted them, is not worshipped. But the spirits inherent in every living thing, and

indeed in all the more prominent inanimate things, who have power to harm men are worshipped, because they are active, and the god inactive. There is thus a very interesting practical pantheism within a mystical monotheism.

As regards cup-marks Captain Temple pointed out that both in India and Scotland instances were on record of boys and fishermen (in the latter country) adding to the cup-marks on stones to the present day, and making fresh ones. This should make us cautious about accepting the theories as to the antiquity of some of these marks.

As to the use of the words *Khel* for clan and section of a village, and *dostakhana* for the common hall or house of a village, these are words of Persian and Parthian origin from western India, used in the same senses. This was curious and worth investigation. Analogous words are *Kaji* (= *Qazi*) and *Diwan*, used all over the Himalayas as titles for the ordinary officials of the native states: though the Muhammadans were never in Nepal, Sikkim, or Bhutan, they are directly borrowed from them.

Dr Watt had remarked that the Nagas will eat any living thing, so will the Karens, excepting, however, the monkey. It would therefore, be very interesting to know if the Nagas excepted any one animal from their category of food producers. (Dr Watt here remarked that they excepted the horse.) Captain Temple thereon said that this information was important as it pointed to a possible totemism now or in days gone by.

Lastly, as to *polo*—a game which had been mentioned by Dr Watt. This was a game equally well known to the Baltis and Ladakhis of the north west Himalayas and was, Captain Temple understood, very like the form adopted by the Manipuris.

Lieut. Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen said that it had been a great pleasure to him to be present to hear Dr Watt give an account of the hill tribes around Manipur. It is a pleasure seldom accorded in this country to meet those who are familiar with a distant country which one knows well, and having been employed for a long period in those hills the speaker could testify to the accuracy of what Dr Watt had told them that evening. He regretted that the map by which the paper, when read, was illustrated, was on too small a scale to convey an accurate idea of the very extraordinary parallelism of the mountain ridges between Cachar and Manipur, and the manner in which

the rivers break through it, and show the plain portion of that country. Dr Watt had, the speaker thought, put the elevation of the main range too high at 13,000 feet. Its mean height is said to be 6-7,000, for only a few points reach a higher altitude.

Colonel Godwin-Austen took the opportunity now that they were discussing the tribes of the Manipur Hills, to allude to an officer who knew more of them and their language colloquially than any man, now living—viz. the late Colonel McCulloch, who was resident at Manipur for over twenty years. To him the Kuki tribes now living on the south of the valley and all around owe their very existence, but for him they would have all passed into slavery. When these tribes were driven north by the Lushais, Colonel McCulloch found them lands in the hills around Manipur. Colonel Godwin-Austen said that on their becoming aware that he was an intimate friend of Colonel McCulloch, they gave him every assistance that lay in their power. The old men asked after him, and they called him still their father, it was one of those many examples which show how some English officers make themselves beloved by the natives of the country.

Sir Joseph Fayree also made some remarks, and the author briefly replied, correcting the mistake as to the altitude of the mountains.

2

KOWPOI (KABUI) NAGA FESTIVALS AND DANCES

(R. Brown, *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, 1873)

THE FESTIVE OCCASIONS among the Kowpois are numerous, and are characterized by feasting, drinking, dancing and singing, and un-moderate amount of the haw haw, or peculiar cry of the hill-men, without which no entertainment of any kind would be complete. The following are the chief festivals, but feasts may be given at any time, as when a villager wishes to entertain his friends or upon any other joyous occasions.

The Kowpois are very particular in observing their various festivals and celebrate them with all their might; first, the Enghan, which happens in or about December. During the five days of the

continuance, all the inhabitants of the village dressed in their best attire, keep up the dance and song, interrupted only by short intervals of repose and breaks dedicated to feasting.

Next, the Ringnai, in or about January, which lasts for three days. In one day during this festival the men and women fetch separately the water for their own use. The men having killed pigs, take a portion for themselves, and give a portion to the women, and having cooked them separately, they eat them separately, the men in the house of the head of the family, the women each in her own house. An effigy of a man made of a plantain is hung on a tree, and at it they throw pointed bamboos or sticks. Should the javelin strike it on the head, the thrower, it is said, will kill an enemy; but if it lodges in the belly, the thrower is to be blessed with plenty of good. This festival is said to be in honour of their ancestors, but the only visible sign of this is sprinkling their graves with their particular drink. On the termination of the Ringnai, they go through the ceremony of taking the omens in regard to their place of cultivation, but this seems to have descended to them merely as a ceremonial relic of former times; for the circle of cultivation is never broken, let the omens be what they may.

After the Enghan, the fence or stockade around the village is put in order. It is then also customary to choose a man to go at midnight to the outer entrance of the village to take the omens regarding their welfare in the ensuing year. If, whilst at the entrance he hears anything like the dragging of wood, tigers will do mischief; if the falling of leaves, there will be much sickness. On these occasions, young men have been known to cause the omen-taker no small fright, but such pranks are considered sure to bring punishment on their performers, and not long ago a young man after having played the tiger, died on his way to the valley; his death was universally attributed to his having incurred the anger of the deity on the occasion.

In February there is a festival of three days' continuance, in which the ears of the children born after the last festival of this nature are pierced. This festival loses its interest for those who have frequently participated in it, and is looked forward chiefly by those to whom it is new. These festivals over, the cutting of the jungle for cultivation is commenced, which, when finished, is crowned with the festival of 'Oodui Yung' or drinking the juice of the ginger.

At a festival which occurs about July, they clear off jungle, the paths about their villages and leading to their fields—a most useful and necessary operation at that season of the year. One night of the month of August and one of September they dedicate to feasting. Besides these regular festivals, they have other occasions of rejoicing, as when a person who has reaped a good harvest determines to treat the village and all comers. This, if done at all, is done in no stinted manner, and under the influence of plentiful potations; the dance and song are joyous.

The Enghan festival or Guai-guai, as some of the Kowpois name it, is the one held in honour of their ancestors. The Ringnai seems to correspond with the 'Laiharaoba' of the Manipuris. The reasons for the males and females bringing water separately during this festival is to begin this ceremony with the making of new liquor; and the separate cooking and eating of the sexes is merely a mark of respect to their gods.

After the festival of the 'Oodui Yung' or 'Mahlong', as it is also called, when the cutting down of the jungle on the jhooms is finished, a curious ceremony takes place. All the people bathe after the work is completed, and, in addition, their agricultural implements are also dipped in a running stream, as they also are supposed to be exhausted by their labours; thus refreshed, the tools are hung up in their houses until again required for use.

The games amongst the juvenile population are the Khang Sanaba of the Manipuris, only, however, played with the seed of the creeper; they also have the spinning top, spun with a string, and exactly like those in use amongst English boys. The adults seem to have no other games or amusements other than practising javelin throwing to make themselves efficient with the spear, and the ever-popular amusements of dancing and singing.

Their songs are handed down orally, and none of them appear to be understood in full, the language being different from that in daily use; their burden, so far as can be understood, are various war songs, love songs, &c.

Dancing is a steady source of amusement amongst them. In nearly all cases the dancing is accompanied by a chant in unison with the music of their only instrument, the drum, which scarcely varies in spite of the number of dances they have. In their festivals and dances, the costume for the men consists of a kilt-shaped piece

of red cloth round the loins; a scotch wool cravat of gay colours is worn as a scarf round the waist; gaiters of white cloth with marked spots, are also commonly worn. Tinsel ornaments and long feathers are worn on the head, and a favourite ornament with the men only, is a broad, gaudy coloured, natural butterfly's wing attached to, and spreading wing-like from, each ear. In their dances the men carry daos with the handles ornamented with coloured bamboo strips, and occasionally spears; these are twirled round in the hand in unison with the music. The dress of the girls, for only the younger of the women who are unmarried engage in them as a rule, is similar to their every-day costume, but of better quality and gayer colours. Tinsel ornaments are worn in circlets round the head.

Dance first: 'Hansengay'—In this a circle is formed by young men and girls, who move round, singing at the same time, the men heading the circle, the women bearing bamboo tubes which they rap on the ground in time with the music of the drum. The step used is one step forward, then a hop, using alternate feet. The movement is slow at first, gradually increasing. At the close of the dance, as in most of the others to be described, the dance closes by two girls dancing together in the centre of the circle; the step is the same, but they change about as in a quadrille, and great use is made of movements with the hands. This and all the dances end by the men meeting in a close circle holding up their daos and giving vent, simultaneously, to a long drawn hoey, once repeated.

Dance second: In this, named 'Tunanga lamna', or the young women's dance, a circle is formed of young men and girls who dance, but without moving round so quickly; in the centre are two couples, men and girls facing each other. These dance, the girls opposite each other changing side and turning round as in a quadrille; the step is the same as in the last.

Dance third: 'Hengnaga Tuna'—Two rows of men and girls mixed, opposite each other, holding the hands clasped, which are occasionally lifted together in time with the music, step from side to side alternately, then the line advances and retires, moving the joined hands backwards and forwards. Dance of two or four girls by couples in the centre to finish.

Dance fourth: 'Tinkum queina Tananga lamay'—In this only two girls dance in the centre of a circle, affecting much motion with the hands. The circle is stationary.

Dance fifth: 'Quanlam'—Young men's dance. In this only the men engage two and two abreast in a circle, which moves round at first all together; the step is a single step forward, followed by a pause in the stooping position, a sort of goose step, every one shouting ho, ho, ho, ho. In the latter part of the dance the circle divides into two, and go round one within the other in opposite directions; the circle again forms as before, and they meet in the centre and indulge in hoeys in quick time, finishing up with howls. This is a very favourite dance, and they carry it on sometimes for days with scarcely an interval for repose or refreshment.

3

THE KOUPUIS (KABUIS) OF MANIPUR

(E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, pp. 51-3)

THE HILLS SURROUNDING THE VALLEY are sparsely inhabited by tribes more or less the cognates of the Manipuris and subject to them; all are either Kukis or Nagas, and, therefore, as classes previously described. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of transcribing from Colonel McCulloch's very interesting account of the Koupuis, who occupy the country between Kachar and Manipur. They live in permanent villages to which they are much attached, not liking to leave sites sacred and endeared to them as containing the graves of their ancestors.

Villages: The villages are perched on the summits of hills, and are difficult of approach. The houses are substantially built. They are gable-ended, the ridge pole is not in a horizontal position, but declining to the rear, where the house is very much lower than in front, and the thatch on both sides comes down to the ground. The granaries, where all the valuable property as well as the grain is stowed, are grouped together at some distance from the village in sheltered positions. They are left quite unprotected, but even in times of scarcity a theft from a granary is an unknown crime. These granaries are replenished by the cultivation called jhum. The jungle on the land selected is cut, and when perfectly dry, burned; and the

earth, hoed up with an inch or two of the ashes, is fit for the reception of the seed. The crop harvested, that land is left unmolested for ten years.

Colonel McColloch's account, &c: 'In the grey of the morning the females of the family are astir, and the village resounds with the blows of the long pestle in the wooden mortar beating out the rice from the husk; this finished, the breakfast is cooked both for the family and the pigs: for the latter the husk mixed with other refuse serves the purpose. Breakfast over, which it usually is about sunrise, the women proceed for water, which they fill into bamboo tubes and bring on their backs in baskets. They then go for fire-wood, and this brought, they set about the internal economy of the house, that is, to see that there is sufficient of the good home-brew ready for the master, to their spinning or weaving, to everything but cleaning up. They have unfortunately no great taste for that necessary labour. They rather glory in a dirty house, in having the front room half covered with rice husk, in which pigs are lying fast asleep or grunting about, and fowls are busy seeking for food. The family, except the boys, from the time they begin to wear a cloth round their waist, sleep in the rear room of the house, and in it they also cook their meals. In the front part there is a fire-place, and along the two sides are boards or platforms of bamboos, which may be used as seats or beds by any one that comes. Some of these boards are as much as 24 feet long by 4 feet broad. They are made with daos and little axes, a whole tree being used to make one. If not employed in the labours of the field or in the chase, the men do little more than loll about the houses during the day, drinking their peculiar drink, a harmless one, consisting of pounded rice mixed with boiling-water, brought into fermentation by the addition of germinated paddy. In the morning and evening they will generally be found sitting in groups in front of their houses on large flat stones which cover the graves of their deceased relatives. They then appear to be enjoying themselves greatly, they are exceedingly loquacious, and speak always in a loud tone. Pipes containing green tobacco are then smoked; at such a rate do they pull, that they appear to be smoking for a wager.'

Peculiar smokers: 'I believe the pleasure of smoking is nothing to them compared to that of holding in the mouth a sip of the water of the bowl of the pipe which has been well impregnated with the

fumes of smoke passing through it, and it is only for the purpose of obtaining this that they so laboriously pull at their pipes morning and evening.'

It has been observed that the young men do not sleep in the family houses. 'According as the village is large or small they assemble in one or several houses which for the time become their homes. These clubs are ruled over despotically by the seniors amongst them, who exact from their juniors, with unsparing hand, service of all kinds. The young women also have their separate places of resort, and between them and the young men intercourse is quite unrestricted, without leading to immorality.' The resemblance between the Koupuis and Oraons of Chota Nagpur in this distribution of the youths and maidens is most striking.

Festivals: Throughout the year the Koupuis have various festivals which they are very particular in observing. 'These are first the Enghan, which happens in December. During the five days of its continuance all the inhabitants of the village, dressed in their best attire, keep up the dance and song, interrupted only by short intervals of repose and breaks dedicated to feasting. Next is the Reingnai in or about January, which lasts for three days. In one day during this festival the men and women fetch separately the water that each may require. The men having killed pigs take a portion for themselves and give a portion to the women; they cook and eat separately, the men in the house of the head of the family, the women each in her own house. An effigy of a man made of a plantain is hung on a tree, and at it they throw pointed bamboos or sticks. At this festival the graves of the ancestors are sprinkled with the national drink, and on its termination omens are sought for the selection of land for cultivation and general welfare in the ensuing year. In February there is a festival of three days' continuance, at which all the children born since the last festival of the kind have their ears bored. This is followed by the clearing of the jungle on the land they intend to sow, and when that is done, they drink the juice of ginger at a festival called from that circumstance Udoe Yung. In July there is a festival which is followed by the clearing of all the village paths. Their dancing is described as very lively. Drums are the only instruments, but there is always the accompaniment of songs.'

There are so many customs common to these Koupuis and the Nagas previously described, living west of the Doyang River, that

it would probably be found that all the traits above described as characteristics of the Koupuis are also common to the Nagas to their north. There is one more mentioned by Colonel McCulloch which I have not met with in other accounts of Naga tribes.

Peculiar custom: On the death of a man's wife the singular practice exists of recovering from the bereaved husband the price of her bones by her father or next of kin. This is called *mundu*; no *mundu* is demandable when the death is by the hand of an enemy, by wild beasts, by cholera or small-pox, or from any swelling.

The strange custom of placing villages or people under tabu, noticed as obtaining amongst the Kukis, is practised by the Koupuis, they call it 'neina'.

Adjoining the Koupuis are the Songbu and Poirons who resemble them in manners, in customs and appearance, and next to these are the Quoireings with a language differing, but having a great similarity in other respects to the tribes last described.

The tribes to the south and south-east of Manipur are varieties of *Khongjais* or *Kukis*, a race already noticed.

The Luhupas: In the east the tribes are rather Naga than Kuki, and of these the most important are the *Luhupa*, a very powerful and pugnacious clan who are always fighting with each other if they are not fighting with their neighbours. Their weapons for close quarters are very long spears and shields, but they also use bows and poisoned arrows. As ornaments to their head-dress they wear the tresses, not alas! of the women they have loved, but of the women they have slaughtered! When the eldest son of a *Luhupa* marries, the parents and the rest of the family move out of the house to make way for him. They have again to remove on the marriage of the second son. The working dress of a *Luhupa* consists of an ivory ring, through which the preputium is lightly drawn!

The Mow and Muram tribes: West of the *Luhupas* are the *Mow* and *Muram* tribes, who, though of common stock and closely allied by inter-marriages, are at deadly feud.

For the security of the community the *Muram* unmarried men sleep in the bachelors' hall, probably by batches, as amongst the *Abors* north of Assam. The *Mow* occupy twelve villages; the *Muram* live in one large village of 900 houses under two chiefs. To the north of the *Mow* tribe are the *Angami* or *Guami Nagas*, already noticed amongst the Assam tribes.

THE TANGKHUL NAGAS

(R. Brown, *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, 1873)

THE BRANCH OF THE TONKHUL TRIBE, to which the name of Luhupa is given by the Manipuris (from 'Luhup', a hat or head covering), seems to have been adopted in part at least by them, as they have no equivalent to the name 'Luhupa' in their own language. The term Luhupa is applied to the more savage of the Tonkhuls, who inhabit the hills to the north and east, farthest removed from the Manipur Valley, from the fact of their being almost incessantly engaged in feuds and from their wearing, whilst so engaged, a peculiar helmet-shaped complicated head-dress. There are also slight differences in language between the tribes lying farthest from each other, and other unimportant differences, such as are found amongst sections of the other tribes.

Sub-divisions of the Tribes

There are many sub-divisions among the above; but as these are simply taken from the names of villages and convey no meaning, it is not deemed necessary to detail them.

Origin

The origin of the Tonkhuls is thus given by themselves. They say, they came out of a cave in the earth, at a place called Murringhphy, in the hills, about four days' journey north-east of the Manipur Valley. They attempted to leave this cave one by one, but a large tiger, who was on the watch, devoured them successively as they emerged. Seeing this, the occupiers of the cave by a stratagem, throwing out the effigy of a man they had dressed up, distracted the attention of the tiger, and took the opportunity of leaving the cave in a body: the tiger on seeing the numbers before him, fled. They placed a large stone on the top of a high hill near this spot (which still remains) as a mark, from which situation they spread in the hill around.

Present Numbers, Country Occupied by Them, &c.

The Tonkhuls and Luhupas, under the Manipur rule, are said at present to number from twenty to twenty-five thousand. They have decreased in numbers of late years; and this they ascribe to their fatal internal feuds, to cholera and small-pox, especially the latter; cholera, it may be here mentioned, appears to have been unknown either in the Manipur Valley or the neighbouring hills, until about thirty years ago. The hills seem to be always infected from the valley, and it is in its turn from the west, in cases of epidemics. Their country lies immediately north-east of the Manipur Valley, commencing from it and extending north-east for about eight days' journey; from that, east, to a great distance until the country of the Singphu is reached. The Luhupas to the north hold the Tonkhuls in a general state of subjection, although this does not seem to go beyond an occasional demand for tribute, as the Manipur Government affords them protection. Their country is not very high, although there are occasionally lofty hills to be seen, especially north-east. Their roads are good, and are said to be nearly all fit for pony traffic. Valleys of moderate size are frequently met with, and in these valleys, usually salt springs and wells are found, which are worked regularly by them. The rivers flowing through the Manipur Valley, with one exception, all take their rise in the Tonkhul country. The fir tree in the interior is very plentiful, and attains a large size.

Facial and other Characteristics, Dress, Ornaments, &c.

The Tonkhuls and Luhupas are a tall race of men, with large heads and heavy stolid features, as a rule; their general facial characteristics resemble those of the Angami, and some of them are remarkably muscular. The dress of the men is very scanty, consisting of a piece of cloth folded round the waist, a portion of which hangs down in front; even this scanty covering is frequently dispensed with, when they are engaged in any hard work. Over the upper part of the body they wear a sheet, after the fashion of the Angami. The hair of the men is worn in a very peculiar fashion; the sides of the head are shaven, leaving a ridge of hair on the top about four or five inches broad at the top of the head and narrowing

to the front and behind, where they have a small knotted pigtail about three inches long. This cock's comb style of wearing the hair gives them a very grotesque appearance, not unlike that of a circus clown. The crest of hair is kept pretty short, though sometimes long enough to be parted in the centre. Their tradition regarding this peculiar fashion is to the effect, that formerly, ages ago, the two sexes wore their hair alike, and combed back as among the Kukis; to distinguish them, the above effective plan was resorted to. The Tonkhul and Luhupa tribes have no hair whatever on their faces. The ornaments amongst the men are—for the ear, pieces of reed, round thick pieces of cork, skeins of thread, &c.; a favourite with the men is a small bale of cotton, for it can scarcely be called anything else, with which the lobe of the ear is frequently bored with numerous holes, into which small skeins of blue or black cotton thread are introduced. No metal ornaments of any kind are worn in the ears. Necklaces of beads are occasionally worn, and a favourite and peculiar ornament is a loose deep collar of brass, about six inches wide in front of the neck and tapering gradually to the back where it is fastened; this collar is usually plain, and projects out some way in front of the chin. In lieu of the brass collar, coloured ones of cane work are also worn of the same pattern: gaiters of mat work are occasionally worn: on the upper arm the coiled wire rings are worn, as with the Kowpois: and on the wrist heavy solid bracelets of brass; below the knee cane rings; those formerly described, are worn frequently in large numbers. The Tonkhul and Luhupa tribes have a custom amongst them, which is believed to be unique and peculiar to them. This consists in the wearing of a ring from an eighth to a fourth of an inch wide, made of deer's horn or ivory, which is passed over the foreskin, fitting tightly. The object of this custom, which is of great antiquity, is to prevent an *erectio penis*, they holding apparently that a mere exposure of the person, unless so attended, is not a matter to be ashamed of. They carry out this idea with great boldness; for gangs of them may be seen working on the roads and in the women's bazars in the Manipur Valley without a stitch of clothing on them, the wearing of the ring being considered a sufficient sacrifice to modesty. This ring is assumed on reaching puberty, and is worn until death. On first assuming it great pain is felt for some days, but from the pressure the organ gradually alters its form, and after a time the ring can be slipped off and on

with great ease. The ring is removed for micturition and at night, and its size is altered from time to time as may be found necessary. Although the claims of modesty are the only reasons assigned for this custom, it is not improbable that it may have originally had a deeper meaning, as will be seen in alluding to the marriage customs of the tribe. The dress of the women is somewhat scanty: a kilt-shaped piece of cloth is folded round the waist, and reaches half way to the knee; this cloth may be either white or coloured. Over the breast another piece of cloth is usually folded, although amongst old women especially, it is not uncommon to leave the chest bare. Over all a sheet is worn. The hair of the women is worn in a fashion resembling that of the Manipuris when young; after marriage the hair is combed back and gathered behind into a queue; over the hair is placed a piece of cloth drawn tight and folded round the queue behind tightly. Ornaments are not so much affected by the women of this tribe as by others. In the ears are placed cylindrical pieces of cork; no metal rings are used. Shell necklaces and beads are worn, and before marriage bracelets of brass; these, after marriage, are replaced by round bracelets of a metal-like solder or lead, seven on the right arm and four on the left. The women of the Luhupas to the north are tattooed black, in simple patterns, on the thighs, arms, and breast. These women are much sought for by the southern men, because, however fierce may be their feuds, a tattooed woman always goes unscathed, fear of the dire vengeance which would be exacted by her northern relations were she injured giving her this immunity.

Villages, their Site, Construction, and Government

The villages of this tribe are situated in a similar manner to those of the Kowpois; on the slopes of the higher hills, in the south, they are small; but north, amongst the Luhupas, they are large, and may number as many as five hundred houses in one village. Their houses are constructed in the same way as those of the Kowpois; but to the north, owing to the scarcity of the thatching grass, the roofs are planked with fir. The arrangements of the houses in a village, and their internal fittings, &c., closely resemble that of the Kowpois. Water, especially amongst the southern tribes, is always close to a village site, and each village is strongly fortified by a wooden palisade.

The village sites are fixed. As with the Murring tribe, to be next described, they have two village chiefs—the Khulbu, being the head, and the Khulakpa, the inferior; these officers are hereditary, and the Khulbu, by virtue of his office, receives the heads of all the game killed, and the first brew of liquor made by each family in the village community. The Khulakpa receives inferior presents, and they are both entitled to seats of honour at feasts and other village meetings. Each village forms a republic of its own, as amongst the other Naga tribes and they have no principal chiefs. The young, unmarried boys and girls sleep in separate houses apart, as with the Kowpois.

Customs at Birth, Marriage, and Death

On the birth of a child, whether male or female, fowls are sacrificed, and the women only of the village are treated to liquor. The child immediately after birth has chewed rice placed in its mouth, and is immersed in water, heated nearly to the boiling point; this treatment is supposed to render the child hardy, and prevent it in after-life from suffering from pains about the back and loins. The mother of the child is also made to sweat profusely, by being wrapped in hot water blankets, until faintness ensues; this is repeated two or three times, and on the third day, the woman is allowed to go about as usual. Ear-boring is a cause of great expense in feasting; to save this the children in many cases are allowed to accumulate, when one entertainment serves for all. At puberty the ring formerly described is assumed. Before marriage immorality is uncommon; the age for the marriage does not differ from that of the other Naga tribes, and may occur at any time after puberty. The price of wife to those well off is one methna; others pay in cowries or Manipur 'sel',¹ about the value of ten rupees. In instituting the preliminaries for a marriage, omens are taken, as amongst the Kowpois, by holding up a fowl and observing how it crosses its legs; if favourable, the preliminaries may be arranged either by parents or friends. The Tonkhul and Luhupa tribes are said to exercise more free will in regard to their marriage arrangements than any of the other tribes; and, as a consequence, runaway matches are not unfrequent when the parents of a couple do not agree. The couple in this case

¹ Old Manipuri coin of pre-British bell-metal currency.—N.K.R.

fly to another village, and remain there until they are recalled by the parents, which usually speedily takes place. No disgrace or punishment follows, but the accustomed price must be given. On the marriage day, two dogs, and two daos with liquor, are presented by the parents of the man to those of the woman, the woman's father then kills a pig, which is eaten in the house of the man's parents. The man after marriage lives for a few days in the house of the bride's parents, after which he is conveyed to his own house, and another feast of dogs and fowls ends the proceedings; and now comes into play a custom quite peculiar to this tribe, and one which I cannot help, rightly or wrongly, associating with the origin of wearing the ring, also peculiar to them. On the eldest son of a family marrying, the parents are obliged to leave their house with the remainder of their family, the son who had married taking two-thirds of the parents' property, not only of the household but of his father's fields, &c. Occasionally, the parents are recalled and allowed to remain for some time, but eventually they have to leave, and the property is claimed and divided, as above stated. When the parents are well off, they provide a house beforehand. On the marriage of another son the same process is repeated, and may be again and again; but according to the usual custom, the parents may, after the process has been repeated several times, return to the house of the eldest son. When a couple have a large family of sons, who marry in succession, the poor people are often thus reduced to serious straits. May not the origin of the wearing of the ring have something to do with this practice; and may it not have been introduced, by some parent anxious, by placing a check upon the amatory propensity of his offspring to so put off the evil day of his own turning out? This, however, is mere conjecture, as there is no trace of any story or tradition of the kind amongst the Tonkhuls themselves. Polygamy is occasionally practised, and in rare instances, many wives are kept. Divorce is allowed, but seldom resorted to, on account of its great expenses. Adultery is rare; and the adulterer, if seized, is killed, his goods and property seized: under any circumstances, the woman is never taken back by the injured husband. On the death of a Tonkhul or Luhupa, it used to be the custom to make human sacrifices; now, amongst those of them under Manipur rule, this is not permitted, and instead cattle are sacrificed before the corpse can be buried. The cattle sacrificed are eaten, with the exception of one leg, which

is buried under the head of the deceased. The dead are buried in deep graves, fashioned after the manner of the Kowpoi tribe. Spears, daos, &c., are buried with the body. All who die of disease are buried inside the village precincts; but those who are killed in battle, or by wild animals, are buried in one place out of the village. On the death of a warrior, his nearest male relation takes a spear and wounds the corpse by a blow with it on the head, so that on his arrival in the next world he may be known and received with distinctions.

Arms, and Mode of Fighting, &c.

Their only arm used in warfare is a long heavy spear; this is thrust, as it is too heavy to be thrown. On the left arm is worn an oblong shield of hide, ornamented with tresses of human hair and wool dyed in various colours. Amongst the Luhupas, the head dress of the warrior is peculiar; hence the name Luhupa, which is formerly mentioned. The basis of his head-piece is a conical structure of wicker work, about a foot high; over this a layer of fur and hair, black and red in colour; to the sides are stitched as wings round structures, filled in with coloured seeds in rings; in front is a disc of polished brass, with a button-shaped knob in the centre; slips of bamboo, feathers, &c. are also attached to the head-piece, and occasionally a long crescent-shaped piece of buffalo horn scraped thin is placed in front of the helmet. Warriors of distinction who have slain many people, wear the hair of their victims, depending from the side ornaments of the helmet in the first instance, and, as they accumulate, made into a kind of fringe worn round the face, like the mane of a lion. Women's tresses are preferred, as being longer. The rest of the warrior's dress presents nothing peculiar. When the villagers are desirous of fighting, notice on the one side is invariably given; and, as amongst the Angamis, the date may be given, and a stand-up fight in the open agreed upon at a given place. In other cases, intimation is made to one village from another that its members from a certain time will be killed, whenever an opportunity is found. In fighting, the spear is thrust; two hands being generally used. When an enemy is killed, the head is immediately cut off by the edge of the spear; these heads are dried and hung up in the houses of the victors, and, as with the Angamis, may be returned, and the feud ended. Feuds are handed down from generation to

generation, and the original causes of them have not unfrequently, as amongst the other tribes, been completely forgotten. Village feuds are very common. The southern portion of the tribe—the Tonkhuls—use the bow and arrow, frequently poisoned with some vegetable composition, the nature of which is kept a secret, and its manufacture only known to a few. The northern, or Luhupa portion do not use the bow and arrow.

Religion, and Religious Observances, Superstitions, &c.

The Tonkhuls and Luhupas believe in one supreme deity, who is of a benevolent disposition and who inhabits space; also another deity of an evil disposition, who resides between heaven and earth, and in whose hands is the power of death. Their ideas of a future state are, that after death they go to the west, where there is another world; in this future state they live and die, men six times, and women five times; after this they are turned into clouds, remaining in that condition. The people killed by a Tonkhul or Luhupa, become his slaves in the next world. The nature of the life they lead in a future state, they cannot explain. Their general religious observances do not differ essentially from those of the Kowpoi tribe. Their superstitions are also similar, with one exception. In the month of December, in every year each village holds a solemn festival in honour of those of their number who have died during the preceding year. The village priests conduct the ceremonies, which culminate on a night when the moon is young; on this occasion, it is said, the spirits of the departed appear at a distance from the village in the faint moonlight, wending their way slowly over the hills and driving before them the victims they may have slain or the cattle stolen during their lives; the procession disappears over the distant hills amidst the wailings of the villagers. Unless the village priests are well fed, it is said this appearance will not take place.

Festivals, Games, Amusements, &c.

The Tonkhuls and Luhupas have no stated times for holding their festivals, with the exception of the example mentioned above. The Tonkhul of both sexes sing and dance together. The Luhupa men only dance a sort of war dance, the women supplying them with liquor the while; they have drums, but only use gongs for their

dances. They dance sometimes for a whole night, until quite exhausted. Their singing is pleasing being executed in well-toned parts, blending together and forming a pleasing melody. Men and women, in equal numbers, sing thus together, and sometimes men alone. The melody is always in slow time, whatever the nature of the song, joyous or otherwise. They understand the meaning of their songs as a rule, and these vary, though those of a melancholy nature prevail. The burden of one is to this effect:—‘A young man and woman were attached to each other; the youth proceeded into the jungle for cane to make a basket for the girl, he is devoured by a tiger, and announces his fate to his lover in a dream.’ The amusements of the adults would seem to be almost confined to singing and dancing. The young men amuse themselves by throwing spears, and also putting the stone, which is round and heavy.

Cultivation: The Tonkhul portion of the tribe all cultivate by jhooming, but the Luhupas cultivate the slopes of the hills by terracing, manuring the lands from their buffaloes and cows. The manure thus used is not spread dry on the ground but is mixed with the streams of water used for irrigation.

Hunting, fishing, &c.: The Tonkhul and Luhupa tribes use dogs in hunting as the Murrings and Angamis do; these dogs are trained to drive game into some pool of water, where the animals are speared. Amongst them they have a large species of dog with long straight hair, like the Thibetan breed; this variety is not used for hunting, but to protect the villages. They cut the ears and tails of their dogs quite short, believing that this improves their appearance. Fish are caught by poisoning the water; they have no nets.

Slavery: Slavery has no existence amongst them, and they are violently opposed to it. To such a degree is the idea of slavery hateful to them, that on occasion of inability to release his children who had been captured in resistance to the State (Manipur) and sold as slaves, their father coming down from the hills, slew them both, and carried away with him their heads. Since then it has not been attempted to make any Luhupas slaves.

Sickness: Small-pox and cholera occasionally make sad ravages amongst them; venereal diseases appear unknown. They have no knowledge of medicines.

Diet, use of spirits, tobacco, &c.: Their diet presents no peculiarities; their liquor resembles that made by the Murrings; tobacco

smoking is very prevalent, and they use small pipes of stone with bamboo mouth-piece or stems.

Trade, &c. : Trade amongst them is very restricted. They do not go to Assam, but bring daos, spears, cloths, &c. to Manipur, taking salt in exchange. Their women make cloth superior to any of the other tribes, excepting the Murrings.

Crime, &c. : Theft is very common, not only in their own country, but they commit theft, chiefly cattle lifting in the Manipur Valley also ; thieves caught red-handed may be killed, or beaten ; fines are also inflicted.

5

A TOUR AMONG THE TANGKHULS

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, pp. 224 ff.)

WE NEXT MARCHED UP THE ROAD to the Naga Hills, meeting the Chief Commissioner, Mr Elliott, at Mao, and returning with him to Manipur, where the usual visits were exchanged. After a day or two's halt, the Chief Commissioner set out for Cachar and I accompanied him to the frontier at Jeeree Ghat, returning to Manipur by forced marches. The bridge over the Mukker had been broken by a fallen tree, but the river, so formidable in the rains, was easily fordable. A short time before reaching the summit of Kala Naga, a pretty little incident occurred, which I have never forgotten. Some of my coolies were toiling up the steep ascent with their loads, when two young Kukis met us with smiling faces as if something had given them great pleasure. They immediately made two of the men with me put down their loads, and took them up themselves to relieve the wearied ones. On my inquiry who they were, they said they were friends of my coolies and had come to help them. It was one of the prettiest sights I ever saw, the pleasure the two men seemed to derive from doing a kind act. Dun and I reached Manipur on the 10th of January. Soon after my return, in fact before the evening, a Lushai was brought to me who had been found in the jungle with his hands tightly fastened together by a bar of iron fashioned into

a rude pair of handcuffs. He appeared to be mad, but harmless, and had probably been kept in confinement by his own people and had escaped. I had the irons taken off, and ordered him to be cared for, but he soon ran off in the direction of his own country.

On the 21st of January [1884], Dun and I set off on our tour through the Tankhool country. We marched *via* Lairen and Noongsuangkong, already described. The country had been surveyed, but the surveyors had taken names of villages given by men from the Naga Hills district, and they were unrecognizable to the native inhabitants. Much of my march, after leaving Noongsuangkong, was through a new country, and a very interesting and lovely country it was. The benefits of being under a strong government were evident in the peace that reigned everywhere. The Manipuri language also had spread, and in some villages seemed to be used by every one, while in others even children understood it. It was evidently the common commercial language.

On the 26th, we halted on the Lainer river, the large village of Gazephimi being far above us at some miles distant. It was late in the afternoon but Dun wanted to see all he could, and accompanied by some hardy Manipuris started. They all returned in a suspiciously short space of time, just at nightfall, Dun having astonished every one by his marching powers. He described the villagers as a surly, morose set, the description always given of them.

On January 28th we reached Jessami, a fine village of the Sozai tribe; they much resembled the Mao people. They crowded round us and were much pleased when we showed them our watches, and allowed them to feel our boots and socks. Some of the houses were large and well stocked with rice. One old man took us into his house and showed us a shield carefully wrapped up in cloth that bore the tokens of his having slain fifteen people. The village contained no skulls, and our friends told us that they obeyed orders and killed no one. We inquired about the snowy peak of Saramettie, which was visible from some point not far distant, but the people assured us that they had never heard of it.

On the 29th, some Metomi men came in with a young man who acted as interpreter, he having been captured, and then kept as a guest in Manipur for some time, to learn the language, by Bularam Singh, who was the Minister accompanying me. He seemed quite pleased to see his old host. The Metomi people were a strange set,

quite naked, except for a cloth over the shoulders in cold weather. They are slighter built than the Angamis and Tankhools. They could count up to one hundred, and three of their numerals, four, six and seven, are the same as in the Manipuri language. They wear their hair cut across the forehead like some of the tribes in Assam. Their patterns of weaving rather resembled those of the Abors and Kasias but were finer. They wore ear-rings of brass wire very cleverly made, the wire being imported through other tribes.

On the 31st, having heard that I should be well received, Dun and I started for Metomi, with an escort of Manipuris. We first made a descent of 2,000 feet to the Lainer, which we forded, the water being knee deep; there were the remains of a suspension bridge for use in the rainy season. We then ascended for about 1,000 or 1,500 feet, till near the village, when I halted my men and sent on my Angami interpreter, and one of the Metomi men, to ask that a party might come down to welcome us, as I had reason to think that the villagers were undecided as to what they should do, and I feared to frighten them. After waiting a long time, we heard a war-cry, and we all started to our feet and seized our arms, in case of an attack; the next minute, however, there was another cry, showing that the people were carrying loads. Soon after a long line of men appeared, each carrying a small quantity of rice, and the heads of the village came forward, presenting us with fowls, and heaped up the rice in front of me. We then walked on to the village, distant about a mile and a quarter, along an avenue of pollarded oaks, backed by fir trees. At last, after passing a ditch and small rampart, we reached the outer gate, then passed along a narrow path, with a precipice to our right, and a thick thorn hedge to our left for about eighty yards, as far as the inner gate, on entering which we found ourselves in the village. We were then led along a series of winding streets till we came to the highest part.

This was the most picturesque Naga village I have ever seen, and reminded me of an old continental town, the ground it covered being very hilly, and the houses, constructed of timber with thatched roofs with the eaves touching one another, built in streets. Sometimes one side of a street was higher than the other, and the upper side had a little vacant space railed in, in front of the houses.

The houses were more like those of the Tankhools than the Angamis, and contained round tubs for beer cut out of a solid block

of wood, in shape like old-fashioned standard churns. The village contained pigs and dogs, and the houses were decorated with cows' and buffaloes' horns. We were welcomed in a friendly way, but our hosts did not seem to like the idea of our staying the night, of which we had no intention. Our watches and binoculars greatly interested them. We tried in vain to induce the women to come out, the men saying they feared lest we should seize them. This seemed very strange, as it was the only hill village I ever saw where the women had the slightest objection to appear. As the Manipuris always respect women, it could not be due to their presence, even had they had experience of them, which was not the case. On leaving the village, we passed through a splendid grove of giant bamboos, and then turned into our old path again. Metomi was said to contain seven hundred houses, but that seemed to me a very low estimate. We reached our camp near Jessami at 7 P.M., narrowly escaping a severe scorching, as some torchbearers who came to meet us, set fire to the grass prematurely, and we had to run hard to escape the flames. I wanted to make a vocabulary of the Metomi language the next day, but the whole village had a drinking bout, and every one was incapacitated during the rest of our stay.

We marched to a place called Lapvomai on February 3rd, and next day, wishing to explore the country beyond, Dun and I, with a picked party of Manipuris, crossed the ridge above the village, and descending to the stream below, began the ascent of the great Eastern range, encamping in a most lovely spot in a pine forest. Every one was too tired to search for water, so the Manipuris went supperless to bed. Dun and I had brought a supply, which we shared with our few Naga followers, the Manipuris being prevented from doing the same, by their caste prejudices. Early next morning we started up the hill again, leaving the bulk of our party a mile or two in advance of our halting place, to search for water and cook. We, with two or three plucky Manipuris, whom hunger and thirst could not induce to leave us, pursued our upward path. At last we came on patches of snow, and in a hollow tree found the remains of a bear which had gone there to die. After a toilsome ascent, often impeded by a thick undergrowth of thorny bamboo, we, having long passed the region of fir trees, reached the summit at 8,000 feet, only to find, to our great disappointment, a spur from the main range blocking our view. As this range might have taken another

day to surmount, and after all be only the precursor of another, we reluctantly traced our steps backwards, and reached our party who found water and cooked their food. We witnessed some amusing instances of rapid eating, on the part of our hungry followers, who had well deserved their dinner. We then descended to the stream, and encamped on its banks after being on foot for eleven hours.

Next day, we marched to our old encampment at Lapvomai. On February 7th, we marched to Wallong, passing through lovely scenery, a series of deep valleys and ravines and high hills, with a splendid view down the valley of Thetzir and Lainer, and beyond, the junction of the latter with its north-eastern confluent, we finally encamped close to a very remarkable gorge. On the 8th, we had another march to the village of Lusour, where I greatly pleased a woman and some children, by giving them red cloths, the former would have denuded herself to put hers on, had I not prevented her. Next morning, before starting, we had our breakfast in public, and ordered some boiled eggs; the hill people are supremely indifferent to the age of an egg, and even seem to think the richness of flavour enhanced by age, so that almost all brought to us were either addled or had chickens in them. At least two dozen were boiled before we found one that we could eat, and as soon as an egg was proved to be bad, there was a great rush of Tankhools to seize the delicacy, and our bad taste in not liking them gave great satisfaction.

On February 9th, we reached Somrah, a most interesting but severe march of eighteen miles. We first crossed a ridge 8,000 feet in height, where among other trees we found a new species of yew—*Cephalotaxus*. After reaching the summit, we made a gradual descent along an exceedingly steep hillside, where a false step would have landed us in the stream 2,000 feet below. After this we descended more rapidly, and, crossing a stream, followed a beautifully constructed watercourse through some recently cleared land. We traced our way along its windings for some miles, and then, after another ascent, at last came to a lovely undulating path through a forest of firs and rhododendrons, the latter just coming into flower. The path at length, after an ascent of 200 feet, brought us to the village, a finely built one of the regular Tankhool type, with over two hundred houses, built with stout plank walls, and having an appearance of much comfort.

The next day we went to Kongailon, one of the Somrah group, making a descent of 2,000 feet to cross a river, and again ascending 5,600 feet. We passed many skilfully constructed watercourses and much terrace cultivation, indeed, the Somrah villages have the finest system of irrigation I have ever seen, and the long parallel line of watercourses on a hillside present a most remarkable appearance. At Kongailon, we halted a day to explore the country, and receive deputies from various villages. From the ridge behind the village, at a height of from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, there was a fine view of, the Somrah basin—valley it cannot be called; it is a huge basin the rim of which consists of hills, having an average height of over 8,000 feet, the villages being on the inner slopes or on bold spurs.

On February 12th, a very severe march took us to Guachan, a miserable-looking village full of very dirty people, many of whom were naked, their bodies being covered with a thick coating of dirt. We had to halt next day to rest the coolies, and to have a path cleared ahead. On February 14th, we again started, halting on the Cherebee river, at a height of 4,400 feet. On our way, while passing along a lovely ridge, covered with rhododendrons in flower, we had a fine view of Saramettie, with its snow cap.

Next day, we marched over Kachao-phung, 8,000 feet high, and encamped on its slopes at 7,600 feet. So perverse are the ways of the hill-men, that the road, a well-used one, was carried within fifty feet of the summit, though it would have been easy to cross at a much lower level. We encamped in a primeval forest of huge trees, the branches of which, moved by the fierce wind that blew all night, waved to and fro with such a threatening noise as to preclude sleep for a long time.

On the evening of the 12th, one of our coolies was brought to me, who had dislocated his shoulder. We had no doctor of any kind with us, and no one who understood how to reduce it. Dun and I tried our utmost, and I put the poor fellow under chloroform, to relax the muscles and spare him pain, but alas! with no result. I tried to induce him to go to Manipur, and be treated by my native doctor there; but he objected, and preferred going to his home; so I gave him a present and let him go, and very sorry we were to see him relinquish his only chance of getting right again. Every one ought to be taught practically to reduce a dislocation; I had often heard the process described, but never seen it done, and my lack

of experience cost the poor Naga the use of his arm. It is one of the saddest parts of one's life in the wilds of India to meet cases of sickness and injury without the power to give relief. Simple complaints I treated extensively, and with great success, but it was grievous to see such suffering in more complicated cases, and to be unable to do anything. A skilful and sympathetic doctor has a fine field for good work in such regions. A sick savage is the most miserable of mortals.

The good points of the Manipuris, as excellent material for hardy soldiers, were brought out very prominently on these long marches. No men could have borne the fatigue and hardships better or more patiently than they did. It quite confirmed me in the opinion I had long since formed that, taken every way, the Manipuris were superior to any of the hill-tribes around them. I remember that when at Jessami, one of the Manipuris, at my suggestion, challenged any Naga, who liked, to a wrestling match, none would come forward, though the villagers were a fine sturdy set. It was impossible, also, to help noticing, as we went along, the very remarkable aptitude the Manipuris possess for dealing with hill-tribes. The Burmese tried in vain to subdue the Tankhools, and in one case a force of seven hundred men, that they sent against them, was entirely annihilated. However, as the Manipuris advanced, the different tribes, after one struggle, quietly submitted, and on both occasions when I marched through the north-eastern Tankhool country, the people were in admirable order, and behaved as if they had always been peaceful subjects of Manipur.

Next morning, though the thermometer was at thirty-six degrees, the Manipuris felt the cold so severely from the terrible wind that had been blowing all night, that they did not attempt to cook before marching, but started off and hurried down the hill to get to a warmer region. I never knew the hardy fellows do this before, and it shows the influence of a piercing wind in making cold felt, as I have often seen them quite happy on a still night with the thermometer at twenty-six degrees or lower.

Five more marches brought us to Kongal Tannah, where I encamped on the ground we occupied in 1881-2 when I was Boundary Commissioner. On our way, we received a visit from Tonghoo, the redoubtable Chussad chief, now a peaceful subject of Manipur, a man of the usual Kuki type, imperturbable and inscrutable. Next

day, I inspected the boundary pillars I had set up, and found them intact, a satisfactory proof that the settlement was not unacceptable to either Manipur or Burmah.

We marched back by the old route, encamping as we had done more than four years before in the deep valleys of the Maglung and Turet. On the 24th, from the crest of the Yoma range, we saw the valley of Manipur once more at our feet, and in the evening encamped at Ingorok. Next day, I parted from my friend, I riding into Manipur, and Dun going north for a few days' more survey of the country. He rejoined me on March 2nd. Thus ended one of the hardest, but, at the same time, one of the pleasantest marches I ever made, all the pleasanter for the society of such a clever and charming companion. We spent one more week together, and then Dun went back to his appointment in the Intelligence Department, to my great regret, and I settled down to my usual routine work, constantly varied by interesting little episodes.

Chapter XIII

NAGA RELIGION

IN THIS CHAPTER I give a few notes on Naga religion which do not seem to fit in very well elsewhere. But they must be taken simply as source-material, for each of the standard monographs on the Nagas gives full accounts of religious beliefs and practices.

I have included a note on Animism by E. A. Gait, a former Governor of Assam, for in the nineteenth century and even up to the time of the 1931 Census, the tribal people who had not adopted one of the historical religions were usually known as Animists. Fortunately this word has now gone out of fashion for it was not only inaccurate as a description but had a touch of condescension about it: Gait, for example, says that Animism is 'a religion of a very low type'. Even this, however, was better than the common attitude which was to regard the tribal people as having no religion at all. Even the sympathetic Davis says of the Angamis that they had 'practically no religion'.

I conclude this chapter with a few contemporary references to missionaries, to which may be added the note by Johnstone on education in Chapter XVI where this writer advocates the conversion of the Nagas to Christianity as they will then prove 'a source of strength' to the British Government. It is curious, in view of the sensational expansion of Christianity in the present century, to find that these early references to missionaries are generally pessimistic. In 1891 there were only 211 converts and 579 in 1901. Today the Naga Baptist Christian Convention maintains 632 churches with a total membership of 73,500, the total number of people influenced by Christianity probably being two or three times larger.

INVISIBLE AND POWERFUL BEINGS

(W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, 1841, pp. 395 ff.)

THE HUMAN MIND, formed, as it is, for the reception of religious truths, is even in the rudest and most uncivilized state provided with certain ideas, which are destined, when corrected and refined, to be the great source of consolation amidst the calamities of life. Thus among the Nagas, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions, however, seem at first to be suggested to the mind rather by the dread of impending evils, than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. Hence probably originated the worship of evil spirits. Amongst the Nagas there also appears to be some feeble pointing towards more just and adequate conceptions of the power that presides in nature. They seem to have a perception that there must be some universal Cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. They appear also to acknowledge a Divine Power to be the Maker of the world, and the Disposer of all events: Him they denominate the Great Spirit. Their ideas of him, however, are faint and confused; and of his attributes, they are entirely ignorant. Of the immortality of the soul they have some faint notions. The human mind, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thought of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment of soothing consolation, resulting from a sacred consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. From their imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, they suppose that they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations as in the present world. The Nagas have no established form of worship; they have no temples erected in honour of their deities, and no ministers peculiarly consecrated to their service. They have the knowledge, however, of several superstitious ceremonies and practices handed down to them by tradition; and to these they have recourse with a childish credulity, when roused

by any emergence from their usual insensibility, and excited to acknowledge the power and to implore the protection of superior beings.

The funeral rites of the Nagas are much the same as those practised by most of the hill tribes already noticed. The following extract from the journal of the Rev. M. Bronson, who was an eye-witness on the occasion of one of these ceremonies, may convey some further information on the subject:

‘ This day was the completion of the sixth month after the death of a wife of one of their chiefs. Their custom is to allow the corpse to remain six months in the house; at the expiration of which time, the ceremonies I have this day witnessed must be performed. In the morning two large buffaloes, several hogs, and a great number of fowls were killed for the occasion. About noon, numbers of Nagas from the neighbouring villages, dressed in a most fanciful manner, and equipped for battle, arrived. After beating several gongs of different sizes, so arranged as to form a sort of harmony with the music of drums, they marched to the house where the decaying corpse lay, each man bearing a shield, a spear, and a *daw*. They then commenced singing and dancing, with such a regularity of step and voice, as surprised me. They sang in the Abor tongue, and my interpreter informed me, that all their songs are borrowed from the Abors, with whom they hold daily intercourse. I was allowed to attend, in company with two of the chiefs, who interpreted to me the song, the substance of which is as follows: “ What divinity has taken away our friend? Who are you? Where do you live? In heaven or on the earth, or under the earth? Who are you? Shew yourself. If we had known of your coming, we would have speared you.” The above was first pronounced by the chorister. The whole company then answered it by exclaiming, “ Yes,” at the same time waving their huge glittering spears towards heaven, in defiance of the evil spirit who was supposed to have occasioned the death. The chorister continues, “ We would have cut you in pieces and eaten your flesh.” “ Yes,” responded the warriors, brandishing their *daws*, as if impatient for the battle. “ If you had apprised us of your coming, and asked our permission, we would have revered you; but you have secretly taken one of us, and now we will curse you.” “ Yes,” responded the warriors. This is the substance of what they sang, though varied, and repeated many times. The noise of

music and dancing continued nearly all night. During the greater part of the following day the same ceremonies were repeated. At the setting of the sun, a large company of young women came around the corpse, and completely covered it with leaves and flowers, after which it was carried to a small hill adjacent, and burnt amid the festivities of the people. Thus closed this painful scene.'

2

ANGAMI RELIGIOUS IDEAS

(a)

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION and a future state, the Angami appears to have no definite ideas. Some have told me that they believe that if they have (according to their lights be it remembered) led good and worthy lives upon this earth, and abstained from all coarse food, and especially have abstained from eating flesh, after death their spirits would fly away into the realms above, and there become stars, but that otherwise their bodies would have to pass through seven stages of spirit-life, and eventually become transformed into bees; others again, on my questioning them, have replied with a puzzled and surprised air, as if they had never given the matter a thought before, that 'after death we are buried in the earth and our bodies rot there, and there is an end; who knows more?' Still from the fact that they invariably bury the deceased's best clothes, his spear and *dao*, together with much grain, liquor, and a fowl, with the body, I think we may safely infer, that they certainly have some vague idea of a life hereafter, the thought of which, however, does not trouble them much.

It is at quitting the actual pleasure of living, which he has experienced, that a Naga shudders, and not the problematical torments to be met in a hell hereafter, of which he knows nothing. And as to religion, such as it is, it may be put down as simply the result of that

great characteristic, common to all savages, fear. All his religious rites and ceremonies, his prayers, incantations, and sacrifices, are due to a trembling belief that he can thus avert some impending evil. But he is utterly unable to appreciate our feeling of awe, reverence, and affection towards an Omnipotent God.

I have known a Chief, on the occasion of the death of his favourite son from an attack of fever contracted whilst out shooting Gural in the neighbourhood of his village, don his full war-costume, rush out to the spot, and there commence yelling out his war-cry, hurling defiance at the deity who he supposed had struck down his son, bidding him come out and show himself, impiously cursing him for his cowardice in not disclosing himself. Intense superstition is of course only the natural corollary to this kind of belief in a god in every hill and valley, a devil in every grove and stream.

Undertakings of any importance, such as the starting of a war-party, the commencing of a journey, the first sowing out, or gathering in, of the crops, &c., are never begun without the previous consultation of certain omens, by which they pretend to be able to foretell, whether a successful termination may be anticipated or not. Among the most common forms of consulting the oracle, one is that of cutting slices off a piece of stick and watching which side of these bits turn uppermost as they fall to the ground; another is, to lay hold of a fowl by the neck and throttle it, and if it dies with its right leg slightly crossed over its left, it is pronounced favourable to the accomplishment of the undertaking whatever it may happen to be. I have known of a large war-party turning back immediately, because a deer crossed their path,—a most unlucky omen. A tiger calling out in the jungles in front is a very lucky sign, whilst if heard in rear, it is just the contrary. In like manner there are several birds whose song if issuing from the left hand side is lucky, but if from the right the reverse.

(b)

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. I)

THE ANGAMIS have practically no religion. They recognize a supreme creator called Terhopfo or Kepenopfo. They also believe in the

existence of evil spirits which reside in rocks, trees, and pools of water. These are usually propitiated in cases of illness by offerings of fowls, pigs, or cattle. Customs similar to these are common to the whole of the Naga and Kuki tribes within this district. Of a future state after death, their ideas are extremely vague. They certainly believe that the soul does not die with the body, but what becomes of it they cannot say,—resembling in this respect more civilized nations.

The chief Angami village festivals are those called Terhengi and Sekrengi.

The Terhengi is celebrated within a short time of the completion of the harvest, and is in fact the 'Harvest Home' festival. As the Terhengi marks the end of the year's work for the Angami, so the Sekrengi marks its commencement, being held shortly before the new year's work in the fields is begun. Both festivals last for ten days, and both are occasions for the unlimited consumption of zu (rice beer), pork, and beef.

During the Terhengi are given most of those big feasts which wealthy Nagas give, in the not vain hope of handing down their names to future generations. Such feasts, at which a man's guests are numbered often by hundreds, cost not infrequently in kind and money as much as Rs 700 or Rs 800. The slaughter of ten head of cattle and 20 or 30 pigs is no unusual thing. So much meat, of course, entails the use of enormous quantities of rice, both for food and liquor, and it is at the ceremony of pounding this rice, which takes place a few days before the feast begins, and at which the whole of the adult males of the host's khel assist, that the Angami warrior is seen to the best advantage. On such occasions he, to use a slang phrase, 'puts em all on', and a crowd of fine athletic young savages, well adorned with toucan feather headdresses, bear-skin fringes, collars (tatche) made of locks of human hair surmounted by a fringe of goat's hair dyed blood red, new bright red and yellow cane leggings and armllets, and a few other small ornaments dear to the savage heart, is no mean sight. To commemorate these feasts, huge stones are dragged, often for long distances, on rough wooden sledges, and are erected by the side of the road near the village. The giver of the feast also becomes entitled to put up over his house the huge wooden horns (hikhya), which are such a conspicuous feature in most Angami villages.

At the Sekrengi festival dogs are killed and eaten in large numbers. I have often inquired the reason for this, but have never been able to get a satisfactory answer. Besides these two main festivals, many other minor ones are celebrated during the year, the chief of which is that held just before the new paddy harvest begins.

3

ANGAMI FUNERARY CUSTOMS

(a)

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

CLOSE TO THEIR VILLAGES, on either side of the road, as well as within, sometimes not a couple of yards from their houses, they bury their dead, raising over them large mounds, square, round, and oblong in shape, the sides being built up with large stones; sometimes an upright stone, or an effigy cleverly carved in wood, is added. In the latter case this grotesque caricature of the 'human form divine' lying below, is decked out in a complete suit of all the clothes and ornaments worn by the deceased including a set of imitation weapons, the originals being always deposited in the grave with the body. In one instance I remember coming across a grave by the roadside several miles away from any village, and on inquiry, learning, that it had been purposely placed there, exactly half way between the village in which the deceased had been born, and that in which he had died, and had passed the latter portion of his life. This was done, I was told, so as to enable his spirit to revisit either.

Huge monoliths, or large upright stones, which have been the subject of so much remark elsewhere, and which are to be met with all over the world, exist here too, and are not only to be found as remains of the past, but their erection may be witnessed almost any day at the present time. These monuments are erected, either singly, or in rows, and are meant to perpetuate the memory, sometimes of the dead, when they are in fact nothing more nor less than simply tombstones, sometimes of the living, in which case we may look

upon them much in the light of statues. Thus I remember being considerably astonished some three years ago when the villagers of Sakhaboma were pleased to raise such a monument to my humble self, a great compliment which was repeated last year by another village east of the Sijjo.

These stones, which are often very large, and have sometimes to be brought from long distances, are dragged up in a kind of sledge, formed out of a forked tree on which the stone is levered, and then carefully lashed with canes and creepers, and to this the men, sometimes to the number of several hundreds, attach themselves in a long line and by means of putting rollers underneath they pull it along, until it has been brought up to the spot where it has been previously decided finally to erect it. Here a small hole is then dug to receive the lower end of the stone, and the sledge being tilted up on end, the lashings are cut adrift, and the stone slides into position; some leaves are then placed on the top and some liquor poured over it. This done, a general feast follows, and the ceremony is complete.

(b)

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. I)

AS SOON as a man dies, his body is washed by his son, if he has one. In the case of a woman, this duty is performed by her daughter. The body is then covered over with a white cloth, and a basket containing dhan, konidhan, job's-tears, yams, Indian corn, and garlic is placed by the side of the body. Preparations are then at once made for the funeral feast and for the funeral, which always takes place the evening after a man's death. The funeral feast is proportionate to the wealth of the deceased. One cow is about the least that can be sacrificed, and it not infrequently happens that a man's whole property goes in furnishing forth his funeral feast.

The cows for the feast, having been procured, are killed in the early morning by an old man of deceased's khel. The livers, heads, and certain portions of the meat having been set apart, the rest is distributed amongst the family members, relations, and friends of deceased, portions being often sent to intimate friends residing in other villages.

The ceremony of the distribution of meat being over, the funeral obsequies are proceeded with. The coffin, a rough wooden box without a lid, having been got ready, the deceased's father-in-law, if he have one, or, if not, some friend from another khel, enters the house in which the body is lying, and standing on the lefthand side of the body, places a plain spear down on the righthand side of the body. In the case of a woman, a black cloth takes the place of the spear.

The coffin is then brought into the house, and a wisp of thatching-grass is burnt inside it. This done, the body is placed in the coffin, at its right hand being placed a dao, two spears, and a split stick with bamboo ribbon for kindling fire after the Naga fashion. The coffin is then brought out for burial in the grave, which is usually dug close to deceased's house. I append a description of an Angami burial taken from an old diary of Mr McCabe's:

'The grave was about 6 feet deep, close to deceased's house. The body was wrapped in new cloths, and was encased in a regular coffin without the lid. Before the coffin was lowered into the grave, the male friends of the deceased, each with a shield and a couple of spears, danced about, howling at the top of their voices and tears streaming from their eyes. The women were not to be outdone in shrieking, and rushed about with arms outstretched, slapping the ground with their cloths. As the coffin was lowered, the women ran forward and tried to hold it back, and as it finally disappeared, a most doleful shriek was raised.

'Do not be afraid; do not mourn. You have only followed your parents' custom. Although you have died, let us remain happy. Although God has not been kind to you, and you have died, fear not!'

'Inside the coffin, and at the right hand of the deceased, two spears and a dao were placed. Large flat stones were then used to form the lid of the coffin, and the crevices were carefully filled up with rubble. At this stage of the proceedings, the friends of the deceased suddenly stopped sobbing, dried their eyes, and marched off in a most businesslike manner. A civilized Naga who had been as demonstrative with his umbrella as his warrior friends had been with their spears, solemnly closed it and retired. A large basketful of dhan, konidhan, dhal, and job's-tears was now thrown into the grave, and over this the earth was rapidly filled in.'

Subsequent to the funeral the following ceremonial is observed:

On the day after the funeral the friends and relations of the deceased, together with one man of another khel, go to deceased's house, and there eat the meat of the heads of the cows and the other reserved portions except the livers. The skulls are then taken to the grave, and fixed up over it, together with a shield, spear, and ornaments, such as cane-leggings, &c., worn by deceased during his lifetime.

In the case of a woman, her basket, weaving sticks, &c., are placed over the grave. Food is then again partaken of at deceased's house, and the members of another khel who are present proceed to cook the livers of the cows set apart for this purpose. When cooked, a piece of liver with salt and chillies is given to each member of deceased's family, who, in perfect silence, throw each his piece out of the house to a distance of eight or nine paces. This ceremony being completed, all those present return to their homes.

On the second day after the funeral, seventeen portions of cooked rice, with a little salt, are tied up in plantain leaves. These are buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day from the funeral, deceased's wooden platter and drinking-cup are hung up by a string inside the house. At the expiration of thirty days this string is undone and thrown away. The platter and cup are given to one of deceased's intimate friends. About the fortieth day deceased's family sacrifice a cock, the flesh being eaten equally by all. The ceremonies connected with the funeral are then complete.

Very young children are usually buried inside the house. The bodies of women dying in childbirth are taken out through the back of the house, and buried without any ceremony whatever.

4

ANIMISM

(E. A. Gait, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 92-4)

Animistic Beliefs

THE BELIEFS OF THOSE TRIBES who have not yet been converted to either of the great Indo-Aryan religions and who have retained the

religious ideas of their forefathers, remain to be discussed. Before doing so, I would draw attention to the great importance of this subject, the more so, as there is a tendency at the present time to underestimate the religion, and to press the claims of the science which deals with the physical characteristics of man,—his hair, colour, and more especially the measurement of the proportions of his head, nose, &c.,—in other words of anthropometry. Language and religion, it is said, are no test of race. True,—and if race were all we wish to know regarding the different tribes, language and religion would help us but little: anthropometry alone would be of use. But is race the only point of interest? Suppose that in the distant future the civilization of the West disappeared, and the nations of Europe lost all record of their past and were scattered over the face of the earth: would the philosophical observer of the time to come be satisfied with an examination of their physical type, from which he would learn that the English and Germans are of the same stock, and that the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, and France are closely allied? Or would he wish to know something of the political organization and national life of the, to him, pre-historic time? and, if so, where would he look for a guide? Max Müller answers the question thus: ‘How did men form themselves into a people before there were kings or shepherds of men? Was it through community of blood? I doubt it. Community of blood produces families, clans, possibly races; but it does not produce that higher and purely moral feeling which binds men together and makes them a people. It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. Both sciences are of use, and each has its separate place. For probing into the ancient organizations of the past our only guides are religion and language; should we wish to analyse the constitution of a nationality and break it up into its constituent parts, we must have recourse to anthropometry.’

Uniformity of Belief

The first thing that strikes an inquirer into the religious beliefs of the hill tribes of this frontier is the extraordinary uniformity of principle which underlies them all, and which they share in

common not only with each other and with the north Turanian tribes, but also with the Dravidians of southern India. There can be no greater mistake than to assume that each tribe has its own individual beliefs, differing widely from those of others and circumscribed by the narrow tribal limits. The facts are quite the reverse, and the religion of these tribes—Shamanism, Animism, Nat worship, or whatever name may be applied to it—is everywhere practically the same. There are differences, it is true, but they are differences of practice or detail rather than of fundamental principles, and are far less important than those which divide the Saktas from the Vaishnavas, or Unitarians from the members of the Salvation Army.

Outline of Animistic Tenets

Considerations of space and time alike forbid a detailed examination of the beliefs of each of the tribes on this frontier. A brief description of the main features which are common to almost all the tribes is all that can be given here. There is a vague but very general belief in some one omnipotent being, who is well disposed towards men, and whom therefore there is no necessity for propitiating. Then come a number of evil spirits, who are ill disposed towards human beings, and to whose malevolent interference are ascribed all the woes which afflict mankind. To them, therefore, sacrifices must be offered. These malevolent spirits are sylvan deities, spirits of the trees, the rocks and the streams, and sometimes also of the tribal ancestors. There is no regular priesthood, but some persons are supposed to be better endowed with the power of divination than others. When a calamity occurs, one or more of these diviners, shamans, or soothsayers, is called on to ascertain the particular demon who is offended, and who requires to be pacified by a sacrifice. This is done either by devil dancing, when the diviner works himself into a paroxysm of drunkenness and excitement, and then holds converse with the unseen spirits around him, or by the examination of omens,—eggs, grains of rice, or the entrails of a fowl.

There is a profound belief in omens of all sorts: no journey is undertaken unless it is ascertained that the fates are propitious,

while persons who have started on a journey will turn back should adverse omens be met with on the way.

One peculiarity in connexion with their sacrifices may be mentioned. On all necessary occasions goats, fowls, and other animals are offered to the gods; but it is always assumed that the latter will be contented with the blood and entrails,—the flesh is divided amongst the sacrificer and his friends, the presiding soothsayer usually getting the lion's share.

Religions

Strength of Animistic Population and its Distribution by Districts

The Animistic population of Assam is 969,765, or 17·70 per cent. of the total number of inhabitants. . . . The largest proportion of Nat worshippers is in North Lushai and the Naga Hills, where it amounts to over 95 per cent. of the total population. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills follow closely with 93 per cent., and the Garo Hills with 84 per cent. Next comes North Cachar, where the conversion of the Kacharis to Hinduism has brought the number of Animistics down to 56 per cent. In the plains districts, the proportion is highest in Nowgong, also considerable in Darrang, Goalpara, and Kamrup. In the other districts the numbers are very small. From what has already been said, it will have been seen that Animism is a religion of a very low type. It is professed by the most backward tribes of the province, and there is no probability of its ever gaining converts from the ranks of other religions. On the other hand, the spread of education and the influence of Hinduism is yearly reducing the number of persons who still cling to the superstitions of their forefathers, and it seems probable that in time demon worship as a form of religion will disappear from the province. Unfortunately, for the reasons already explained, it is impossible to utilize the figures returned in 1881 as a means of ascertaining the rate at which these primitive beliefs are losing ground.

GENNA

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, p. 249)

THE CUSTOM OF 'GENNA' is common to all the Naga and Kuki tribes in this district. The word genna is used in two ways: (1) it may mean practically a holiday, i.e. a man will say 'my village is doing genna today', by which he means that, owing either to the occurrence of a village festival or some such unusual occurrence as an earthquake, eclipse, or burning of a village within sight of his own, his village people are observing a holiday; (2) 'genna' means anything forbidden.

Gennas sometimes affect whole villages, sometimes only khels or single households. During gennas affecting whole villages or khels, no work is done. The people remain in their villages; outsiders are, by strict custom, not allowed into the villages, or, if allowed in, cannot be entertained. Nothing is allowed to be taken out of the village or brought into it during the continuance of a genna.

Gennas affecting single households occur on the following occasions: the birth of a child in the house, a cow calving, or, in fact, any domestic animal bringing forth young. On such occasions no outsider is allowed into the house, and food and drinks can be given to no one, even the most intimate friend. I have myself been refused a drink at a house, because the family bitch had had puppies.

The following custom prevails amongst the Lhotas and Aos: Should any member of a household be killed by a tiger, by drowning, by falling from a tree, or by being crushed by a falling tree, the surviving members of the household abandon the house, which is wrecked, and the whole of their property, down to the very cloths they are wearing, and leave the village naked, being supplied outside the village with just enough clothing to cover their nakedness by some old man amongst their relations. Thenceforth for a month they are condemned to wander in the jungle. At the expiration of this period, the wrath of the deity being supposed to be appeased, they are allowed to return to the village. Neither they nor any one else can touch again any of the abandoned property

nor can a fresh house be built on the site of the old one that has been abandoned. This custom is, I believe, still carried out with the greatest strictness.

6

MISSIONARIES FOR THE NAGAS

(John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, pp. 149–52)

THE SOUTH-EASTERN HILLS OF ASSAM are the abode of many tribes of Nagas. They are a very uncivilized race, with dark complexions, athletic sinewy frames, hideously wild and ugly visages: their faces and bodies being tattooed in a most frightful manner by pricking the juice of the bela nut into the skin in a variety of fantastic figures. They are reckless of human life; treacherously murdering their neighbours often without provocation, or at best for a trivial cause of offence. The greater number of the Nagas are supposed to be in a very destitute state, living almost without clothing of any kind. Their poverty renders them remarkably free from any prejudices in respect of diet: they will eat cows, dogs, cats, vermin, and even reptiles, and are very fond of intoxicating liquors.

Amongst a people so thoroughly primitive, and so independent of religious prepossessions, we might reasonably expect missionary zeal would be most successful; for the last eight years, however, two or three American Baptist missionaries have in vain endeavoured to awake in them a sense of the saving virtues of Christianity. For a considerable period the residence of the missionaries was at Suddeah; where their labours, I believe, were unattended by any conversions either of Assamese or Singphoos. On the station being deserted by the troops for Saikwah, in 1839, the missionaries turned their attention more particularly towards the Nagas; they took up their residence on the Boree Dehing river, at Jeypore, established a school, and were indefatigable in endeavouring to gain some correct knowledge of the savage tribes in their vicinity. A few years' experience here proved the futility of their plans. Instead of wandering amongst the savage tribes scattered over an immense extent of country, in unhealthy, dense jungles, it would have been

prudent and politic to have afforded instruction in the first instance to the populous villages in the plains. One or more natives have been baptized at Jeypore, agreeably to the rites of the Baptist persuasion, by immersion in the Boree Dehing river, and this is the sum total of the missionary success. This has, it is understood, induced them to change their abode to Sebsauger and Nowgong, where they seem to think there is a greater chance of their succeeding. The missionaries have a printing press, and many elementary books of instruction in Assamese and English have been printed by them for the use of the natives. Their exemplary conduct and exertions merit the utmost commendation, and it is to be deplored that their well-intentioned labours should not be crowned by felicitous results.

To this day little is known either of the country inhabited by the Nagas, or of their habits and customs. Several officers have penetrated a considerable distance into the hills occupied by the Nagas; but always with marked and necessary caution, attended by a military guard. Greater intercourse between the highland Nagas and the people of the plains were much to be wished; but it is doubtful if any advantage would accrue to the British Government from extending its sway southward, over immense tracts of unprofitable wastes or dense jungles thinly inhabited.

7

A NATIVE MISSIONARY

(H. M. Hinde, in a letter to Lieutenant R. G. Woodthorpe, dated Jaipur, 7 May 1876. *General Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1875-6, p. 76)

WE MADE a short march into Deka Haimong, where we had to halt for the purpose of observation. I found Babu Godula, the Native missionary, at the village; he showed us every attention, and proved of great assistance. He gave a good account of his Naga converts, of which there are twenty-three, but complained bitterly of the oppression that this small village has to undergo at the hands of the powerful Hatigoria villages in the interior. Our rice arrived from the plains in the evening.

8

MISSIONARIES

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, p. 250)

AS FAR AS MY OBSERVATIONS GO, neither Nagas nor Kukis show any tendency towards being converted to Hinduism. Such a conversion would mean to most of them such an entire change of habits that it is difficult to see how it could possibly come to pass. Christianity also does not appear to have many attractions for them. The Reverend E. W. Clark who has been labouring for so many years amongst the Aos, and who had done so much by his village schools towards the civilization of that tribe, has had a certain amount of success, but his success has not been at all commensurate with his efforts. A few years ago, a good beginning was made at Wokha by the Reverend W. E. Witter amongst the Lhotas, who are of all the tribes in this district the tribe most amenable to discipline, and who would seem to offer the most promising field for missionary labour. Mr Witter had, however, owing to ill-health, to abandon his work amongst the Lhotas, and no one was ever sent to take his place. There has been now for many years a missionary at Kohima. The Angamis, however, who are in many respects the most advanced and independent of all the Naga tribes, show no disposition towards being converted to Christianity.

9

EARLY MISSIONARIES

(A. Mackenzie, *History*, 1884, pp. 92 and 99)

(a)

A MISSIONARY, Mr Bronson,¹ had for some years resided among the tribes, teaching them Christianity and the art of cultivating tea. The Governor-General's Agent thought so highly of this

¹ Mr Bronson, an American, worked in the hills from 1842 to about 1852.

gentleman's work, that he asked Government to give Rs 100 a month towards his Naga schools. Government, however, at this time thought it improper to give direct aid to missions, even when working among savage tribes, forgetting perhaps that it had made grants in 1829 to the Garo missions with very fair results, but it agreed to pass for a year any small sums shown in the Agent's contingent bill and not exceeding a monthly maximum of Rs 100, 'for objects of practical utility connected with the improvement of the Naga country, and spent with the view of leading its population into habits of industry'. The mission school was kept up till Mr Bronson was compelled, by illness, to leave the place. While it lasted it was very successful, as many chiefs of the eastern tribes sent their sons to him for instruction. It is interesting to note that Mr Bronson, who knew these Nagas better than any European before or since, was all in favour of Bordie's plans of direct and active control.

(b)

An American Baptist Missionary, the Reverend Mr Clarke,¹ has for some years past been settled in the Naga village of Molong Kong, south of Amguri, and his labours are apparently bearing fruit in leading to the settlement of blood feuds, and a desire on the part of those villages which have come under his influence to live at peace with their neighbours.

¹ Both Dr Clarke and Mr Clarke, who worked among the Nagas from the early sixties until 1898 gained a wide knowledge of the Ao language and both wrote about it. They first lived at Molongting but in 1893 established what is now the important mission centre at Impur, twelve miles from Mokokchang.

Chapter XIV

**SOME NAGA CUSTOMS AND
TRADITIONS**

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Chapter XIV

**SOME NAGA CUSTOMS AND
TRADITIONS**

IN THIS CHAPTER I collect a few notes on Naga customs and traditions. Major Butler writes on Naga Government generally, about which he could not really have known very much, and his son gives a more specific account of Angami democracy. Major Butler's account of birth and marriage ceremonies and his picture of funerary rites seem to depend on information from one Bhog Chund, who had lived many years among the Nagas and knew them well. Butler recommended him as an invaluable companion and guide to anyone who wished to tour in the Naga territory.

In the latter part of the chapter I have collected some notes on the various uses to which the Nagas put stone. The first is a rather quaint account by a Lieutenant Barron, about whom I have been unable to discover anything, on stone implements, and this is followed by Godwin-Austen's discussion of the stone monuments which used to be as prominent a feature of parts of the Naga country as they were of the Khasi Hills. He points out that the Angamis do not put up stones as the Khasis do to propitiate the ghosts of the dead or to commemorate them, but are rather erected by rich men during their lifetime to perpetuate their memory and the feasts they give. Funerary pillars, as Dr Brown notes at the end of the chapter, are generally made of wood.

NAGA CUSTOMS

(John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, pp. 164–72)

TEN DAYS after the birth of a child the hair of the infant is shorn off, and the parents perform several ceremonies, inviting all their friends to a grand feast, on which occasion the child is named. On proceeding to field work the mother ties the child to her back, and whilst at work the infant is placed on the ground. When the child is about a year old it is left at home in the village, and the parents pursue their avocations unattended by their little charge. At the age of five or six years, some of the Nagas wear a lungotee (a small piece of cloth) round the waist. On attaining the age of nine or ten years the boy is called a Moorungea, and from that time no longer resides with his parents, but, with all the youths of the village, takes up his abode at the Moorung, a large building set apart for this especial purpose. The parents, however, still continue to provide him with food, and he is obedient to their will, assisting them in cultivating their fields. He carries a sword and spear, and wears the Naga habiliments. At fifteen or sixteen years of age he begins to be dissatisfied with his existence in the Moorung, and makes arrangements for taking a wife; generally selecting a cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother. On these occasions the parents collect as much rice and liquor, and as many cows and buffaloes, as their means will admit. The girls all live together, like the boys, in a separate Moorung or house allotted for them; sometimes they reside in a house in which a corpse is kept, probably from the greater sanctity such an inmate would confer on their habitation. The youth is not restricted from visiting the damsel of his choice, and he adopts a well understood stratagem to ascertain her sentiments regarding himself. Whilst he is talking to her companion, he carelessly puts down his pipe, and narrowly watches her actions. If the damsel entertains any regard for him she instantly takes up his pipe and smokes it; from that moment the youth is satisfied of his conquest, and hastens to communicate the result to his parents, who arrange matters with the girl's relatives. Presents

of ornaments are sent for the girl, which she immediately wears; and an offering of liquor and tumbul pan (or betel nut leaf) to chew, being accepted by her parents, the marriage is decided on. After this, cows, buffaloes, rice, and liquor are forwarded to the house of the intended bride, and all her relations and friends are invited to a grand feast. An old Deodhune (or priestess) accompanies the youth to the party with a basket of ginger, and the youth then addresses the chosen damsel, thus: 'This day I take you to be my wife. I will not desert you, neither will I take another; eat this ginger in pledge thereof—henceforth we are husband and wife.' The woman on this eats a bit of the ginger, and then the youth sits down; whereupon the girl, in the same strain, taking up a piece of ginger, says—'I am your wife, and you are my husband, and I will obey you as such. I will not take another husband, for we are husband and wife; in token of which you will eat this ginger.' The marriage ceremony being thus concluded, the youth, after partaking of the feast, returns home to his parents, and in the evening his wife joins him with baskets of food for her husband's parents and his brothers' wives. She thenceforth resides with her husband. From that day the husband ceases to abide at the Moorung, and after the lapse of two or three days, according to the village roll, takes his tour of guard duty at the Moorung. From the day of his marriage he commences the preparation of a separate house, upon the completion of which, in a few months, he quits the parental roof. Some Nagas will, however, continue to cultivate the land, and share the produce of their labour with those of their parents; but on the birth of a child the families separate.

Amongst the Nagas, marriage is contracted with near relatives, such as cousins, in preference to other women. A widow, having no children, cannot marry a stranger, but must marry her late husband's brother; and if he happens to be a mere boy, she will still live with him as his wife; nor can the boy take another damsel: he must marry his brother's widow. The custom is one of great antiquity, and apparently cannot be infringed. If the widow has one or two children she cannot marry again, but must remain in her own house. No Naga marries more than one wife, and if she dies he is at liberty to marry again.

The crimes of adultery and seduction are treated with the utmost severity: the offenders are brought before the Khonbao and the

people assembled to investigate the offence; on proof of which, the Khonbao, or his Ticklah, decapitates the man in a conspicuous part of the road, between two or three villages; or he is tied with cane cords to a tree and there crucified. In some clans it is the practice to deprive both the seducer and seduced of their lives; in others, the former is placed in a basket, his hands and feet tied together, and he is rolled many times from the summit of a hill until life be extinct. . . .

Naga Government

The form of the Naga government is democratical; each clan seems to be ruled by a president and two subordinates or deputies, who form the executive. The president is called Khonbao, and the deputies Sundekae and Khonsae: the one Prime Minister, and the latter a chief over twenty houses. The chief magistrate or arbitrator, the Khonbao, decides all disputes of a civil or criminal nature, and it is optional with him either to direct or enforce his orders with his own sword; but in all this he is merely the organ or agent of the people, for the decisions are the results of the consultations of the whole Raj, or populace, who discuss all matters of importance in the open Moorung, or hall of justice, to be found in every Naga village. The Khonbao, Sundekae, and Khonsae, on these occasions, summon all the community to attend and assist with their counsel in disposing of any affairs of moment: such as a war to be undertaken against a foe, or in furtherance of revenge; or the punishment of crimes committed by any of the members of the tribe in opposition to their established polity.

The dignity of Khonbao is hereditary: the eldest son of the incumbent invariably succeeding to the title and authority. No junior brother can assume the rank, under any pretensions founded on greater ability, personal appearance, or reputation of valour. In the event of the Khonbao leaving no progeny, his wife succeeds to his title and authority; and the deputy Khonbao, Sundekae and Khonsae in council enforce her commands, and report everything to her connected with the welfare of the community.

No hospitality is shown to a stranger visiting the Naga country, unless he visits the Khonbao in the first instance: he is unable, even

under the greatest distress, to obtain shelter or provision elsewhere. On the arrival of an embassy it is conducted to the residence of the Khonbao, who gives audience immediately, and returns a reply by the messengers on his own responsibility, if the object of the visit is of no great importance. But, on the other hand, should the embassy be for the purpose of obtaining redress of wrongs committed by the clan of the Khonbao, the embassy is retained and entertained hospitably till the Sundekae, Khonsae, and principal elders of the people can be assembled in the Moorung; when the grievance is stated and inquiries made, each member stating openly and candidly his opinion on the matter at issue. The Khonbao propounds what is, in his opinion, expedient and best for the public good; but if there appears any irregularity, the people express their disapprobation to the Khonbao, and he is constrained to abide by the will of the community, to give orders to the embassy, and allow its departure to the place whence it came. In this manner all affairs and discussions are regulated amongst the Nagas. Any attempt to travel through their country, unaccompanied by a person acquainted with the roads, villages, and Naga language, would be the height of folly; as the traveller would not be supplied with water, food, or fire, neither would any shelter be afforded him, and his life would be in imminent danger.

2

ANGAMI DEMOCRACY

(John Butler, ' Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas ', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

FROM WHAT I HAVE STATED, it will doubtless have already been gathered that the Angamis have no regular settled form of government. With them might is right, and this is the only form of law—or rather the absence of all law—heretofore recognized among them. Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of the purest democracy which it is very difficult indeed to conceive as existing even for a single day; and yet that it does exist here, is an undeniable

fact. In every village we find a number of headmen or chiefs, termed Peumas, who generally manage to arbitrate between litigants.

The Nagas being a simple race, their quarrels are generally of a description easily settled, especially as owing to the fearful effects following a feud once started, they are chary of drawing first blood, and yet at times the most petty quarrel develops into a most serious feud. The actual authority exercised by these Peumas, who are men noted for their personal prowess in war, skill in diplomacy, powers of oratory, or wealth in cattle and land, is, however, all but nominal, and thus their orders are obeyed so far only as they may happen to be in accord with the wishes of the community at large, and even then, the minority will not hold themselves bound in any way by the wishes or acts of the majority. The Naga Peuma is, in fact, simply *primus inter pares*, and often that only *pro tem*. The title, if such it may be called, is indeed really one of pure courtesy, and depends entirely upon the wealth, standing, and personal qualities of the individual himself. Theoretically, with the Angami, every man is his own master, and avenges his own quarrel. Blood once shed can never be expiated, except by the death of the murderer, or some of his near relatives, and although years may pass away, vengeance will assuredly be taken some day. One marked peculiarity in their intestine feuds is, that we very seldom find the whole of one village at war with the whole of another village, but almost invariably clan is pitted against clan. Thus I have often seen a village split up into two hostile camps, one clan at deadly feud with another, whilst a third lives between them in a state of neutrality, and at perfect peace with both.

3

NAGA OMENS

(John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, pp. 155-6)

THE SUPERSTITION OF THE NAGAS is strikingly exhibited in the great attention paid by them to all signs of good and evil, before they attempt the execution of any project: whether it be to prepare the land to receive the seed, to proceed on hunting or fishing excursions,

or to enter upon any war expedition. On these occasions the Khonbao, Sundekae, and Khonsae, assemble the people, and a grand consultation is held between the chief ruler and the elders of the village, in order to divine the most auspicious moment, and to ascertain whether the affair under consideration will turn out favourably or otherwise. To aid the deliberation, new-laid eggs are procured, which they address in these terms: 'Oh eggs, you are enjoined to speak the truth and not to mislead us by false representations.' The eggs are then perforated and roasted on a fire, and the yolk is minutely examined: if it appears entire, the omen is considered good; if broken, the reverse, and auspicious for their enemies. In this conclusion the senate are likewise confirmed by a peculiar appearance of the white of the egg. Another simple mode of divining the propriety or expediency of carrying out certain plans is by burning the Bujjal bamboo. Should it crackle and fall out of the fire on the left side, it is a good omen; should it fly out on the right, the event is accepted as a warning of failure and disaster. By these simple and strange proceedings are the acts of these people guided.

4

STONE IMPLEMENTS

(Lieutenant Barron, 'Note on Stone Implements from the Naga Hills', *J.A.I.*, 1872, Vol. I, pp. lxii-xiii)

THE NAGA HILLS, whence these stones were brought, form the boundary between the north-east corner of Assam and the northern part of Burmah. All four stones were brought to me by the same person, a Naga, whose name is Man. No. 1 (fig. 3) was brought to me at the end of March, 1869, while I was encamped at Jeypore, near the Naga Hills. Man said it was found on ploughing a field. No. 2 (fig. 4) was brought to me on the 1st of April at Jeypore. I made the following notes: 'Man, a Naga, brought me another axe. When questioned, he said that they fell from the heavens, that they were of three kinds—one like No. 1, the other white (native word,

“*boga*”), and the third red (native word, “*lal*”); that this one, No. 2, was found three months before; that a tree was knocked down, and near it was a hole in the ground from which the stone was taken; and that only fortunate people could find these stones.

‘After I questioned Man, there passed three Fakials or Shans, who were originally from Burmah, and are quite distinct from the Assamese or Nagas. I called them up, and shewed them first No. 2. I asked them if they knew what it was. They said that it was a stone from heaven, but was a *dead* one, and not so good as No. 1, which I then showed them; that they fell from the heavens, and were of three kinds—one kind being like brass (or as they expressed it, like their *brass pots*); that only fortunate people could find them; and that they fell all over the country, and in their country too (i.e. in Burmah).

‘They evidently thought that some virtue had gone out of No. 2 (fig. 4) as they spoke of it as *dead*, and of No. 1 (fig. 3) as *living*, as if the stone-spirit was influenced the same way. In fact, the sharpest of the three Shans turned up his nose at No. 2 stone, but looked pleased when he saw No. 1, and said that it was the real thing.

‘There was no communication between the Naga and the Fakials during the two conversations, and the interpretation was made through a Doanea—an Assamese. The similarity of the ideas of the two nations about these stones is curious. It appears that the idea of their falling from heaven has a hold of all their minds.’

In conversation with these men I said that the stones from heaven were generally round, and not of this shape (I meant meteoric stones). My Bengallee officials said that they knew the round stones from heaven, but had never seen them in this other form.

The Fakials said that these axe-shaped stones are found generally within a foot of the surface of the ground; the Naga said about a cubit, i.e. he pointed from his finger tips to his elbow.

The Fakials, though they recognized the forms of the stones, said they had none at that time; otherwise I would have endeavoured to obtain them.

I omitted to note the cause of the tree falling as mentioned by the Naga, if he told me; but I may state that on the 10th December, 1868, a violent earthquake occurred in Cachar and Assam, which caused numerous rents in the earth in Cachar, and in these Naga hills was sufficiently severe to cause, perhaps, trees to fall. I was in the same

range of hills when the earthquake took place. The date of the stone No. 2 being found, according to the Naga, agrees wonderfully with the date of the earthquake, that is to say, if any credit can be given to his story. I think in this case it might be probable that the place where the stone was found might be where the roots of the fallen tree had torn up the ground. The natives have, however, another superstition connected with these stones, viz., that when they fall they sink into the ground, and, after lying a certain time, the ground opens, and they are found in the fissure, or come to the surface.

No. 1 appears to be jade or serpentine. On cutting No. 2 with a knife it is soft and apparently a sort of marble or limestone. No. 1 could not by lapse of time become of the same appearance as No. 2, I am at a loss, therefore, to account for the idea of the natives, that No. 2 was useless and had become *dead*. The Naga parted with No. 2 at half the price of No. 1.

I told the Naga man to bring me any more he could find. A few months afterwards he came to me at Dibrooghur, about forty miles west of Jeypore, and brought me Nos. 3 and 4. I gave him less for them than for the others. All four appear to be genuine, as their forms are different, and are closely allied to forms of the same sort of axes found in other countries.

I may note that in one of the published papers of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1868 or 1869, it is stated, as far as I recollect, by a gentleman, who apparently had found stone axes in Lower Burmah, that they were also found in Upper Burmah, but that there the soft sort (like Nos. 2 and 3) were genuine, and those of jade (like No. 1) were suspicious. It was curious, however, to find that the Fakials, who came originally from the Upper Burmah, and the Nagas on the border, all look on the jade stone as the best, and do not value the others.

As I know of only two other stones, besides these, from the Naga Hills, that have come under observation (viz., Lieut. Steel's and Mr Haly's specimens, both of jade, I think), perhaps further inquiry will alter or confirm the opinion expressed in the *Asiatic Society's* paper.

STONE MONUMENTS

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur during the Field Season 1872-3*, p. 86)

I WAS MUCH INTERESTED TO FIND, on entering the Anghami country, that they and other Nagas also erect monolithic monuments like the Khasis, and that the custom was still in force. The finest slabs are to be seen near Sopvomah and Togwema; they are quite equal in size to those in the Khasi Hills. Large stones are also set up on three or more supports in dolmen form. These on the Sopvomah ridge were all of sandstone, which must, at the cost of very great labour, have been dragged up out of the bed of the Zullo, the ridge being of friable shales. They move the stones on wooden sledges constructed for the purpose, dragged by ropes, and rollers used where necessary. The Tangkuls do not erect these larger monuments, but in the villages of Prowi and Phunggum I noticed long lines of small stones, generally the white weathered limestone, sunk nearly flush with the surface, and extending for many yards along the sides of the paths leading from the village; and rows of small stones, two or three feet high, were here and there noticed.

Among the Angamis they are set up by individuals during their life time to perpetuate their own memory and that of the feast given at the time; after a day or two of feasting the men assembled, all go in a body and drag in the stones, which are set up on the side of the principal road near the village or on a conspicuous knoll. The number set up is apparently unlimited, and they are arranged differently to the Khasi stones, the largest and highest on the right, the others in gradation of size. I have seen as many as twelve to fifteen in a row, but one to three is the most usual number.

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, 'On the rude stone monuments of certain Naga tribes, with some remarks on their customs, etc.', *J.A.I.*, 1875, Vol. IV, pp. 144-7)

ON VISITING the Naga Hills District last cold weather, 1872-3, I was very much surprised and interested to find that some of the tribes

Anghami and others erect upright cenotaphs, similar to those to be seen in the Khasi Hills, and which I described when last in England in a paper read before this Institute in May 1871, and published in the Journal. The custom is here in full force, not, as is the case among the Khasis, undoubtedly fast dying out. The interest attached to this custom was not a little increased when I came on the first monoliths by my never having read of any notice of it in any work or report in which the Naga tribes are mentioned. Colonel Butler, in his book, does not allude to this very remarkable custom, and Colonel Dalton is equally silent in his much later published work, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. Not only are monolithic monuments common, but the Dolmen form is also to be seen in villages at the head of the Zullo and Sijjo valleys.

I first observed these stones on approaching the village of Kheruphima, set up on the roadside, often singly, in twos and threes, sometimes in sets of as many as eight and nine. Their arrangement is quite different to the Khasi stones, and they are placed, gradually decreasing in size, from left to right. Their number may thus be either odd or even without disturbing the symmetry of the monument as a whole, which is not the case with the Khasi stones, for these, with the highest in the centre, and one or more on either side, are always in uneven sets. Mr C. B. Clarke, in a paper lately read before the Institute, disagrees with me on this point, but the case of even sets, owing to two stones of equal size being placed in the centre, is so very rare and exceptional that it rather, if anything, proves the rule.

The object for which they are set up by the Nagas is not, as it is with the Khasi, one of propitiation to the manes of their ancestors. They are erected by individuals during their lifetime to commemorate the feast given on the occasion, and one or more persons may give this, and for each a stone is set up. The feasting lasts two or three days, and at its close the stone (or stones), having been selected, is dragged in, and set up, sometimes within the village, oftener on the side of one of the principal approaches to it.

In the Sopyomah group of villages, situated on a ridge of friable shales, these stones of the Tertiary sandstones had been brought out of the bed of the Sijjo below, some 2,000 feet, up a very steep slope, at great expenditure of time and tremendous labour.

I saw some upright stones quite twelve feet high, but they never attained the proportions of some in the Khasi hills, where I know

of one twenty-four feet in height. They are numerous in the villages of Maram, Sopvomah, Kidemah, Kohimah to Sikhami, and on the east side of the Sijjo valley, in the Kezakenogi group of villages. To the eastward of this, they are fewer in number and smaller, and at the head of the Lanier valley, as at Phunggum and Prowi, they are similar to those seen in the Garo country, only one and two feet high, yet still set up with some sort of regularity.

The dolmens in Sopvomah and Kezakenomi were very large; some, flat slabs wedged out of the well-stratified sandstone, others, irregular, weathered masses from the beds of the ravines on the hillside. As far as I could learn, they have no connexion with funeral obsequies. The Nagas of this part—and, in fact, all I have met—bury their dead, and in these particular villages the body is placed within a square platform built up of stone, about three to four feet above the ground. Long lines of these, close together and rising in steps, are to be seen, either, and very frequently, inside the village, or else just outside, and skirting the road. Occasionally they stand quite alone.

6

WOODEN IMAGES

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 13–14; p. 15; p. 34)

(a)

AFTER LEAVING KOHIMA (the village being passed through), the road descends for some distance, and then leads easily over ridges. The country is open tree jungle, with sparse cultivation, and that chiefly jhoom; a small village is skirted about half way, and here and before reaching the village a succession of fine plateaux are passed through, a part of one of them being occupied by a jheel of clear water. Shortly after leaving the village a steep descent is made to a small river, a very stiff hill succeeding, which is crowned by the village of Nerhama. On the northeast slope of the hill, in the dhan terraces, the camp is pitched.

Close under the village a wooden effigy of a warrior was noticed and photographed. These figures are pretty common amongst the Angamies and allied tribes, and are monumental in character, the dead being chiefs or warriors of note who are buried underneath.

(b)

On the road today a recent burial-place of a warrior was passed. At the head of the grave, which was oblong and paved with flat stones, was reared an upright slab of wood, with eighteen rude effigies of heads carved on it; thus signifying how many heads of his enemies he had taken during life.

(c)

A warrior's grave was passed today, on the slab of wood over which were carved marks showing that thirty-two heads had been taken by the deceased,—the greatest number yet noted.

Chapter XV

HEAD-HUNTING AND WAR

THERE ARE REFERENCES throughout this book to the custom of head-hunting and to methods of war and although head-hunting is now a thing of the past it would give an inaccurate picture of Naga history if all reference to it was omitted. Both Major Butler and Robinson give sympathetic accounts of the violence that ruled Naga life during the nineteenth century and Captain Butler also describes their weapons, though head-hunting was not really understood until Hutton and Mills published their books which go deep into what we may call the philosophy of the custom.

I conclude the chapter with accounts of the death of Captain John Butler and the siege of Kohima.

STRATAGEM AND AMBUSCADE

(W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, 1841, pp. 390–4)

WE HAVE ALREADY OBSERVED, that the various tribes dispersed over the Naga mountains, are not only independent and unconnected, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with one another. Interest is not either the most frequent, or the most powerful motive of their incessant hostilities. They must in a great measure be imputed to the passion of revenge, which rages with such violence in the breast of savages, that eagerness to gratify it may be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of men in their uncivilized state. The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those which are adopted among more civilized and populous nations, are well suited to their own political state. They never take the field in numerous bodies, since such a measure would require a greater effort of foresight and industry than is usual among them. On approaching the enemy's territories, they collect their troops and advance with great caution. Even in their hottest and most active wars, they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. If no straggling parties can be intercepted, they advance towards the villages; and if so fortunate as to remain unobserved, they set on fire the enemy's huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants as they fly naked and defenceless from the flames. When the enemy is caught unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity, and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, they carry home those strange trophies of their triumph. These they preserve as monuments not only of their prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were objects of public resentment. On the death of a warrior, all the scalps taken by him during his life time are burnt with his remains.

Such a mode of warfare may be supposed to flow from a feeble and dastardly spirit, incapable of any generous or manly exertion.

But when it is considered that many of these tribes, on occasions which call for extraordinary efforts, not only defend themselves with obstinate resolution, but attack their enemies with the most daring courage, and that they possess fortitude of mind superior to the sense of danger or the fear of death, we must ascribe their habitual caution to some other cause than constitutional timidity. The number of men in each tribe is so small, the difficulty of rearing new members amidst the hardships and dangers of savage life so great, that the life of a citizen is extremely precious, and the preservation of it becomes a capital object in their policy. Had the point of honour been the same amongst the feeble Naga tribes as among the powerful nations of Europe; had they been taught to court fame or victory in contempt of danger and death, they must have been ruined by maxims so ill adapted to their condition. But wherever their communities are more populous, so that they can act with considerable force, and can sustain the loss of several of their members without being sensibly weakened, the military operations

of the Nagas more resemble those of other nations. They openly defy their enemies to the combat, engage in regular battles, and maintain the conflict with that desperate ferocity which is natural to men who having no idea of war but that of extermination, never give or take quarter.

The universal weapon of the Nagas is a javelin, which is usually adorned with coloured hair, and ornamented with strips of ratan of various colours. The Loohoopas make use of a long spear, and some of the eastern Nagas handle the tomahawk. The total disuse, of the bow among the Naga tribes seems a very singular circumstance especially



Bordina Naga

as the weapon is common to all the surrounding hill tribes, and the advantage given them by the use of it, is acknowledged by the Nagas themselves. The steadfast retention of their own weapons of offence, may be considered as one strong mark of nationality, and an indication of a common origin; in it may also be traced the continuance of a long established custom, which could scarcely be preserved amongst tribes now so diverse, and that too, contrary to all the dictates of experience, were it not possessed of some sanctity, or consecrated in their recollection as the weapon of their forefathers. Their shield consists of a long mat, lined inside with leather or thin boards.

The war dress of the Nagas consists in a number of odd contrivances, to give themselves a fierce appearance. They bind up their legs with brogues of parti-coloured ratans, and adorn their heads and necks with bands of the same. On their heads they wear bunches of feathers intermingled with plates of brass, and the horns and teeth of wild animals; and as though their appearance were not sufficiently fantastic, they affix a bunch of hair to supply the deficiency of a tail.

2

NAGAS AT WAR

(John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, pp. 158-64)

WHEN THE NAGAS propose taking vengeance on a neighbouring tribe, the Khonbao assembles the elders of the village; and, in accordance with established customs, the omens being consulted and proving propitious, a plan to cut up their enemies by surprise is decided on. Each man provides himself with a spear, sword, bamboo choong, a hollow joint of the bamboo filled with water, and a small basket of rice; and, the party being formed, set out in the day towards the frontier of the enemy who is to be attacked. At night they cross over and occupy a favourable position in ambush, surrounding the enemy's village. There they take their repast, and when the cock first crows on the following morning, they rush,

with great shouting, into the village, and cut up every body they meet with; sparing neither old infirm men, nor helpless women, nor children: even the cows, pigs, and poultry of the foe are slaughtered. Sometimes the victors remain on the spot two or three days, but generally return to their own village on the same day; taking with them the heads, hands, and feet of those they have massacred: these they parade about from house to house, accompanied with drums and gongs, throwing liquor and rice on the heads, and uttering all manner of incantations: saying, 'Call your father, mother, and relations to come here and join you in eating rice and drinking spirits, when we will kill them with the same sword.' They then sing, dance, and perform all manner of antics; pierce and mangle the heads of their enemies, and again with curses enjoin them to summon their whole race to suffer the same ignominious treatment. In the massacre, one of the Nagas may have, perhaps, particularly distinguished himself by evincing great ferocity in cutting off more heads than any of his party; which circumstance he fails not to bring to the notice of his assembled friends. Stalking out before them he challenges them to mark his deeds, and with many songs of boisterous mirth and audacious boasting, he drags the heads of his enemies about in the most contemptuous manner, proclaiming his own triumph somewhat after this fashion:

'In the world I am the most powerful and courageous; there is none equal to me. I am the greatest of all men. No one [pointing to the skulls of his enemies] can perform such deeds. Like to the clouds that thunder and hurl down fireballs into the water to the destruction of the fish,—like to the tiger who leaps out to seize the deer,—like to the hawk who pounces down on the chickens and carries them off, do I cut up every one, and carry off their heads; and with these weapons [dashing them together, to produce a clashing noise] I have killed such and such persons: yes, I have killed them. You know my name. The greatest beast of the forest, the elephant, I first destroy, and after that all other animals too insignificant to mention. Such a hero am I, there is no one equal to me,' &c.

The same scene is enacted for three or four successive days: when the heads being hacked and sufficiently danced about to satiate Naga revenge, they are suspended from the branches of

Nahor trees. After this, the ceremony of tattooing the body is performed, and a most severe operation it is. The burnt ashes of a pot are pricked into the skin with the thorns of the cane: a great quantity of blood exudes, and the body swells to a great size. Being previously thrown into a state of stupid intoxication, the patient is left to welter in the dirt and blood for three days, unconscious of his condition. After this operation, the young sprouts of the Bhat-teeta tree being well pounded, are smeared over the wounds, and in the course of twenty-five days the patient is able to resume his avocations; upon which a number of pigs and fowls are killed, and a great feast is given; the heads of the enemies being brought down from the trees and strewed out upon a platform before the populace in the court, or Raj Moorung. For a whole month from the day of the massacre, the Nagas daily sing the war song quoted above, and dance and manifest the greatest excitement and delight.

All villages are not entitled to the honour of retaining the heads of their enemies; they must be kept in the village of the Khonbao.

In some Naga villages it is the custom, for a man who has committed murder in cutting off the head of a foreigner, to be joined by ten or a dozen Nagas in submitting to the operation of tattooing; which in such cases is an indispensable ceremony. The tattooing is pricked round the calves of the legs in ten or twelve rings or circles interspersed with dots; the thighs, the breast, the neck, the fingers, the back of the hand, the arms, the forehead, and nose, the vicinity of the eyes and the ears being similarly decorated. The poorest Naga peasant deems it an honour to have his body thus embellished with stripes, figures, and dots; and the omission of the ceremony would entail on him eternal disgrace and censure. Indeed, the tattooing determines the character and consequence of the individual; for by certain marks on one arm it is apparent that he has killed a man; when both arms and body are scarred he is known to have murdered two individuals; and when the face and eye-sockets are indelibly impressed with the tattoo, he stands proclaimed the assassin of three of his fellow-creatures, and is thenceforth esteemed a valiant warrior.

On the question being once put to the Nagas whether they would like to become the subjects of the Company, they promptly replied, —‘No: we could not then cut off the heads of men and attain

renown as warriors, bearing the honourable marks of our valour on our bodies and faces.'

If a Naga happens to be suddenly surprised, and cut off by the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, his corpse is quickly taken up by his friends and placed on a platform in the jungles near the road. At the expiration of three or four days they perform some ceremonies, and wait till a favourable opportunity occurs for avenging his death. The purpose is never relinquished, though its execution may unavoidably be tardy: by day and night they lie in ambush in the jungle, or on the plains near the roads, till they can pounce upon some unwary individual of the enemy. His murder is then communicated to his friends in a singular way. Forty or fifty Nagas, armed with wooden clubs, strike a large hollow piece of wood called a tomkhong, from which a loud, terrific sound proceeds, which gives token to the enemy that one of their tribe has died in acquittance of the debt of revenge. To such an extent does this vindictive spirit prevail, that the Naga will wait for two or three generations devising plans for decapitating a member of a tribe who has murdered one of their clan; and when opportunity of vengeance offers, they are sure to take advantage of it, regardless of the personal innocence of the man whom they select as the victim of their fury. The death of the victim is hailed with dance and song, and the liveliest demonstrations of joy: even the old men, women, and children seem in raptures at the announcement of the joyful tidings that their tribe has succeeded in taking revenge.

3

A POISONED WELL

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 112-13)

THE PROGRESS OF THE PARTY on the 21st was very slow, in consequence of the number of pangies required to be removed from the path; and although the distance was only five miles, the encamping ground at Jappeh-mah was not reached till three P.M. The Nagahs

deferred their attack on the party till within a mile of the village, at a rocky part of the hill, when five or six men sprang out of the leading files and threw their spears, and before the Sipahes had time to fire they rushed down the precipice. Several men of the guard were struck by the spears; but their clothes being tied on loosely they escaped uninjured. The enemy had erected an embankment, which they deserted, on a flank movement being made to attack. The village was carried without much opposition, although the entrance was very strong. The passage was through a narrow lane with a stone wall on each side, and a single plank of considerable thickness formed the door. The villagers did not again show themselves till night, when they pelted stones at the party from an adjoining high piece of ground, concealing themselves behind stone walls.

The next day, after searching for the well some distance from the village, when the whole party had partaken of the water they experienced very unpleasant effects, being afflicted with a dizziness and heaviness of the upper eyelids which made it difficult to keep them open. On examining the well or reservoir, it appeared that the enemy had bruised and steeped a poisonous root in the water. The Nagah prisoners said, that while the root was fresh its effects were what had been experienced; but, if allowed to rot, it would kill all who partook of it in three or four days.

4

NATIONAL OFFENSIVE WEAPONS

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

THE ONLY NATIONAL, offensive weapons, used by the Angami, are the spear and dao, but of late years they have managed to become the proud possessors of a considerable quantity of fire-arms, to obtain which is just now one of the keenest desires they have; in fact, an Angami will give almost anything he has for a gun, and if he cannot get it by fair means, will run almost any risk to get it by foul. In several cases of gun thefts, some of which have been

accompanied by murder, they have certainly proved themselves wonderfully bold and dexterous.

The spear is generally a very handsome one, and at close quarters, or when thrown from an ambuscade, is a formidable weapon, well calculated to inflict a most dangerous wound. At anything over thirty yards, however, it is but of little use, and is not very difficult to dodge even at two-thirds of that distance. The spear-head is of iron, varying from 18 inches to 2 feet in length, and from 2 to 3 inches in breadth. Its shaft is generally from 4 to 5 feet in length, and is usually very picturesquely ornamented with scarlet goat's hair, here and there intermingled with a peculiar pattern of black and white hair; sometimes, though rarely, the whole shaft is beautifully worked over with scarlet and yellow cane, and it is always tipped at the bottom with an iron spike of from three inches to over a foot in length, used for sticking it into the ground. A Naga would never dream of leaving his spear against a wall. It must be always kept in a perpendicular position, either by being stuck upright into the ground or by being suspended against one of the walls of the house, so as to keep it perfectly straight. On the war-path every Angami carries two of these spears.

The dao is a broad-headed kind of hand-bill, with a heavy blade about 18 inches in length and only edged on one side. This dao is invariably worn at the back of the waist in a rough sort of half scabbard made of wood. The only article of defence they possess is a large shield from 5 to 6 feet high, 2 feet broad at the top and tapering down to about a foot in breadth at the bottom. This shield is made of bamboo matting, and is covered with either the skin of some wild animal (elephant, tiger, leopard and bear being among the most common), or a piece of cloth, generally scarlet. In the latter case, or even without the cloth, it is decorated with pieces of skin cut so as to represent human heads, and tufts of scarlet goat's hair, whilst on the inside is attached a board, so as to make it spear-proof. From each corner of the upper end of the shield spring two cane horns from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet in length, decorated with the long flowing tresses of human hair taken in war—probably the locks of some unfortunate woman butchered at the water hole—intermingled with goat's hair dyed scarlet; and from the centre rises a plume about 3 feet long of scarlet goat's hair, tipped at the top for about 4 inches in depth with white goat's hair, and along

the top edge runs a fringe of white, downy feathers. Along the inner edge, a string of lappets, made of feathers of various hues, white, black, blue, and scarlet, wave to and fro most gracefully, at every motion of the shield. Besides the spear, dao, and shield I must not omit to mention that, when proceeding out on a foray, they invariably take with them several bundles of 'panjies', with which they rapidly cover the path on retreat, so as to disable and retard any party that may start in pursuit.

5

HEAD-HUNTING

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 248-9)

THE WHOLE OF THE NAGA AND KUKI TRIBES are head-hunters, and they all try and get heads in the same treacherous way. Any head counts, be it that of man, woman, or child, and entitles the man who takes it to wear certain ornaments according to the custom of the tribe or village. Most heads are taken, or rather used to be taken, not in fair fight, but by methods the most treacherous. As common a method as any was for a man to lurk about the water ghat of a hostile village, and kill the first woman or child who came to draw water. Sometimes expeditions on a large scale were made, several villages combining for the purpose of making a large bag. Even then if the village to be attacked was found prepared, the valiant warriors who had come against it would, as a rule, retire without striking a blow. If, however, it was found that the whole of the adult population was away in the fields, an attack would be delivered, and as many children and old people as could within a reasonable time be killed would be killed, a retreat being effected before the men of the village attacked could have time to receive the news and return from their fields.

The desire for heads is still very strong amongst the youth of all the tribes in this district: that this should be so is more the fault of the women than of any one else; these are given to laugh at the

young bucks at the village festivals when they turn out without such decorations as mark the successful warrior. That they [the women] should do so is strange, as it is the women who in old days, when the manly custom of head-taking was in full swing, always got the worst of it, being unarmed and unable to run as fast as the men. Though, however, heads are still the object of the ardent desire of many a buck, yet, if talked to seriously, there are very few Nagas but will admit that, on the whole, the present condition of things, under which they can in safety till their fields and indulge their trading propensities, is better than living in the constant uncertainty of whether you will, when you go out to your fields in the morning, return safe and sound in the evening.

6

LIKE KILLING FOWLS

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. I, pp. 237 f.)

THE ANGAMI TRIBE is divided into three main divisions—the Chakroma, who live in a few small villages in the western portion of the country; the Tengima proper, occupying the central portion, and the Chakrima or Eastern Angamis, who occupy the country south and east of Kohima on both sides of the watershed range. The Chakroma, who represent but a very small percentage of the whole tribe, are practically identical with the Tengima in appearance and language. Between the Tengima and Chakrima, however, especially that portion of the tribe which inhabits the villages on the right bank of the Sijju river, there are very marked differences, both in dialect and general appearance. The differences in dress, cut of hair, &c., between these two divisions of the tribes are in fact greater than those that exist between tribes that are really different, such as the Lhotas and Aos, and it is only by an examination of the language spoken by Tengima and Chakrima that we find that they really belong to the same tribe.

The Angamis live in, for the most part, large villages, reaching in the case of Kohima to over 800 houses. These villages are, as a

rule, strongly situated on the tops of hills. The houses in a village are all built close together without much attempt at arrangement, and the whole is surrounded by an almost impenetrable fence of some thorny shrub and huge stinging nettles. The approaches to the village are by narrow sunken paths, the entrance to the actual site being guarded by a strong wooden door now-a-days rarely or never shut.

A village is, however, far from being a united community, as might have been expected. The unit of Naga society is not the village, but the 'khel', called by the Angamis themselves 'tepfu' or 'tino'. Many of these exist in each village. In Kohima there are seven such subdivisions. The members of each 'khel' or 'tino' are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor, whose name the khel bears. These khels are exogamous subdivisions. Between the khels in the same village great rivalry exists, which in old days used to lead to blood feuds and frequent fighting, indeed, the inter-khel feuds were and are now practically extinct, but inter-khel feuds are still kept alive, and result not infrequently at the great drinking festivals in riots and free fights, in which lives are occasionally lost. I know of no Angami village of any size which is not divided against itself by the bitter feuds which exist between its component parts. The following extract from a report by Mr Carnegie, then Political Officer in the Naga Hills, dated the 12th September 1876, will show the utter want of combination which exists in an ordinary Angami village. He writes:

'In the middle of July a party of 40 men of Mozema went over to Kohima, and were admitted by one of the khels friendly to them, living next to the Puchatsuma quarter, into which they passed and killed all they could find, viz., one man, five women, and twenty young children. The people of the other khels made no effort to interfere, but stood looking on. . . . One of the on-lookers told me that he never saw such fine sport (i.e., the killing of the children), for it was just like killing fowls.'

Such scenes as this are of course things of the past, but the spirit which rendered them possible still exists, and renders all real combination amongst even one tribe impossible. I have dwelt on this point at some length, as the fact of the non-existence of any possibility for united action by even one village, let alone a whole tribe, does not seem to be very widely known.

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN BUTLER

(R. G. Woodthorpe, in a letter to Captain W. F. Badgley dated Shillong, 15 June 1876. *General Report of the Topographical Surveys, 1875-6*, pp. 56-8)

IN OCTOBER LAST I received instructions from the Surveyor-General to join the late Captain J. Butler in Golaghat as early in November as possible. I left Calcutta on the 3rd November, but my steamer breaking down and various other delays occurring, I did not reach Gauhati till the 19th, where I was joined by Mr Ogle, who had been deputed to accompany me as my Assistant, and who had brought down with him from Shillong our establishment of klassies and coolies. We reached Golaghat on the 29th, having, at Tezpur, picked up Lieutenant-Colonel A. Tulloch and his detachment of two companies of the 42nd Assam Light Infantry, which was to form the military escort of the exploration party.

We found Captain Butler at Golaghat, anxiously awaiting our arrival. His coolies had not then all come up; but being desirous of delaying as little as possible, he determined to start for Wokha at once to establish the guard and depot there. Accordingly, on the 1st December, he and Colonel Tulloch, with one subadar and forty-nine sepoy all told, left Golaghat for Wokha, and having explained his wishes on the spot to Colonel Tulloch, he returned to Golaghat on the 8th. His coolies had even then not all arrived there; but as there was a little preliminary work to be done in putting up signals at Lakhuti and Namkam, and as, should these marks be up when we started work from Wokha, much time would be saved, with Captain Butler's sanction, I deputed Mr Ogle for this work, and he left us on the 10th December. He was to proceed to Lakhuti via Bhandari and Sanigaon, and, having put up the mark there, to go on to Nankam via Pangti and Okotso. There was no reason to suppose that any opposition would be offered to Mr Ogle's progress, as he had a strong guard with him, and we had been through that country last year, and were well received both at Lakhuti and Nankam; nevertheless, he was unable to get beyond the first of these two villages, for the reasons stated in his report.

In the meantime all our coolies having arrived, and all arrangements being satisfactorily completed. Captain Butler and I started on 17th December for Wokha, where we arrived on the 29th, having been joined by Mr Ogle at Sanigaon the day before. We found that the surrounding villages had been bringing in rice in large quantities, and the godown was well stocked. On the 21st some men came in from Lakhuti to see Captain Butler and assure him of their friendship. On being questioned as to their refusing to show Mr Ogle the road, and turning out in war-dress, they replied that they had meant no harm, and had simply intended to escort him. It was necessary, in order to carry on our triangulation, that a point near Kakenagami, among the Semas, should be visited, and also Nummuh far south among the Eastern Angamis. For this work Mr Ogle was again deputed; and Captain Butler considered it advisable that Mr Needham, who had come into Wokha to see him on various matters, should accompany Mr Ogle. They left us on the 22nd (see Mr Ogle's report of this tour).

On the 23rd Captain Butler, Colonel Tulloch and I left Wokha, and encamped on the Douang below Sanigaon. The force with us consisted of the numbers given in the margin, leaving a guard at Wokha whose strength is also shown in the margin. The next day we reached Lakhuti, and I visited the mark which had been put up by Mr Ogle. In the evening, about 9-20 P.M., we felt a very strong shock of earthquake.

42nd Assam L.I.	{	2 Native Officers 4 Havildars 6 Naiks 1 Bugler 58 Sepoys
Naga Hills Police	{	1 Inspector 2 Head-Constables 17 Constables
		<i>At Wokha</i>
		1 Native Officer 2 Havildars 45 Sepoys

On the 25th, about 7-30 A.M., we left Lakhuti, and as we passed through the village, we noticed that there seemed to be very few of the young men about, and some of the old men and the head-man of Sanigaon told us that we might expect opposition at Pangti. I may mention here that our guide, perhaps stricken with a vague feeling of remorse for the treacherous part he was about to play, endeavoured once or twice to induce Captain Butler to turn back to the village, and remain there for the day, or at any rate to take counsel with the elders before going on. It must, however, be remembered that had the Lakhuti men wished Mr Ogle to fall

into the trap, they would have led him on instead of refusing a guide; so there is little doubt that it was only with Captain Butler and the main body that the Nagas wished to try conclusions.

About 11 o'clock we crossed the Chebi River, and halted for three-quarters of an hour to allow all our coolies and the rear-guard to come up, as the bank on either side of the stream was exceedingly steep and broken, and the path difficult for men with loads. Our guide had got over any little uneasiness of conscience, and slept most peacefully till we went on again, when all the men had come up. We were soon in sight of Pangti, a large village crowning the hill in front of us about three miles off, the intervening country being broken up into long undulating spurs separated by deep ravines, and everywhere densely clothed with long grass jungle and thick shrubs. The path, a narrow one, went up and down over these spurs and across the ravines for about a mile, when it began to ascend to the village. When we reached the first ravine, our guide suddenly disappeared into the jungle, before he could be stopped by any of the sepoys, and effected his escape. Captain Butler, thinking this was the signal for an attack, sounded the 'alarm', and Colonel Tulloch, who was a little way behind, asked if he should fire, as from where he was he could see the course taken by the guide. Captain Butler replied that he need not, as the desertion of a guide is not an unfrequent occurrence, and nothing beyond this had taken place; so we again resumed our march, Captain Butler remarking that he thought we were in for an ambuscade there. I remember saying that during my experience of the Nagas we had never met with anything like an ambush, asking if they had ever laid one for him to which he replied 'No, never'; nor had they ever attacked us at any great distance from their villages, always waiting there for us; and we consequently thought that if we were to be attacked by Pangti, it would probably be at the top of the hill, where we could see some pretty strong stockades, guarding the southern and western approaches. About a quarter of a mile beyond the place where the guide had run away, the path descended steeply into another ravine, crossed a small stream, and again ascended steeply (part of the path here being cut into steps), through the close shrubs, thick trees, and long grass, into which it would have been impossible to send flankers. Indeed, as we afterwards found, the Nagas themselves had been obliged to

cut a labyrinth of paths parallel to and about five or six yards from the main road, to enable them to move about in the jungle, a few narrow lanes giving access to the road. This ambush had evidently been arranged some time, and there were signs of the Nagas having encamped there.

Our order of march at this time was as follows: Captain Butler's police guard of five constables, a havildar, and four or five men of the 42nd; Captain Butler and myself, with our orderlies and some Naga dobashas armed with carbines, were in front, a little ahead of Colonel Tulloch, behind whom was the advance-guard of the coolies, a few sepoy's keeping up the line between us and him. When we had left the stream about fifty yards, a sepoy behind passed up word that he had seen a Naga up the stream behind a rock. Captain Butler, asking me to wait for him, went back to Colonel Tulloch to ask him to have the ravine searched, and some sepoy's placed on either side of the path, to ensure the coolies crossing the stream in safety. He had seen Colonel Tulloch, and was returning to me, when, according to the account of his orderly and a dobasha, which I believe to be correct (Captain Butler being unable afterwards to remember exactly how it had happened), as he was half-way to me, a spear was thrown which fell behind him and close to his orderly, who exclaimed: 'Take care, they are throwing spears.' Captain Butler asked 'Where?' half turning to his left, and at the same moment a spear, thrown from a point rather higher than the path, crossing him from the left, struck him, at a great angle, in the right breast, grazing the collar-bone and penetrating to the lungs, passing between the first and second true ribs. He drew out the spear, staggered back a few yards, and fainting, fell heavily to the ground. His being struck was, I imagine, the signal for a war-cry which resounded through the jungle up and down for at least half a mile on the left of the path, a precipitous slope being on the right, and immediately after spears came flying out through the grass. We replied promptly with a volley, and groans within a few yards of us told us that some of the shots had taken effect. I remained where I was for a few minutes, firing at the Nagas, who every now and then came charging down the path towards us, appearing and disappearing, as if by magic, through the narrow outlets, the first of which we had just reached. A spear had fallen a few yards before us on the path, and the head

constable stepped forward and picked it up, when at once a Naga appeared as if out of the ground flourishing a dao over his head, and he escaped only by running back in a crouching position, while some shots were fired over him at the rascal. I was wondering why Captain Butler had not come back to me, when I heard the 'assembly' sounding in rear; so we retired slowly, and on approaching the stream I was horrified to find my poor friend lying in a dead faint in his orderly's arms, Colonel Tulloch being actively engaged in keeping off the Nagas on the opposite bank. I at once opened Captain Butler's waistcoat and shirt, and found the wound, out of which air was rapidly escaping; and the native doctor coming up, I made him sew up the wound: this being done, and some brandy-and-water poured into his mouth, Captain Butler gradually revived, and going back to the coolies, I got up his bed, which was made into a doolie. Our first thought and care were for him, and it was evident that he could not be moved far. It was too late then to make the necessary arrangements for a detached party to proceed against the village, the punishment of which had to be deferred to the next day; and therefore Colonel Tulloch decided to encamp close by in a good open spot, capable of being easily defended. We moved slowly and sorrowfully back and encamped there, sending off three constables at once to Golaghat to bring up Captain Butler's brother and a European surgeon.

A very anxious night passed without further disturbance, and the next morning Colonel Tulloch, with a small force, attacked and burned Pangti, the villagers retreating rapidly before him. I remained in camp to look after its safety, and attend to Captain Butler, who seemed to be much better and stronger in the afternoon, though he lapsed into unconsciousness at night. As it was exceedingly doubtful how long we should have to remain in that camp, and we had only two or three days' supplies with us, I visited Pangti on the 27th, and taking up most of our coolies, brought back to camp a large quantity of *dhan*, with rice-pounders and other implements necessary for husking it: this we did for several days, and soon had sufficient *dhan* stored for three weeks. Our coolies pounded out each day enough rice for the wants of the camp for that day. Notwithstanding the comparatively low elevation of our camp, i.e. 1,350 feet above sea-level, the damp mist at night made it very cold,—the minimum thermometer

averaging 45°, while during the day the average maximum was 79°.

On the 31st of December, about 8-30 A.M., to our great relief, Dr Elliott and Mr Walter Butler arrived in camp. The former pronounced very favourably on Captain Butler's state, saying he was much better than he could have expected;—indeed, so much better that he only required careful nursing, and he thought he himself might return to his garden, where his presence was just then much needed. Our hopes rose considerably, only to be dashed again towards evening by a report from the surgeon that unfavourable symptoms had set in: these increased with alarming rapidity during the night, and next morning Dr Elliott decided on remaining with us, as Captain Butler was then in a most critical state. During the day a deputation from Nankam and Are came in, bringing in fowls and other presents, in token of their friendship. On the 4th I visited Okotso, and met with a friendly reception.

Captain Butler, though very weak, rallied wonderfully several times, but sinking gradually, died on the morning of the 7th January. Preparations for marching were at once made, and starting at 9 A.M., we passed through Lakhuti, and encamped at 7 P.M., below Bura-gaon (Yembang of the Nagas). From Lakhuti I dispatched a letter to Mr Ogle at Wokha, informing him of what had occurred, and instructed him to join me at Golaghat, as I was then ignorant as to whether the survey was to proceed, or not. On the 8th, marching early, we reached Golaghat at 7-30 P.M., and on the 9th we buried Captain Butler at that station. Captain Butler, by his great experience and good judgement, inspired every one under him with the fullest confidence; and, apart from the grief we felt at the loss of a personal friend, his sad and untimely fate at the outset of the expedition cast a gloom over the rest of the season's operations.

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THE SIEGE OF KOHIMA

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, pp. 147-60)

IN NOVEMBER, 1878, Mr Damant removed the headquarters of the Naga Hills District from Samagudting to Kohima, and

established himself there with his party, in two stockades. He had a very ample force for maintaining his position, but he had not sufficient to make coercing a powerful village an easy task. He was an able man, with much force of character, high-minded and upright, and had been greatly respected in Manipur, where he acted as Political Agent for some months after Dr Brown's death. He was also a scholar, and was perhaps the only man of his generation in Assam capable of taking a comprehensive view of the languages of the Eastern Frontier, and searching out their origin. His premature death was an irreparable loss to philology.

With all this he had not had sufficient experience with wild tribes to be a fit match for the astute Nagas, and was constantly harassed by the difficulty in the way of securing supplies, which ought to have been arranged for him, in the early days of our occupation of Samagudting, by making terms with the Nagas as to providing food carriage. It was his misfortune that he inherited an evil system. We had been forced into the hills by the lawlessness of the Naga tribes, and we ought to have made them bear their full share of the inconveniences attendant on our occupation, instead of making our own people suffer.

Mr Damant at first contemplated getting his supplies from Manipur, through the Durbar, but they objected, it being their traditional policy to prevent the export of rice for fear of famines, the distance and cost of transport making the import, in case of scarcity, an impossibility. I declined to put pressure, as I saw the reasonableness of the Durbar argument, and I objected to force the hill population of Manipur to spend their time in carrying heavy loads, to save the turbulent and lazy Angamis. In September, 1879, however, I heard a rumour from native sources that Mr Damant was in great difficulties and straits for want of provisions, and I wrote and told him that if it were true, I would make every effort to send him some supplies, and to help him in every way I could. I did not receive any answer to this letter, and subsequently ascertained that it had never reached him.

I knew the Angamis well, and was very anxious about Mr Damant and his party, and felt sure that some trouble was at hand.

About this time my wife's health began to give me much anxiety; she had one or two severe attacks of illness, and was much reduced in strength. Who that has not experienced it can imagine the terrible,

wearing anxiety of life on a distant frontier, without adequate medical aid for those nearest and dearest to us. She was better, though still very weak, when an event occurred that shook the whole frontier.

Early in the morning of October 21st, I received a report from Mao Tannah, the Manipuri outpost on the borders of the Naga Hills, to the effect that a rumour had reached the officer there, that the Mozuma Nagas had attacked either Kohima, or a party of our men somewhere else, and had killed one hundred men. I have already mentioned my anxiety about Mr Damant's position, and there was an air of authenticity about the report which made me feel sure that some catastrophe had occurred, and that he was in sore need. I said to Thangal Major: 'We will take off fifty per cent for exaggeration, and even then the garrison of Kohima will be so weakened that it is sure to be attacked, and there will be a rising in the Naga Hills.'

I instantly took my resolve and detained my escort of the 34th B.I., which had just been relieved by a party of Frontier Police, and was about to march for Cachar. I also applied to the Maharajah for nine hundred Manipuris, and sufficient coolies to convey our baggage. He at once promised them, and I made arrangements to march as soon as the men were ready; but there was some delay, as the men had to be collected from distant villages. The next morning, before sunrise, Thangal Major came to see me, bringing two letters from Mr Cawley, Assistant Political Agent, Naga Hills, and District Superintendent of Police. The letters told me that Mr Damant had been killed by the Konoma men, and that he and the remainder were besieged in Kohima, and sorely pressed by Nagas of several villages. Immediately after this, the Maharajah himself came and placed his whole resources at my disposal, and asked me what I would have. I said two thousand men, and he replied that that was the number he himself thought necessary, and asked if he should fire the usual five alarm guns, as a signal to call every able-bodied man to the capital. I consented, and in ten minutes they thundered forth their summons. Coolies to carry the loads were the chief difficulty, as they, being hill-men, lived at a greater distance. I also dispatched a special messenger to Cachar to ask for more troops and a doctor; and I made arrangements for assisting them on the road. I dispatched two hundred

Manipuris by a difficult and little-frequented path to Paplongmai (Kenoma), to make a diversion in the rear of Konoma, as, from all I heard, it seemed that the astute Mozuma was not involved. I sent on a man I could trust to the Mozuma people, to secure their neutrality. I also sent my Naga interpreter, Patakee, to Kohima, to do his best to spread dissension amongst its seven different clans and prevent their uniting against me. I gave him a pony, and told him to ride it till it dropped under him, and then to march on foot for his life, and promised him 200 rupees reward if he could deliver a letter to Mr Cawley before the place fell. In the letter I begged Mr Cawley to hold out to the last as I was marching to his assistance.

One day, about a year before, a fine young Naga of Viswema, a powerful village of 1000 houses, a few miles beyond the frontier of Manipur and right on our track, had come to see me and asked me to take him into my service. I did so, thinking he might be useful some day, and now that the day had arrived, I sent him off to his people to win them over, threatening to exterminate them if they opposed my march.

I had fifty men of the Cachar Police and thirty-four of the 34th B.I., including two invalids, one of them a Naik, by name Buldeo Doobey, who came out of hospital to go with me, as I wanted every man who could shoulder a musket. For the same reason I enlisted a volunteer, Narain Singh, a fine fellow, a Jât from beyond Delhi, who had served in the 35th B.I., so he took a breech-loader belonging to a sick man of the 34th. I shall refer to him again. He carried one hundred and twenty rounds of ball cartridge on his person, three times as much as the men of the 34th. I sent off my combined escort with all the Manipuris who were ready under Thangal Major, and stayed behind to collect and dispatch supplies and write official letters and send off telegrams to Sir Steuart Bayley, and on the 23rd rode out, and caught up my men at Mayang Khang, forty miles from Manipur. The rear-guard of the 34th had not come up when I went to bed that night at 11 P.M.

I left my poor wife still very weak and I was thankful that she had her good sister as a stay and support. Just before leaving, our youngest boy Arthur held out his arms to be taken. I paused from my work for a moment and took him. It was the last time I saw him. Sad as was my parting, I rode off in high spirits; who would

not do so when he feels that he may be privileged to do his country signal service ! Besides, I hoped to find all well when I returned.

We left Mayang Khang on October 24th and marched to Mythephum, twenty miles along a terribly difficult mountain path, much overgrown by jungle. It was all I could do to get the 34th along, as they were completely knocked up. I had a pony which I lent for part of the way to one of my invalids and so helped him on. I was continually obliged to halt myself and wait for the stragglers, cheer them up, and then run to the front again. Narain Singh was invaluable and seemed not to know fatigue. We reached Mythephum after dark, but the rear-guard did not arrive till next morning.

At Mythephum I mustered my forces. The Maharajah had sent the Jubraj and Kotwal Koirang with me (little did I think of the fate in store for them and for old Thangal) and found that very few Manipuris had arrived, and almost all of the force with me were so knocked up that, to my intense disappointment, I had to make a halt. I was too restless to sit still, so spent the day in reconnoitring the country. In the evening I had an interview with Thangal Major and afterwards with the Jubraj. Old Thangal was for halting till we could collect a large force as he said a large one was required, and he begged me to halt for a few days. I finally pointed out that a day's halt might cause the annihilation of the garrison of Kohima, and said that if the Manipuris were not ready to move, I would go along with any of my own men who could march. I appealed to the Jubraj to support me which he did, and for which I was ever grateful, and we arranged to march next day. I found that the Nagas of Manipur were infected with a rebellious spirit, and not entirely to be depended on, and any vacillation on our part might have been fatal, and would certainly have sealed the fate of Kohima.

We left Mythephum at daybreak on the 26th, and marched as hard as we could, as I hoped to cover the forty miles to Kohima by nightfall. We stopped to drink water at the Mao river, which we forded, and to prevent men wasting time, I drew my revolver and threatened to shoot any one who dawdled. We ascended the steep hillside, and passing through one of the villages marched on to Khoijami, a village on the English side of the border. We had been so long, owing to the extreme badness of the roads, and the fatigue of the men, that we only reached it at 3 P.M., so I reluctantly halted for the night.

Here my emissary to Viswema joined me, and told me that he had induced his fellow-villagers to be friendly, and that presents would be sent. I sent him back to demand hostages, and the formal submission of the village, as otherwise I would attack them on the morrow and spare no one. It was not a time for soft speeches, and I heard rumours that we were to be opposed next day.

Late in the afternoon some Mao Nagas brought in seven Nepaulee coolies who had escaped from Kohima the previous day, and wandered through the jungle expecting every moment to be killed. I gave the Mao men twenty rupees as a reward. The Nepaulees said that they had been shut outside the gate of the stockade by mistake, and had hidden themselves and so got away. They gave a deplorable account of affairs, and said that there was no food, and that the ammunition was almost all spent, and that two ladies were in the stockade, Mrs Damant and Mrs Cawley. They stated that Mr Damant was taken unawares and shot dead, and fifty men killed on the spot, and that thirty ran away and hid in the jungles, some saving their arms, others not. Each man had fifty rounds of ball cartridge. Most of the rifles lost were breech-loaders. The men told me that early that morning they had seen smoke rising from Kohima, and thought it might have been burned.

All this made me very anxious, as the men said that Mr Cawley was treating for a safe passage to Samagudting. Late in the evening I heard that a building inside the stockade had been burned by the Nagas, who threw stones wrapped in burning cloth on to the thatched roofs. The Nagas in arms were said to number six thousand, and they had erected a stockade opposite ours from which they fired. The fugitives were in a miserable state of semi-starvation, and ashy pale from terror, and seemed more dead than alive when they were brought to me. We slept on our arms that night, at least such as could sleep, and rose at 3 A.M. in case of an attack, that being a favourite time for the Nagas to make one.

When ready, I addressed my men, telling them the danger of the enterprise, but assuring them of its success, and urging them, in case of my being killed or wounded, to leave me and push on to save the garrison. I promised the Frontier Police that every man should be promoted if we reached Kohima safely that night. This promise the Government faithfully kept.

At sunrise I received two little slips of paper brought by two Nepaulese coolies who had managed to escape, signed by Mr Hinde, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and hidden by them in their hair. On them was written :

Surrounded by Nagas, cut off from water. Must be relieved at once. Send flying column to bring away garrison at once. Relief must be immediate to be of any use.

H. M. Hinde. A.P.A. Kohima. 25. x. 79

and—

We are in extremity, come on sharp.

Kohima not abandoned.

Kohima not abandoned.

H. M. Hinde. A.P.A. 26. x. 79

After getting these, I could not wait any longer, and, as the Manipuris were not all ready, I started off at once with fifty of them under an old officer, Eerungba Polla and sixty of my escort, all that were able to make a rapid march, and Narain Singh. We carried with us my camp Union Jack.

I obtained hostages from Viswema and placed them under a guard with orders to shoot them instantly, if we were attacked, and on our arrival at the village we were well received. At Rigwema, as we afterwards discovered, a force of Nagas was placed in ambush to attack us, but the precautions we took prevented their doing so, and we passed on unmolested, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the stockade at Kohima still intact. A few miles farther, and on rounding the spur of a hill, the stockade appeared in full view and we sounded our bugles which were quickly answered by a flourish from Kohima.

We marched on with our standard flying, we reached the valley below, we began the ascent of the last slope, and forming into as good order as the ground would allow, we at last gained the summit and saw the stockade, to save which, we had marched so far and so well, before us at a distance of one hundred yards.

The garrison gave a loud cheer, which we answered, and numbers of them poured out. Messrs Cawley and Hinde grasped my hand, and others of the garrison formed a line on either side of the gateway, and we marched in between them. I recognized many old

faces not seen since I had left the Naga Hills in 1874, and warmly greeted them; especially Mema Ram, a Subadar in the Frontier Police; Kurum Singh, and others. I was told afterwards that when Mema Ram first heard that I was marching to their relief, he said: 'Oh, if Johnstone Sahib is coming we are all right.'

I at once told the officers of the garrison that there could be no divided authority, and that they must consider themselves subject to my orders, to which they agreed. I then saw the poor widowed Mrs Damant, and Mrs Cawley who had behaved nobly during the siege. While talking to the last, one of her two children asked for some water. Her mother said in a feeling tone, 'Yes, my dear, you can have some now.' Seldom have I heard words that sounded more eloquent.

The Manipuris now began to pour in, in one long stream, and were greeted by the garrison with effusion, and I gave them the site of a stockade that had been destroyed by Mr Cawley, in order to reduce the space to be defended as much as possible, and told them to stockade themselves, which they did at once. After arranging for the defence of our position, I sent off a letter to my wife to say that I was safe, and that Kohima had been relieved, and telegrams to the Chief Commissioner, and Government of India, to be sent on at once to Cachar, the nearest telegraph office, informing them of the good news.

It appeared from what Mr Cawley told me, that on the 14th of October, Mr Damant had gone to Konoma from Jotsoma, to try and enforce some demands he had made. He had been warned several times that the Merema Clan of Konoma meant mischief, and several Nagas had implored him not to go, and finding him deaf to their entreaties, begged him to go through the friendly Semema Clan's quarter of the village. However, he insisted on having his own way, and went to the gate of the Merema Clan at the top of a steep, narrow path. The gate was closed, and while demanding an entrance, he was shot dead. His men were massed in rear of him, and a large number were at once shot down, while the others took to flight. Some of the fugitives reached Kohima that night, and Mr Cawley at once, grasping the gravity of the situation, pulled down one stockade, and dismantled the buildings as already related, concentrating all his men in the other, and making it as strong as possible. The neighbouring villages had already risen, and were sending contingents to attack Kohima.

Mr Cawley had just time to send a messenger to Mr Hinde, the Extra Assistant Commissioner at Woka, a distance of sixty-three miles, ordering him to come in with the detachment of fifty police under him. These orders Mr Hinde most skilfully carried out, by marching only at night, and on the 19th he reached Kohima, thus strengthening the garrison and making it more able to hold its own, for the number of the attacking party now greatly increased.

Most fortunately, owing to the zealous care of Major T. N. Walker, 44th R.L. Infantry, there were some rations in reserve for the troops, which were shared with the non-combatants and police. These he had insisted on being collected and stored up, when he paid a visit of inspection to Kohima some months before. But for this small stock the place could not have held out for two days, but must inevitably have fallen, as all supplies were cut off during the progress of the siege. The water was poisoned by having a human head thrown into it. The Nagas fired at the stockade continually, but made no regular assault. They seemed to have tried picking off every man who showed himself, and starving out the garrison. The quantity of jungle that had been allowed to remain standing all round afforded them admirable cover, and, as before stated, they erected another small stockade from which to fire. This they constantly brought nearer and nearer by moving the timbers.

At length, the garrison wearied out, entered into negotiations, and agreed to surrender the stockade, if allowed a free passage to Samagudting. This fatal arrangement would have been carried into effect within an hour or two, had not my letter arrived assuring them of help. What the result would have been no one who knows the Nagas can doubt; 545 headless and naked bodies would have been lying outside the blockade. Five hundred stands of arms, and 250,000 rounds of ammunition would have been in possession of the enemy, enough to keep the hills in a blaze for three years, and to give employment to half-a-dozen regiments during all that time, and to oblige an expenditure of a million sterling, to say nothing of valuable lives.

Throughout the siege, Mrs Damant and Mrs Cawley had displayed much heroism. The first undertook to look after the wounded, and went to visit them daily, exposed to the enemy's fire. Mrs Cawley took charge of the women and children of the sepoys, and looked

after them, keeping them in a sheltered spot. The poor little children could not understand the situation at all, or why it was that the Nagas were firing.

The casualties would have been more numerous than they were, but that the Nagas were careful of the cherished ammunition, and seldom fired, unless pretty sure of hitting. All the same, the situation was a very critical one, and not to be judged by people sitting quietly at home by their firesides. It is certainly a very awful thing, after a great disaster and massacre, to be shut up in a weak stockade built of highly inflammable material, and surrounded by 6000 howling savages who spare no one. In addition to that too, to have the water supply cut off, and at most ten days' full provision; for this was what it amounted to. It must be also remembered that the non-combatants far out-numbered the combatants, and that the two officers who undertook the defence were both civilians. Anyhow, the view taken of it by the defenders is shown by the fact that they were willing to surrender to the enemy, rather than face the situation and its terrible uncertainty any longer, as they were quite in doubt as to whether relief was coming or whether their letters having miscarried they would be left to perish.

Looking back, after a lapse of fifteen years, and calmly reviewing the events connected with the siege of Kohima, I think I was right at the time in describing the defence as a 'noble one'.

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THE SIEGE OF KOHIMA, 1879

(Mrs Cawley, *Assam Review*, May 1930)

INTRODUCTION

THE STORY OF THE SIEGE OF KOHIMA was first published in the *Surma Valley Magazine* of November, 1927, and is reproduced here in response to many requests.

In the original introduction it was stated that this was a Government Record, but Dr J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., wrote to us as follows: 'The original record of the Siege of Kohima kept by Mrs Cawley

is not a Government Record but the copy which Mr Mills found at Kohima is one which I obtained from Canon Williamson in Cheltenham, and placed in the Kohima Record Room for safe keeping and subsequent reference as the story was of local interest. Mrs Cawley's manuscript came to Canon Williamson through his relative and namesake of Garo Hills fame, who was also connected with the Naga Hills, I think. . . . Cannon Williamson . . . is responsible alone for the recovery and preservation of this interesting Manuscript.'

ORIGINAL INTRODUCTION¹

By J. P. Mills, Esq., I.C.S.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF KOHIMA is by Mrs Cawley, who was with her husband in the little stockade, and was probably written very soon after the events it records.

The rising of 1879 was the last effort by the Angami Nagas to drive from the hills the hated British invader. Of this tribe the men of Khonoma, a big village of some five hundred houses, are second to none in their physique and intelligence. When we first came into touch with them they had long been irresistible in war and from time immemorial had claimed the right to take tribute and heads from the feeble Kacha Naga villages of the North Cachar Hills.

So stiff was the resistance put up that it took more than forty years finally to bring the Angamis into subjection. Between 1835 and 1850 ten military expeditions had to be made into the hills. In the latter year Khonoma was taken by assault of troops supported by artillery. The policy of non-interference was then tried with the result that twenty-two raids were reported within the next year. A line of frontier posts in the North Cachar Hills was then tried but this, in turn, proved equally ineffective.

In 1866 it was decided to occupy the Angami country and headquarters were established at Samoguting, a site on the outer range near Manipur Road Station. In 1878 the headquarters were moved

¹ Slightly altered.

to Kohima and it was this advance into the hills that was the immediate cause of the rising here described. Severe punishment was meted out and Khonoma was razed to the ground and its inhabitants dispersed.

It now flourishes as of old, however. The sword has been exchanged for the pen and parties now go forth to seek rupees instead of heads. From Khonoma has come the first Naga Magistrate, and its enterprising black-kilted traders travel as far as Bombay and Rangoon. But the old customs are still kept up and the old songs sung and tales told. The best of the old spirit remains and Khonoma, mindful of her generations of unquestioned power, shows no signs of becoming a decadent, pseudo-civilized nonentity, ashamed of its past and uncertain of its future.

MRS CAWLEY'S STORY

I

ON THE MORNING of the 13th of October, 1879, Mr Damant, the Political Officer of the Naga Hills, left Kohima with a guard of 80 men to visit the three Naga villages of Jotsoma, Khonoma and Mozema. His intention was merely to impress upon them the necessity of their supplying coolies when required to do so. He had no intention of seizing ammunition or of attacking any of the villages as has been stated.

Dobashis—interpreters—had previously been sent to inform each village of the intended visit of the Political Officer, and to give them orders to collect material for the construction of huts for him and his party.

On the night of the 13th Mr Damant remained at Jotsoma, where he encountered no opposition, and on the morning of the 14th he started for Khonoma. The village of Jotsoma supplied him with coolies for his baggage. Before leaving for Khonoma he was warned that the men of that village intended to oppose him and was strongly urged to take the road which led to the upper portion of the village and not the lower road.

Every Naga village is divided into *khels* or clans, and these *khels* are frequently at feud with one another. This was the case at Jotsoma. Sata, the *dobashi* of one *khel*, was disposed to be friendly to us and he did all in his power to persuade the Political Officer to visit

Mozema first instead of Khonoma; or to avoid the lower road to the village. He accompanied the party some distance on the road, but when he found that his advice was not to be followed and that Mr Damant intended to proceed by the lower road, he refused to go any further. The native officers (and some of the constables as well) then urged Mr Damant either to take the upper road or to send [for] *Gaonburas* (headmen) to come and meet him. This was what was usually done. For reasons which can never be known he did not listen to their advice and advanced towards the village by the lower road, and thus fell into the trap which had been prepared for him. This account is from what the survivors told me—some of whom were close to Mr Damant.

The approach by this route was by a narrow pathway which was cut along the edge of a steep decline, and was flanked by a stone defence. A heavy gateway closed the entrance. Both the walls and the gateway were well provided with loopholes.

There was no sign of any opposition until Mr Damant was within a few yards of the gate, when it was observed that it was closed. At that moment a shot was fired which struck a man close to Mr Damant, who immediately took his rifle from his orderly's hand and was in the act of firing a return shot when a bullet struck him in the head and he fell. (It is to be noted that no order had been observed in approaching the village and Mr Damant gave no orders to the men when the first shot was fired.) A shower of bullets fell upon the unfortunate escort—some of whom were shot dead, others were wounded and fell over the trench, while others availed themselves of the nearest shelter and opened fire on the enemy. The 'retire' bugle sounded from the village and the men fell back and assembled there.

At this time Mr Damant's orderly was seen to bend over his master and to take his rifle from him—he himself was carrying the second gun and cartridges. He also attempted to take his revolver, but being hampered with two heavy guns could not succeed in doing so. This man made his way back to the Station on the fourth day after the disaster, having wandered in the jungle without food and hunted by the Nagas to the very gate of the stockade. Finding that he was unable to protect himself while carrying two guns—neither of which had straps—he broke one of them on a stone and threw it away. (It was afterwards found in Khonoma

neatly mended.) He brought in the cartridges so that the gun was useless to the Nagas. With the rifle he retained he kept the Nagas at bay during the day and crept towards the Station as soon as it was dark. There were three of the police with him.

The men appear to have collected in the valley in very fair order and it is probable that they would have made their way back to Kohima without much difficulty had they had officers to lead them. But one of the native police officers was shot dead, after killing several Nagas it is said, and the other badly wounded. The native officer of the 43rd had only been in the hills a few days and the country was quite new to him and his men.

The men broke up into small parties, the Nagas attacking them on all sides, and they scattered in all directions. Many of them fell back on Jotsoma thinking that the village was friendly, but Sata's *khel* was the only friendly one, and the others turned out and cut up our men as they were retreating. Thirty-eight of the escort and four non-combatants were killed and missing. Many of the wounded men crept back to Kohima through the jungle and arrived there even as late as the seventh day after the attack.

No news of the intended opposition of Khonoma was sent to Kohima by Mr Damant or anyone else. The first intimation of the disaster was received at Kohima late in the afternoon of the 14th, when a head constable, who had been up in the Kohima village, reported that shots had been heard in the direction of Mozema—Khonoma being in the same direction—this report being confirmed shortly afterwards by some Nagas. A few precautionary measures were taken, such as *panjis* (i.e. bamboo stakes) being put round the western stockade.

It is everyone's opinion that Mr Damant would have been safe if he had taken proper precautions in approaching the village, *viz.*, made the *Gaonburas* come to meet him and escort his party in proper order with advance guards, etc. No apprehension was felt as to Mr Damant's safety as with such a large escort he was considered to be quite secure from any serious reverse.

It was not until some hours later that the first fugitives arrived bringing news of the disaster. The worst consequences were immediately anticipated and no time was lost in putting the Station in a state of defence, no easy task, as the only measure that had been taken in case of attack was the construction of two large and

ill-shaped stockades. Each stockade was from 1,200 to 1,300 feet in circumference. To defend this extent of palisading would require four hundred men at the very least. Each man could only fire straight in front of him instead of being able to attack on either side. The stockading consisted of rough wooden palisading from eight to ten feet high, with no proper flanking defences, and loop-holes every few feet. A ditch had been dug round a portion of the eastern stockade. Beyond this nothing had been done to make the place tenable against an attack. Large gateways had been constructed but the gates had never been made.

Both stockades were more or less surrounded by jungle, and stumps of trees were plentiful near the western one. The buildings, also, in this stockade were even more plentiful than in the eastern one, so much so, that the Nagas would have found no difficulty in firing them, some of them being very near the stockading. The position of the stockades was good—both could have been held—but this was impossible with the small number of men available at that time.

The Station was supplied with water by means of an aqueduct about two and a half miles long. It ran one hundred and fifty yards of the stockades but was not commanded at this distance by either of them, being below the brow of the hill. This was of real importance as it could be cut off anywhere within the two and a half miles merely by the removal of a couple of shovelfuls of earth. There was a small spring some thirty yards from the eastern stockade, but this was also unprotected as it was in a hollow on the side of the hill and surrounded by dense jungle. The water from this spring dribbled slowly from the side of the hill into a small excavation whence it could be dipped out for use. There were one or two springs round the hills but all too small and too far off to be of any use. This was all that the garrison had to depend upon there being no tanks for storing water.

On the north-eastern side of the eastern stockade the ground falls abruptly into a valley on the other side of which a hill rises to about four hundred feet. On the summit of this the village of Kohima is situated—one of the largest in the Angami country. Thus the eastern stockade was to some extent secure against a sudden attack on the north-eastern side. The native bazaar, with a few shops, cow houses and stables, was a short distance off.

On the 14th of October the garrison consisted of about sixty of the 43rd Assam Light Infantry under Captain G. O. Reich, and seventy-two—of which thirty-two were recruits—of the Frontier Police under Mr G. J. Cawley, District Superintendent of Police and Assistant Political Officer. The men of the 43rd had not recovered from the effects of their recent journey from the plains at the most unhealthy time of the year, and the Police had suffered from a series of most trying privations throughout the rains, owing to the difficulty of getting provisions. Man cannot live by bread alone, neither can a native live on rice alone; and for weeks together the Police had nothing else and sometimes not enough of that. The Regiment had their rations regularly but their officers had great trouble in getting it brought up.

There was at that time only three maunds (two hundred and forty pounds) of rice in the Civil Quarters and no other article of food-stuff except some Naga *dal*—a sort of coarse bean that cattle are fed on. There was not even salt. As there were considerably over three hundred non-combatants there was not food even for one day. The Regiment had sufficient to last them for about a month.

II

Immediately on hearing of Mr Damant's death, Mr Cawley dispatched a head constable with a letter to Mr Hinde, the officer in charge of the Wokha sub-division, asking for immediate assistance. These men had to pass through the village of Kohima. Two Naga boys, who were in service in the Station—one of whom was the son of the *Gaonbura* through whose *khel* the Wokha road passed—were sent with them as far as the village, and they passed through without opposition. Half an hour afterwards communication by that route was stopped by the hostile Nagas, as it had already been on the Samoguting road, over a portion of which lies the road to Khonoma. I offered two hundred rupees to any one who would take a letter to Samoguting, but even the Naga boys refused to go as it was certain death, they said. Half an hour afterwards the news was brought in. Six constables volunteered for this hazardous service. Had any delay occurred in sending them off with news of the disaster, many days would have elapsed before any reliable information could have reached the authorities.

The scene of confusion in the Station on the night of the 14th was beyond description. It was decided at once to abandon the western stockade. It was expected that the Nagas would attack at daybreak, if not in the night, and it was absolutely necessary that the abandoned stockade should be destroyed—at least, that portion of it that would have given cover to the enemy. This was done by my husband and his men. All the houses were dismantled. The women and children from the Police Lines and the bazaar, the *babus* and their families, were all hurried into the eastern stockade. Fortunately, the rain, which had fallen heavily all day, had cleared off, but the night was very dark and the ground slippery. This added to the confusion. Wounded men and fugitives frequently arrived from Khonoma, and it was pitiful to see the eager anxiety of the women whose husbands had gone with Mr Damant when the news of a fresh arrival was brought to them. Many of them knew before the night was over that they had nothing further to hope, for their husbands had fallen. Many others passed weary days and nights of suspense before they would give up hope. Some heard that their husbands had been wounded and had fallen in the jungle.

Desperate efforts were made to be ready for the attack which was hourly expected, but, fortunately the Khonoma men were much too elated by their success and counted too surely on their future victory over the small garrison of Kohima to care to hurry themselves. They delayed the whole of the 15th burying their dead, feasting and rejoicing, and dividing the spoil. The time thus gained was spent in destroying the remains of the stockade and dismantling the buildings, all the walls of which were pulled down. A trench was dug and earthworks thrown up on the inside of the eastern stockade to protect the men from the fire of the enemy. Every man who could hold a gun was hastily instructed in the use of it, but in more than one case the bullet was found to have been put in the wrong way. There were thirty-two recruits who had never used their guns. The Assistant Political Officer personally supervised these works and was most energetic in taking every precaution that could be thought of for the protection of the garrison.

First the police ammunition and the magazine stores had to be removed. Then the spare arms and accoutrements, and as much of the Government property as possible. Private individuals had

to look after their own, for every available hand was required to pull down the stockading, to dismantle the buildings, etc. Here the Napausese coolies did good service, working hard the whole night, their own property being fortunately, in the eastern stockade. It was no time for slow deliberation and mild measures, for at that time, within a mile from the station, the Nagas were killing as many of the survivors from Khonoma as they could find. One of the *khels* then hostile to us belonged to the village of Kohima itself.

The sepoys, who were armed with breech-loading rifles, fired off nearly all their ammunition before leaving Khonoma, and so fell an easy prey to the Nagas when retreating. The police, having been armed with muzzle-loaders, were not able to reload so quickly, so had more ammunition to expend while retreating. Many of them reached the Station without a round in their pouches, although they had taken all they could from their fallen comrades. No reserve of ammunition had been taken when the escort left Kohima on the 13th, only what each man had in his pouch. I mention this as some slighting remarks have been made about the Frontier Police. The number of sepoys who escaped being comparatively few, is considered as a proof that they behaved better than the Police. This was not the case. The fact of the Police being well acquainted with the hills was also in their favour.

On the night of the 15th the enemy fired the huts in the dismantled stockade. The wind, most providentially, was blowing from the east and carried the flames away from the garrison buildings. Rain fell at intervals during the night and the thatches being wet decreased the chance of catching fire. Twice the Nagas set fire to the ruined houses but they did not burn freely. The bungalow intended for the Civil Surgeon—there had been no Civil Surgeon since May—was dangerously near the stockade and was still standing—the walls having been thrown down—as well as that of the Political Officer. Mr Cawley, therefore, sent out a part of Police to set fire to them as it was too favourable an opportunity to be lost. They then blazed away furiously and the garrison watched the flames arising from them with some anxiety. All fear of fire was, however, soon over and the western stockade was a mass of smouldering ruins.

On the 16th the enemy began to attack and harassed the garrison greatly. At first their bullets whistled harmlessly overhead but,

after a little practice, the Nagas found out their mistake and kept up a steady fire upon the buildings and exposed places. They could get very good shelter from the jungle and behind the trees and stumps that were so unfortunately plentiful in the vicinity of the stockade, and thus had a great advantage over the garrison as most of the buildings were exposed to their fire, and being built of exceedingly light materials, afforded very little protection.

The Regimental Lines were all quite untenable. The sepoy did not require them as they were in the trenches, but the women and children, who had taken refuge there, were obliged to vacate them and make for any shelter they could find. Our bungalow was the only place they had to go to and there was frequently upwards of thirty women and children in our small back room. The coolie lines were also riddled with bullets; the Cutchery and one half of the Police Officer's bungalow were greatly exposed, and also the bungalow—if it can be called that, being merely a mud hut—of the Military Officer. The two European ladies and the two children took refuge with some native women and a small house which, being in a somewhat sheltered spot, was safer than the bungalow. They piled up boxes, tables, bundles of clothes and empty tins round the walls, and as only spent bullets could reach it, it was a tolerably safe but uncomfortable refuge.

The Nagas did not attempt any steady attack at this time, that is to say, did not attempt to force the stockade, but they surrounded it on all sides and kept up a hot fire for the best part of the day. Towards evening the firing became less but there was a constant dropping fire that was most harassing as it prevented the garrison from taking any rest. From the evening of the 14th to the evening of the 16th the men had no rest whatever and were working all the time, so that a few hours' rest was absolutely necessary to them. As the night closed in the Nagas became quieter and enabled some of the weary men to lie down in the trenches for an hour or so. The alarm bugle sounded several times in the night, however. The enemy never allowed more than a couple of hours to pass without making their presence unpleasantly known.

On the morning of the 17th, as they appeared to be gathering in considerable numbers to the west of the stockade, a sally was made and they were driven off—only to reassemble in greater numbers. A skirmishing party was also sent to drive off those who were on

the eastern side so as to enable the coolies to bring up some water. The small spring was quite insufficient to supply so many people with water even in times of peace when it could be drawn at leisure, and when the coolies crowded round it and dipped their buckets and dirty tins into it in a great hurry, it became exceedingly muddy and dirty. However, they brought in all they could.

It was a great annoyance to the garrison to have the village of Kohima in such a position that everything that went on inside the stockade could be seen from there. The Chitonoma *khel* was in the most favourable position for observing the movements of the garrison and there were always watchers on the roofs of the houses who, by their various cries, gave instant news to their friends below. The *dobashis* of the friendly *khels* came down frequently and would have rendered assistance had they dared to do so. But the hostile Nagas threatened to shoot any of them who brought rice or water. They did attempt to carry some letters but were intercepted and the letters torn up. From the manner of these *dobashis* and *Gaonburas* it was evident that they fully believed that the Khonoma men would do as they had sworn to do—exterminate the hated invader. The garrison of Kohima was to be wiped out. The position of the friendly Nagas would, in this case, be one of great danger as the hostile villages would have exterminated them also if they had given any assistance. The utmost the friendly *khels* could do was to remain neutral and even this was a great gain on our side. Mozema also remained neutral, and these men deserve the greatest consideration for resisting the tempting opportunity of joining in a general rising which promised to be so successful. The Nagas themselves had little or no doubt but the garrison would surrender eventually, but some of them were wise enough to realize that thousands of troops would be sent to avenge this.

The want of provisions began to be sorely felt. The Police and all outsiders had received only one quarter rations from the 15th; the military only half. All were now put on quarter rations. It was doubtful if another sally could be made for water as the numbers of the foes hourly increased.

To the intense relief of the garrison a party of seventy men, brought over by the Assistant Political Officer of Wokha (Mr Hinde) arrived on the 19th and marched into the stockade without opposition. It was little short of miraculous that this small party

was not cut up on the road, and it was entirely due to Mr Hinde's judicious management and his perseverance in pushing forward in spite of all opposition, no less than the courage he displayed in undertaking such a march, that they got through safely. He brought them through the hostile country without losing a man, passing through the very villages where the Nagas, who were sent to intercept him, were sleeping. He arrived at Kohima village through which the Wokha road passed unexpectedly. Some of the Chittonoma *khel* who were in their village turned out to oppose him, but the *Gaonburas* and the *dobashis* of the other *khels* exerted their influence, and after some delay he succeeded in passing through without any active opposition.

The approach of this reinforcement was first made known to the garrison by the enemy themselves. The watchers on the house-tops cried out to the Nagas who surrounded the stockade and their cries were interpreted by a little Naga bearer boy of the late Mr Damant. '*Lots of sepoys coming. Hide yourselves!*' The attacking party took the advice thus given them and, not knowing how small the reinforcement was, did not venture to attack them. Before they were aware of their mistake the party was safe inside the stockade.

The following day passed in greater quietness than had been experienced since the siege began. The Nagas seemed to be taken aback by the arrival of a reinforcement which they confidently hoped to intercept on the road. The weary men were enabled to cook and eat in comparative peace their scanty portion of flour and water. This valuable necessity was again brought in and every available vessel was used to store it in. Air-tight tins and boxes were turned into water tanks; the few waterproof sheets that had not been lost with the Police force at Khonoma were made use of and filled with the thick muddy fluid. It was fortunate that this was done, as later in the day the water that was brought in was very offensive, and it was discovered that a human head, in an advanced state of decomposition, had been thrown into the small pool.

III

On the morning of the 20th it was seen that the enemy were building a strong defence on the main road within sixty yards of

the stockade. A marksman of the 43rd shot one of the Nagas engaged in this work, and this deterred them from continuing their labours in the daytime but they completed it during the night. A party of men was sent out on the 21st who attacked this defence and took it. It was destroyed and the party returned without having lost a man in the actual attack, though one man was killed and several wounded during the return to the stockade. The *sanga* was rebuilt during the night.

On the 21st a party was also sent out who skirmished round the site of the western stockade and drove the enemy off. Coolies were then sent to build a small stockade on the highest point of this site, the wood of the old stockade being used for this purpose. It was intended to put a strong picket there and could it have been done it would have enabled the garrison to hold a most important position. But it was found to be impracticable as the men were so wearied and disheartened by continuous hard work and want of rest and food that they could not be trusted to have held it with the small force that could be spared—and that not without seriously reducing the number of men guarding the large stockade—and it had to be again destroyed. The want of sufficient or proper food was beginning to tell on the men, but the worst was yet to come.

At daybreak on the 23rd the enemy made a desperate attack which they evidently intended to be the final one. They had raised *sangas* of wood and stone in the night, and had entrenched into an excavation where the Police magazine had formerly been, from which they could keep up a steady and annoying fire. Many of the exposed buildings had been unthatched and the thatch burned. It was most fortunate that this precaution had been taken. It had to be done in the dark when the moon went down and done so quietly so as not to let the Nagas know what was happening. A chance shot killed one coolie who was employed on the roof. The enemy tried by every means they could devise to set the buildings on fire. The Nagas are not wanting in cleverness or intelligence and some of their devices were truly ingenious. The hinges of the Political Agent's doors were turned into account. The holes were plugged with cloth and it is difficult to say if those strange missiles were ignited and thrown by hand or fired from a large gun. They fell inside the stockade while burning and would have set fire to any thatch they had fallen upon had they not been rapidly swept

off and extinguished by anxious watchers. Another plan they tried was tying some gunpowder to a rag and fastening it to an arrow-pointed stick and firing it from their guns. The gunpowder was ignited and set fire to the rag. The point of the stick was intended to stick into the thatch and thus bring the burning rag into direct contact with it. The utmost care had to be taken to prevent any of these fiery missiles from taking effect. Two long bamboos—the only ones in the place—had been planted in a sacred mound of earth by a Nepaulese priest. These were most useful to us as, being very long, they were employed to brush away the burning sticks and bolts from the thatches. It would have been impossible for men to have climbed up to extinguish the fire had it burst out even had water been available for the purpose.

The Nagas always aim at killing the officers first and it was evident that it was their desire on this occasion. The bungalows of the two officers were particular objects of attention and received numberless bullets and lighted sticks. The officers themselves were marked down by their voices. Wherever they were heard a hot fire was kept up. They—I mean my husband and Mr Hinde—were in the trenches all day directing and encouraging the men.

There was no cessation of firing. The Nagas advanced slowly and surely, trenching as they advanced. They did this so cleverly, erecting barricades from the trenches, that they never exposed themselves in the least. It was like an invisible, but by no means noiseless, enemy creeping on step by step. The howls and war cries of the thousands of Nagas who surrounded the stockade were truly awful and were not without their effect on the nerves of the enfeebled garrison.

As no man could leave his post the servants and non-combatants were set to work to cook their flour and water for them, and they ate this unpalatable stuff with their guns in their hands. There were few who thought of their caste prejudices in this fearful extremity.

The attack continued all through the night. The wounded had been removed from the temporary hospital and were lying in the open. No building was safe from fire and bullets. There was no water in which to wash their wounds—a few mouthfuls only for them to drink. Throughout the night a voluble Naga who spoke Assamese and Hindustani fluently taunted the wretched garrison.

The men were so tired and thoroughly exhausted that they could hardly hold their guns. It required increasing vigilance and energy on the part of the European officers to keep the men at their posts. The only news that reached the garrison was that of thirty-nine men who had reached Samoguting. This was most disheartening as such a small body of men could never have cut their way through to Kohima.

When the sun rose on the morning of the 24th very few of the garrison hoped to be alive to see it set. The officers themselves could not have held out much longer. Want of rest, ceaseless anxiety and exertion for so many days and nights told on them as well as the men. Had the enemy made a final rush at that time they could not have failed to have forced the stockade. But Nagas, unlike the Zulus, value their lives too much to risk them in the open. Had they chose to risk the loss of fifty—or even less—of their men it would have been an easy matter for them to have made a rush at the stockade and either cut or pulled down the weak stockading and have poured into the place by hundreds before the single line of men who defended it could have reloaded.

Instead of doing this they suddenly stopped firing and at about 11 A.M., the friendly *Gaonburas* and *dobashis* of Kohima came in to say that the enemy were desirous of a cessation of hostilities. This was an unexpected turn in events and could not be accounted for, but it was none the less acceptable on that account. It was afterwards ascertained that it was due to the Nagas having heard of the approach of Colonel Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur, with a large force of Manipuries and Kookies. They hoped to accomplish by treachery what they had failed to do by force. Their subsequent behaviour left little doubt on this point.

The conference that ensued gave a slight respite to the exhausted garrison. The terms offered to the enemy were that the garrison should be safely escorted to Samoguting on condition of the stockade being given up. No news had arrived of any assistance from the plains or from Manipur. It was not even known if the letter that the Assistant Political Officer had sent to Colonel Johnstone at the beginning of the outbreak had reached him. It was impossible to hold out any longer without water or sufficient food.

The headmen of several villages bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to conduct the garrison to Samoguting. Then the

question of coolies arose. How could the women and children and the sick be moved without carriage? This question was still unsettled when the evening closed.

Some water had been brought in during the day. The small pool had become so foul that the liquid that was brought in hardly deserved the name of water. Offensive as it was, it was eagerly drunk.

The women and children were told to hold themselves in readiness to leave for Samoguting the next morning if necessary. The night was spent in throwing up more earthworks and further strengthening the place. The Treasure was buried and the Government stamps destroyed and burned to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands. Some show of vacating was made on the morning of the 25th. The women and children were ready, but no escort could be sent with them, as it would only have tempted the enemy to cut them up for the sake of the guns. When the Nagas became aware that the women and children were to be sent in charge of the Kohima Nagas alone, and that the garrison would not vacate the stockade until they heard of the safe arrival of the party at Samoguting, they objected to letting them go and raised their cry again. Hostilities were on the point of being resumed again, but after a time they quietened down and consented to let them go.

It was evident from this outbreak that they were not to be trusted. The ground had been tried cautiously and had been found to be unsafe. The lateness of the hour was an excuse for not sending anyone away that day and the delay was invaluable. On the 26th the *dobashis* of Kohima strongly urged the departure of the whole garrison as it would be soon, they said, out of their power to give them a safe conduct, as many more villages were about to join with those already in revolt, over which they had some influence. The question of coolies was still unsettled, and no measures were taken by the headmen to provide for the removal of the non-combatants. During the day the Nagas broke their promise by molesting some coolies who were out for water.

The Kohima *dobashis* promised to take charge of any property and during the day (26th) several of them were entrusted with bundles of clothing, etc. The forethought and caution of the officers in thus availing themselves of every excuse for delay and in refusing to remove the actual garrison until the safety of the non-combatants was assured, frustrated the treacherous designs of the Nagas.

The news of Colonel Johnstone's approach with two thousand Manipuries arrived that same evening, the messenger being a Chitonoma man who was in Colonel Johnstone's service. The news removed all need for further negotiations and the Nagas rapidly disappeared. They seemed to melt like snow before the sun and when Colonel Johnstone arrived on the 27th there was not one to be seen. The prompt measures taken by Colonel Johnstone to march to the relief of Kohima directly he heard of the rising of the Nagas and the death of Mr Damant, saved the garrison. It was the knowledge of his approach that made the Nagas change their tactics just as victory was in their grasp.

From the time of his arrival all danger was at an end, but, of course, it took some time to bring up sufficient supplies of food for us. Half rations were served out and this was a treat to men who had had only quarter rations for thirteen days, though the military were on this ration for eight days only. The poor children suffered greatly from want of food and water. When it had been impossible to light fires they had lived on raw Naga *dal* and such food as could be given from the stores of the Europeans. It was a pitiful sight to see the poor little creatures crowding together, holding out their cups for a portion of the unwholesome looking mess of cornflour boiled in dirty water which was all that could be given to them. The sick men suffered too, more than can well be described, although every effort was made to relieve their wants. As was to be expected a great deal of sickness followed this time of trial and the want of a Civil Surgeon was greatly felt.

One or two things occurred during the time I have been describing, and which I have omitted, which may be of interest.

On the night of the 13th one of the women who heard that her husband was wounded and in the jungle near Kohima, started off in the darkness and with her child on her back to look for him. She was a Naga woman of Samoguting. She found her husband's body lying headless where he had fallen. The Khonoma men spared her and her child and she returned to the Station some days afterwards. She promised to take a letter to Samoguting and concealed it in her hair, but the Nagas suspected her and detained her. She kept her secret and privately gave the letter to another woman, who delivered it some time afterwards to one of the officers who was on his way up to Samoguting. As soon as the siege was

over the woman returned to the stockade not caring to live with her own people.

Mr Damant's little Naga bearer boy, who was with his master when he was shot, left the hills with us and is now in our service.

Kare Sing, the native Police officer who was wounded at Khonoma, was picked up and carried off by his men. He was a tall and heavy man, and knowing that by delaying to carry him his men were risking their own lives, he told them to lay him down in the jungle and leave him. They did so and thought he was dead, as a bullet had entered his side and he had lost a great deal of blood. But four days afterwards he returned to the Station having crawled through the jungle in hiding from the Nagas. He was fired at repeatedly as he made his way across the open ground in front of the stockade but was brought in safely and is now well and strong and on duty again. A bullet had entered his side and passed round his body to the back. It was a fearful wound when he came in.

Sata, the Jotsoma *dobashi* who warned Mr Damant, behaved very well. He brought in seven of the fugitives from Khonoma who were hidden in the jungle and would have saved another but failed. He tried to take a gun from the Naga who was shooting him but could not do so, and had to leave the unfortunate man to his fate while he brought in the other seven. When the siege was over he brought his wife and family into the stockade as he was afraid of the vengeance of the other Nagas.

A sepoy of the 43rd who was escaping from the Khonoma disaster was found by some Mozema men and taken to their village. They fed him and in no way ill-treated him, evidently keeping him as a trump card to play if the Nagas should not be victorious. He was kept for seventy days. He was uninjured but had lost his wits and had not recovered them when I saw him two months afterwards.

So fully convinced was our washerman that our fate was fixed and that we were all to be killed that he generously gave away all the bundles of clothes, that had been used in making his house bullet proof, to whoever wanted them. My Naga woman profited by his generosity.

Chapter XVI

DEVELOPMENT

It is appropriate that a chapter on Development should begin with a reference to the report of A. J. Moffatt Mills who, when 'Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut', submitted his account of the Province of Assam to the Government of Bengal in July 1853; it was published the following year. It is remarkable how this report, which owes a good deal to Francis Jenkins, reads like a very early report on Development stressing the importance of communications and even of cottage industries (though these are confined to jails).

Mills considers that the condition of the Assam villagers had already (in 1853) been 'greatly improved'. 'It is one of great comfort both as regards living and clothing' and he gives all credit to the people and persevering exertion of Colonel Jenkins and the Collectors, many of whom were officers 'of superior merit'. He goes in great detail into the question of Land, including the problem of alienation of Land. He considers that among the barriers to improvement which it is within the powers of Government practically to diminish or remove, the greatest is the immoderate use of opium, for he finds three-quarters of the population are opium-eaters, though he admits that he witnessed very little of the terrible effect of eating it in the appearance of the people, though it is injurious to their morals. Opium they should have, he says, but to get it they should be made to work for it.

Mills proposes that endeavours should be made to improve the breed of cattle by introducing bulls from the North-western Provinces. He considers agriculture to be in a very primitive state and refers to various plans for improvement. He considers, just as we do today, the subject of roads as one of 'much importance' and criticizes the contemporary system of building temporary bridges as objectionable. For the encouragement of trade he proposes the establishment of steam communications along the rivers. He has a lot to say about education and the development of minerals. Indeed, there is hardly any aspect of life of Assam to which he does not give his attention.

There is not, however, a great deal about Development in our records for there was not very much to say. Beginning, however, with a brief note on Land by Davis, the assured possession of which

is the basis of all progress in the tribal areas, I give some extracts on Farming and Husbandry and on the remarkable Terracing which caught the attention of all observers. The Angamis were already, apparently entirely on their own, doing what we are still nearly ninety years later struggling to introduce in tribal areas throughout India.

There follow some passages about Health, Education and Trade (on Trade an entire book could be written but it would involve quotations from manuscripts and hand-written reports which do not come within the scope of this book) and the report of Davis in the Census of 1891, since accurate statistics are an essential part of all Development.

Davis, whom I have quoted on various occasions in this book, was an official of great ability and had a genuine interest in the tribal people. He wrote *The Gazetteer of the North Lushai Hills* and contributed to his Census Report some notes on the principal languages of the Naga group and studied the differences between the Chongli and Mongsen dialects.

He wrote an important but possibly exaggerated account of human sacrifice in the Naga Hills for E. A. Gait's study of this subject which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1898 and which is quoted in full by Hutton in his *Angami Nagas*¹ even though he questions the accuracy of part of it.

Guybon Henry Damant, from whom I have taken a few brief notes, was a member of the Indian Civil Service and Political Agent in the Naga Hills in 1878, after having served in Cachar, Manipur and the Garo Hills. He was a very literate person who wrote briefly on the Manipur alphabet, sword worship in Cachar, the Tangkhul Ring, and discussed the Garo custom of the succession of the sister's son. He recorded a number of Manipur folktales in the *Indian Antiquary* and would have made major contributions to anthropology, folklore and philology had it not been for his early and tragic death and the destruction of some of his manuscripts by the Nagas in the stockade at Kohima. He was killed while on the way from Kohima to Khonoma to seize some ammunition, which the Nagas had stored, in October 1879, being thus the third British officer to suffer violent death within three years in this area, Captain Butler having been killed in 1876 and P. T. Carnegy (author of various administrative reports on the Naga Hills) accidentally shot by his sentry in the following year.

¹ *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 160 ff.

1

LAND

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, p. 250)

PRIVATE RIGHTS of property in land are the rule amongst all the tribes in this district, except the Kukis, Mikirs, and plains Rengmas, i.e. the migratory tribes. That private rights of property in land are not recognized amongst these tribes is due to the fact that they are in no way pressed for land, the villages being small and uncut jungles extensive. When, however, we come to tribes like the Angamis, Lhotas, and Aos, who live in permanent and large villages, and amongst whom land is none too plentiful, we find that the rights of individuals to property in land are well-known and well recognized, and the rules as to inheritance and partition of such property settled by strict customary law. Amongst the Angamis land, especially permanent terraced cultivation, is freely sold and bought, there being no more difficulty in selling a terraced field than in selling a pig or a cow. Amongst the other tribes the custom of letting out land is largely practised, a rent varying from Rs 3 to Rs 5 for a field (jhum) large enough for the support of a household being the usual amount charged for the use of land for two years.

2

HUSBANDRY

(John Butler, *A Sketch of Assam*, 1847, pp. 157-8)

IN THEIR AGRICULTURAL OPERATION, the implements of the Nagas are simple and rude in the extreme; but bullocks and buffaloes are used as in Assam. At the commencement of the season, the Khonbao having assembled the people after the usual ceremonies of consulting the omens, the land is apportioned out to each clan, the jungle is cleared, and sowing commences. Konee dhan, a small grain, and Indian corn, or goom dhan, is sown in January and gathered in about June, when the Behoo is celebrated with great festivities;

resembling the old English custom of harvest-home. After the goom dhan and konee dhan is cut, ahoo dhan is sown; and after this crop, kuchoos, a kind of root resembling the arrow root, are planted; so that in the course of the year three crops are raised from the same land. This is done for three successive years; when, the land being impoverished, new land is broken up for the same period, until the usual time of fallow admits of the old land being again resumed. Yet, with all the means of avoiding famine, blessed with a fertile soil and a wonderful rapidity of vegetation, so improvident are these savages, that in a few months the whole produce of the land is consumed, and they are compelled to subsist on roots and leaves of the forests till the return of harvest.

Salt Wells

In different parts of the Naga territory many salt wells exist, and being worked by some of the tribes an immense quantity of salt is produced. This is sold or bartered to the people of Assam for rice, and by this means, doubtless, the miseries attendant on a scanty supply of food are greatly lessened. We have no means of judging of the extent of the salt trade between the Assamese and Nagas, but the commerce might doubtless be increased by greater vigilance, to the mutual advantage of both parties.

3

ANGAMI FARMING

(John Butler, 'Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas', *J.A.S.*, 1875, Vol. XLIV, No. 4)

THE ONLY IMPLEMENTS OF HUSBANDRY they used, are the dao described above; an axe common to almost all the tribes on this frontier, notable for its small size; and a light hoe, especially remarkable for its extraordinarily crooked handle, which necessitates a very bent position, in order to use it. The handle of this hoe is only about from 18 inches to 2 feet in length, and the iron tip from 6 inches to

a foot in length. With these very simple articles they do all their tillage, both in their terrace cultivation and in their 'jhums'.

The soil of the terraced lands is extremely good; and from being kept well manured and irrigated, by means of artificial channels, along which the water is often brought from very long distances by means of aqueducts, ingeniously constructed of hollowed out trees, and sometimes bridging deep ravines, it yields a very large return. The rice for the terrace cultivation is generally sown in March, transplanted in June, and reaped in October. The rice in the jhums—a system which, it is perhaps needless for me to explain, entails fresh land being taken up every three or four years—is generally sown broadcast in April and harvested in August. Besides rice, of which there are several sorts, the Nagas grow a kind of coarse dal or field-pea, Indian-corn, and several varieties of small grains, such as that which the Assamese call 'koni-dhan', not to mention various kinds of yams, chillies, ginger, garlic, pumpkins, and other vegetables, as well as cotton, which latter, however, is restricted to the lower ranges and low valleys.

With regard to domestic animals, the Angami breeds cows (of a far superior kind to those met with in Assam), pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls, both for the purpose of food as well as for sale and barter. Roast dog is considered a great delicacy, and is supposed to be a particularly good diet for certain diseases. As may be easily understood, they are not nice feeders, and I believe there is really scarcely any single thing that walks, crawls, flies, or swims, that comes amiss to their voracious stomachs, and I have often been astounded to see the filthy carrion they can devour, not only with impunity, but with evident relish. And yet strange to say, good fresh milk is entirely repugnant to them, and they pretend that its very smell is enough to make them sick.

4

NAGA CULTIVATION IN 1873

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur during the Field Season 1872-3*, p. 82)

NO PART OF THE BURRAIL is more beautiful than that between Kigwema and Sopvomah, looking up the lateral glacial gorges with

their frowning, steep sides, running up to the crest of the Burraill, which is for the greater part a wall of grey rock and precipice. Dense forest covers the slopes, but from their steepness many parts are bare, breaking the usual monotony of the dark-coloured mountain scenery. Where the steep rise in the slope commences, the spurs are at once more level, and are terraced for rice cultivation; not a square yard of available land has been left, and the system of irrigation canals is well laid out. I have never even in the better-cultivated parts of the Himalayas seen terrace cultivation carried to such perfection, and it gives a peculiarly civilized appearance to the country. The rice raised is exceedingly fine and very nourishing, containing much sugar and gluten; it appears coarse when compared with the table rice of Assam and Manipur, but we always preferred it to the latter, and it can be cleaned to boil quite white. While on the subject of rice, I may mention that the kind grown by the Kukis is remarkably fine and nutritious, no doubt due to their system of joom cultivation, the crop being taken year after year off virgin soil. The Naga rice owes its fineness to the natural richness of the decomposed clay shales, but they also manure at the time of breaking up the soil and before the first water is let in upon the fields. The rice is sown in nurseries and planted out just before the rains. In April these nurseries were just up, and the water was being run into the terraces. A great deal of other cultivation is carried on upon the hill slopes, dependent on the natural rain-fall, and jooming is also adopted; this is the sole method practised by the Nagas living on the outermost slopes upon the north.

5

TERRACING

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 9-10 and p. 34)

(a)

DECEMBER 25th (1873).—Today the peculiar terrace cultivation of these tribes is observed in perfection. The labour incurred in first

making these terraces must be very great, and the skill manifested in irrigating them would do credit to a trained engineer.

The cultivation amongst these and the Angami tribes is permanent, and great attention is paid to manuring and watering the fields. The terraces, which are almost all on the slopes of steep hills of great height, commence high up, wherever in fact water can be found, and are continued down to the base of the hills. The streams are diverted at various heights into channels which convey water to the terraces; this water trickles from one to the other, increasing in volume as it is fed from the parent stream, until the lowest ones are reached, which are almost always to be found more or less under water.

The terraces vary much in breadth, some being merely a foot or two wide, others much wider, according to the nature of the ground. They are frequently faced with stone, and the height of the interval, or step between the terraces, varies from a few inches to five or more feet. The patches are carefully manured with cattle-droppings, the manure being spread on the soil and hoed in.

Rice is the staple growth of the terraces; but on the higher lands a species of millet (jowar) is grown, which is used in making the sour beer the tribes consume so largely.

The terraces are relieved by occasional patches of open jungle, and the slopes of the hills immediately underneath the villages are always well wooded.

I may here mention, that while on a visit to Kandy, Ceylon, in 1873, from the railway in one part of the journey where the train overlooks a series of steep hills, I observed terrace rice cultivation so like in every respect to that above described, that I might easily have imagined myself transported again into the Naga country. The formation of the hills in this part of Ceylon was also strikingly like that of some portions of these hills.

(b)

February 23rd. (1874).—Marched today to the village of Lesamee, about six miles. At the foot of the hill, on which the group of villages is placed near which we were encamped yesterday, a considerable branch of the Lanier River was forded, draining the Numoo range to the north; this branch flowed south-east. The road was good throughout and jhoom cultivation common, although terraces in

plenty were also seen. In some of the terraces land cultivation was being extended by the formation of new terraces near the village where we encamped. A look at these terraces, in progress of formation, gives one a good idea of the great labour involved in their construction.

6

ANGAMI TERRACING

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. I, p. 237)

THE ANGAMIS are distinguished from the other tribes within the district by their method of cultivation. While all the other tribes, including the western or Chakroma portion of the Angami tribe, raise their rice crops by jhuming, the Angamis raise their rice crop on irrigated terraces. These terraces are excavated with great labour and skill from the hillsides, and are watered by means of channels carried along the contour of the hills for long distances and at excessively easy gradients.

The questions of whence the Angamis first got the idea of their terraced cultivation, and why they adopted a system which at the outset must have entailed an immense amount of labour, have often been asked: I think the answer must be that this system of cultivation gradually spread northwards from Manipur until it reached the Angamis, who adopted it for the following reasons:

(1) A desire for a better kind of food than job's-tears and konidhan, the only jhum crops which can be successfully grown at high elevations, and which, from the analogy of the Mazung tribe whose villages are situated at elevations equal to or higher than the older Angami villages, may safely be assumed to have been in days gone by the Angamis' staple food.

(2) The impossibility of raising a sufficient crop of this better kind of food, i.e., rice, except by a system like that of irrigated terraces, which their neighbours to the south were already practising and which allows the same land to be used year after year without the necessity which occurs in the case of jhum cultivation of throwing up the land after two years' cultivation and allowing it to lie fallow for eight or ten years.

(3) A good water supply, which rendered the system of irrigated cultivation possible.

7

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, p. 184)

FOUR VILLAGES, in the Tankhool country, apparently monopolized the bulk of the cloth manufactures, and different tribal patterns were made to suit the purchaser. Some of these cloths are very handsome and strong, and calculated to wear for a long time. But the superior energy of the Manipuris in cloth weaving, has greatly injured the trade in the hill villages; in the same way that Manchester and Paisley have injured the weaving trade in most of India. The Manipuris supply a fair pattern of the different tribal cloths at a lower price, and thus manage to undersell those of native manufacture, but the quality is not nearly so good as in the original. The prices in the hills are decidedly high. Every village has its blacksmith, but some devote themselves more especially to ironwork.

8

DEVELOPMENT IN 1878

(G. H. Damant, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-9*, pp. 10-11)

STATE OF ROADS, COMMUNICATIONS, &C. The only road worthy of the name in the district is from Golaghat to Samaguting, 67 miles in length; this is passable for horses and elephants throughout the year, and for carts in the cold weather; it has been put in good repair as far as the Nambar River, a distance of 57 miles, elephant and other bridges constructed and jungle cleared. The repairs of the remaining ten miles from the Nambar to Golaghat, with the exception of the

jungle clearing which was done previously, was entrusted to the Executive Engineer, Central Assam Division, but not completed by the end of the year.

The road from Golaghat to Wokha, about 62 miles in length, is a mere track; it is passable for elephants as far as Merapani, a distance of 19 miles only; from thence for ponies to Wokha. The jungle has been cleared and bridges repaired.

9

HEALTH IN 1878

(G. H. Damant, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-9*, pp. 9-10)

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE. From the statement annexed it will be seen that among the police force the mortality and sickness were both higher than they ought to be, but this only applies to Samaguting; since the men have been at Kohima sickness has decreased 5 per cent, notwithstanding the hardships and exposure which they have suffered.

During the rains there was a most violent outbreak of virulent ulcers, which broke out generally on the feet or ankles, and which were most obstinate and difficult to cure; at one time as many as 10 per cent of the police force were suffering from them, and they were equally common among the Nagas of Samaguting. They are probably to be attributable to the bad water and a want of vegetables and milk; these evils however no longer exist, as we have a plentiful supply of good water and native vegetables at Kohima, and large gardens have been made which are already yielding well and will give a sufficient supply of vegetables for all. Arrangements have also been made for importing a supply of cows, of which we have but few at present.

The Nagas appear to have been generally healthy, and epidemics have, so far as is known, been entirely absent; the only exception being the village of Nakhama, where about 50 persons are said to have died from what is supposed to have been cholera, though it is very rare in these hills. A few cases however did occur undoubtedly

among the party which first occupied Kohima, and there were five deaths; the disease however soon died out.

As a rule the people are fairly well-to-do. Beggars are unknown, and each person seems to be able to provide his food and clothing without difficulty. Some of the headmen are, comparatively speaking, very rich. One man, who gave a feast to his fellow villagers, killed 40 pigs and 20 cows on the occasion, besides providing an enormous quantity of beer, and instances of this kind are not uncommon. The tribe who are probably the poorest are the Mikirs; their land is not so good, and their cultivation is not so scientific as that of the Nagas, while they are addicted to opium-eating, to obtain which they fall into the hands of Bengali and Assamese traders, and live in a perpetual state of debt.

10

GOITRE

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, p. 14; p. 18)

(a)

FOR THE FIRST TIME in these hills goitre was observed.¹ It seemed very common, and young and old suffered from it, but without any apparent injury to their general health. One old woman was noticed with a very large goitre. Standing at her hut-door, she seemed enraged at our appearance, and kept muttering as we passed. Occasionally she clutched her throat, and made a motion of throwing her goitre at us, doubtless cursing volubly the while. We smiled benignly on the hag and passed on.

Weather fine. Height of camp 4,400 feet; minimum temperature, 42 degrees.

(b)

These Rengmah Nagas² seem to me the dirtiest hill-men I have met with: they are quite encrusted with dirt. Their dress is the same

¹ During a visit to the Angami village of Nerhama, one day's march from Kohima.—N.K.R.

² Of the village Themakedima.—N.K.R.

as that of the Semah Nagas; they wear the hair coronet, sash, and apron, and also, when in war-costume, the tail. Goitre is common amongst them; and out of a deputation of four men who arrived today in camp from a village to the north, three were affected.

11

NAGA BOYS AND GIRLS

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, pp. 66–70)

DECEMBER 28, 1845.—Early this morning, the Nagah chief of the village of Hosang-Hajoo, invited us to accompany him through the village. We first went to a large building called Rangkee or the Daka chang, in which all the boys of the village reside, until they are married. The building was about sixty feet long, and twenty high, with gable ends. The inside of the house consisted of one large room, in the centre of which a wood fire was burning on the ground, and wooden stools were arranged in rows for the boys to sleep upon. At one end, a small room was partitioned off for the accommodation of an elderly man, who was superintendent of the establishment. There were forty boys assembled; we gave them presents of knives, beads, and scissors, and asked them whether they would learn to read Assamese, if a schoolmaster were appointed to teach them. They were highly pleased with their presents, and declared they would most assuredly try to learn the Assamese language, if a schoolmaster were appointed. A schoolmaster was accordingly at once located in the village, and the Bible in Assamese and Bengalee, with other books, was supplied. In the course of a year, several boys learned the first rudiments of the language, and one has attained such proficiency as to be able to write an Assamese letter. Who shall say that the Bible will not be the means of changing the habits and ideas of these wild savages? The experiment is worthy of trial; they have no caste or prejudices of creed to deter them from adopting Christianity; and, if successful in one instance, it cannot be deemed visionary to anticipate that the darkness and ignorance that now overshadow the land may be speedily dispelled, when our rule will

prove a blessing to these benighted tribes, who would henceforth enjoy the fruit of their labours in peace and prosperity.

On leaving the boys, our attention was next directed to the Hilokee (a building of similar dimensions and construction with the Rangkee) devoted entirely to the use or residence of the girls of the village, who live in it altogether, in the same manner as the boys, until the day of their marriage. About twenty damsels presented themselves; they were all decently attired; a large sheet with coloured stripes was worn round the waist, extending to the knees, and a blue cloth was folded over the breast under the arms: a profusion of glass bead necklaces adorned their necks with a number of brass ear-rings of all sizes. An old woman superintended the establishment, and the utmost order seemed to prevail in both the Rangkee and the Hilokee.

The boys and girls take their meals with their parents, work for them during the day, and at night retire to their respective asylums; all the youths see the girls during the day without the smallest restraint, and they select their own wives, and are married by the consent of their parents. In the afternoon, the chief came down to our camp with all the unmarried girls of the village, whom we had seen in the morning. They were all neatly dressed, and walked in file two deep, holding each other by the hand, and wheeled into line as regularly as a regiment on parade. All the young men of the village followed in the rear, singing and clapping their hands. At first we could not imagine what was the meaning of the procession, until we were told that they were going to honour our visit with a grand dance. Line having been formed, and the camp assembled, two damsels stepped out in front of the party, and danced with a peculiar kind of hopstep on one leg alternately, different from anything I have ever seen, in excellent time, to a song and clapping of hands by the young men. When these damsels were fatigued, two others in succession modestly stepped out and kept up the dance, and when it was over, we gave each young lady a silver four anna piece, when they wheeled into line, and in ecstasies with their presents of scissors, needles, and beads, marched home with all the youths in regular order, singing as they went along.

In stature the Nagah women are short and athletic, with flat noses, small sharp eyes, the upper front teeth projecting a little, and the hair cut short whilst single; but, when married, the hair is allowed to grow long. They are coarse and plain, which is not to be wondered

at, as they perform all manner of drudgery in the field, supply the house with water and fuel, and make whatever clothing is required by the family.

A vast change has come over the Nagahs in this village; formerly shells and beads would purchase anything; but it is not so now. The chief remarked, 'Since we became British subjects, we have paid revenue in coin, and with it we can procure anything we require; we, therefore, no longer want shells and beads; we are now protected by a guard from the attacks of our neighbours, can cultivate our land, have cows, pigs and fowls, and enjoy the fruit of our labour in peace and security.'

12

EDUCATION A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

(A. J. Moffatt Mills, *Report on the Province of Assam*, 1854, pp. 26-8)

THERE IS NO DOUBT that the schools, such as they are, are of great benefit to the people. When we took possession of the country, the education of the people was in a most deplorable state: the individuals who could read and write were very few. Captain Butler, of Nowgong, states, that in 1838 perhaps thirty educated individuals could not be found in his District, and that universal ignorance pervaded the whole community without distinction. He adds, 'times have changed in the course of thirteen years; hundreds of boys have gone forth from these little village schools, able to read and write.' Captain Rowlatt and Captain Dalton fully corroborate Captain Butler's views. It will be seen from the statement of the number of pupils who have received Government employ, that the humble office of village accountant is freely accepted by them, but, as far as I can judge, the respectable classes seem to take little or no interest in the institutions, and my observations are borne out generally by the statements of the Collectors. Captain Butler's remarks are, I think, much to the point: 'They (the respectable classes) show no desire whatever to see the rising generation educated or made wiser than themselves; in fact I believe if the higher classes could prevent the Assamese youth being educated, they would not hesitate to do so. The supineness and indifference of the most influential men in the

District, the Mouzahdars, can scarce be conceived, except by those in personal and constant intercourse with them. They seldom visit the schools, and when required to build or repair a school-house, they deem it a kind of oppression which can only be overcome by pointing out the probability of their losing their Mouzahs if they do not comply with the requisition. The motive which brings the boys to the schools is simply the prospect of getting Government employ.' I have been as it were besieged by applicants. The one cry with the higher classes is: 'you have given us education under the promise of employ, and unfitted us for an agricultural life, and you do not fulfil your promise.' The people should be disabused of the idea that the one great aim and end of giving them education is to qualify them for public employ, but the natives of the Province have great reason to complain of the preference which is too often given to Bengallees, when selecting officers to fill vacancies. A number of Bengallees came into Assam when we took the Province, and from the uneducated state of the Assamese it was necessary to give them service, but there are now in Seesagur and Gowhatty many young men of high family and good character who have qualified themselves for employ, and it is most discouraging to them to see most of the high and even some of the inferior offices filled by foreigners. When I was Commissioner of Cuttack, the Government at my recommendation interdicted the employment of Bengallees, not domiciled in the country, without the special sanction of the Commissioner in Orissa, and I think the same order might with the greatest advantage be introduced into Assam. In Durrung there are eighteen, in Nowgong twenty, and in Kamroop forty-five; and the Commissioner's and Deputy Commissioner's establishments number thirty. I exclude Gowalparra, as it is partly peopled by Bengallees.

The salary allowed to the Masters should be increased; there should be a Sudder school at each station, and second class schools in the Mofussil. The Head-Teacher of the former should get fifteen Rupees per mensem; the Assistant Master and the Mofussil School-master should receive ten Rupees each.

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

(J. Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1896, pp. 43-4)

THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION GENERALLY, was one that greatly interested me, my success in Keonjhur in the tributary Mehals of Orissa, where I had introduced schools, having been very great. In combination with other suggestions, I strongly urged the advisability of establishing a regular system of education, including religious instruction, under a competent clergyman of the Church of England. I pointed out that the Nagas had no religion; that they were highly intelligent and capable of receiving civilization; that with it they would want a religion, and that we might just as well give them our own, and make them in that way a source of strength, by thus mutually attaching them to us. Failing this, I predicted that, following the example of other hill-tribes, they would sooner or later become debased Hindoos or Mussulmans, and in the latter case, as we knew by experience, be a constant source of trouble and annoyance, Mussulman converts in Assam and Eastern Bengal being a particularly disagreeable and bigoted set. My suggestion did not find favour with the authorities, and I deeply regret it. A fine, interesting race like the Angamis, might, as a Christian tribe, occupy a most useful position on our Eastern Frontier, and I feel strongly that we are not justified in allowing them to be corrupted and gradually 'converted' by the miserable, bigoted, caste-observing Mussulman of Bengal, men who have not one single good quality in common with the manly Afghans, and other real Mussulman tribes. I do not like to think it, but, unless we give the Nagas a helping hand in time, such is sure to be their fate, and we shall have ourselves to thank when they are utterly corrupted.

The late General Dalton, C.S.I., when Commissioner of Chota Nagpure, did his utmost to aid Christian Mission among the wild Kols; his argument being like mine, that they wanted a religion and that were they Christians, they would be a valuable counterpoise in time of trouble to the vast non-Christian population of Behar. In the same way it cannot be doubted, that a large population of

Christian hill-men between Assam and Burmah, would be a valuable prop to the State. Properly taught and judiciously handled, the Angamis would have made a fine manly set of Christians, of a type superior to most Indian native converts, and probably devoted to our rule. As things stand at present, I fear they will be gradually corrupted and lose the good qualities, which have made them attractive in the past, and that, as time goes on, unless some powerful counter influence is brought to bear on them, they will adopt the vile, bigoted type of Mahommedanism prevalent in Assam and Cachar, and instead of becoming a tower of strength to us, be a perpetual weakness and source of annoyance. I earnestly hope that I may be wrong, and that their future may be as bright a one as I could wish for them.

14

TRADE

(W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, 1841, p. 244)

THE NAGAS occasionally frequent the markets at Nagura and Kacharihath, and other spots along the borders, where they barter their cotton and ginger for a few minor articles. They also manufacture and sell a little salt, the produce of the brine springs in the vicinity of their hills. This seems to be the only intercourse held with them by the inhabitants of the low lands, who rarely ever venture to visit their haunts on the hills.

15

TRADE

(A. J. Moffatt Mills, *Report on the Province of Assam*, 1854, pp. cxii-iii)

THE NAGAS on the frontier have been generally well behaved and quiet, and have in some measure abstained from the system of exterminating hostilities among themselves that formerly prevailed.

The Booree Nagas resort annually in the cold season to the plains to trade, salt and cotton being the chief articles. The Abor Nagas inhabiting the back range do not generally visit the plains themselves, excepting in small parties in company with the Booree Nagas. The Nagas are very keen barterers, but at the same time just and open in their dealings. They are a fine race of men, warlike and independent, and jealous of their liberty. In our intercourse with these people it has been our policy to control them, more by conciliatory measures, than to overcome them by coercion; the great benefit they derive from trade with us, as also the grant of small khats at the foot of the hills to some of the clans, makes it their interest to behave properly and attend to all requisitions made them by the Officer in charge of political relations with these tribes.¹

16

PAYMENTS

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 34-5)

JUST OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE² was a space on the steep face of the hill, surrounded as far as could be seen by bamboo posts, at distances of about twenty feet: on each bamboo a human skull was placed. Eleven of these posts were counted in passing along the path. The

¹ In another reference to Naga trade, Moffatt Mills says: 'The Nagas have lately manifested a great desire to trade, and I would give encouragement to it by establishing a *hat* [market] at Deemapoor. Captain Butler has suggested that the Government should open a shop there for the sale of agricultural implements, such as daws and koodalls, as also salt, which is indispensable to them, and cornelian beads, which are greatly prized. This suggestion appears to me judicious, and is I think well deserving of an experimental trial.'

Jenkins, referring to the same period, also says: 'The Nagas seldom directly offend against us, and our interference with them is generally forced upon us to allay their intermissive wars on each other, arising out of their eternal feuds. With our people on the plains, they are almost invariably on good and friendly terms, carrying on a large barter of hill products which is to them indispensable.'

'The western Nagas bring down large quantities of cotton and chillies, ginger and yams, the Eastern Nagas, salt &c., to be bartered against rice, ducks, and salt in the first instance, and for rice, &c., in the second.'

² Lesamee.—N.K.R.

inhabitants of this village are still similar to those already lately met with. The women all wear the large brass ring in the upper ear formerly mentioned. They are friendly and obliging, and no difficulty is experienced in getting what provisions are required: they also lend a hand to build huts for the camp-followers, bring in firewood, &c. As we get further and further among tribes who have no communications with the plains, and are ignorant of the value of money, cash payments become regulated in rather an arbitrary manner—one coin in their estimation being much the same as another. However, care is taken to pay them fair value for anything required, according to the plan adopted throughout the expedition.

17

PRICES AND PAY IN 1878

(G. H. Damant, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-9*, pp. 8-9)

PRICES OF FOOD, LABOUR, &c. The price of rice has varied at different times and in different parts of the district from Rupees 2-8 to Rupees 7 a maund. In the month of August last, the supply at Samaguting ran very short, the difficulty however was tided over by procuring supplies from the Kutch Naga and Kookie country.

At Kohima our supply has been and still is rather precarious, but we have never been without food, and have good hopes of being able to get enough for the rains. Other grains, such as Indian-corn, Job's tears, gaun, or millet, and a small kind of bean can be procured cheaply at Kohima, and there is a bazaar which is well attended daily where fowls, eggs, fish, vegetables, and pork can generally be procured.

A large supply of Naga labour has been procured this year at four annas a day, a cheaper rate than has been paid in previous years when six annas was given; a good deal of road work was done by Naga labour, and they also brought out much of the stores from Samaguting to Kohima. A quota of coolies was demanded from each village, and generally given with little trouble except in the case of Khonoma, which the Political Officer was compelled

to visit, and the coolies were then supplied. For road work, which the Nagas appear to like, any number of coolies can be obtained, but they do not come so freely to work as porters; they require a little careful management, and very much prefer to be paid daily; they are not however very trustworthy, and will not hesitate to steal anything if they can get an opportunity.

Besides the Nagas some Nepalese coolies were imported from the Garo Hills, and some Mikirs from the Nowgong border worked for a short time at house building at Kohima; they were paid at the rate of Rupees 9 per mensem. The Golaghat road was principally repaired by Assamese coolies from the Golaghat subdivision.

18

TRADE IN 1878

(G. H. Damant, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-9*, p. 11)

TRADE AND COMMERCE. Under this head there is but little to record, as the amount of commerce is but small. A good deal of cotton is exported by the Mikirs, Cacharies, and Lhota Nagas, but of this trade I have not been able to obtain statistics.

Among the Angamies 1995 persons took passes to trade in the plains, of whom 1706 took down Rupees 7943 to buy salt, 207 took Manipuri and Naga cloths, and the remainder took 45 ponies. They went to Dimapur, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Gauhati and Cachar.

The traders at Samaguting and Kohima imported goods to the value of Rupees 63,467, salt, rice and cloth being the principal items, and they bought from the Nagas ivory, wax, and cloth to the value of about Rupees 3000.

THE 1891 CENSUS IN THE NAGA HILLS

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. xxvii-ix.
Extracts from the Report of Mr A. W. Davis, c.s.,
Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills)

These charges were :

1. Kohima, which included
 - (a) Kohima station and cantonment
 - (b) Kohima-Golaghat road
 - (c) The Angamis and Lazema
2. Dimapur, which included
 - (a) Dimapur and Nichuguard
 - (b) Barpathar
 - (c) Rengmas, Mikirs, and Kacharis
3. Henima, which included
 - (a) Kacha Nagas
 - (b) Kukis
4. Wokha (Lhota Nagas)
5. Mokokchang (Ao Nagas)

Except in Kohima station and along the Kohima-Golaghat road, the census of this district was spread over a period of three months. It began on the 1st December, and was completed, except in one instance, before the end of February.

Complete list of villages for all the villages in the hills portion of the district being available in my office, there was no difficulty in preparing the subdivisional register and circle list of Kohima, Wokha, Mokokchang, and the Kacha Naga portion of the Henima charge.

For the low hills and plains mauzas list of villages were supplied by the mauzadars. These lists were partially tested by Assistant Surgeon Tamizuddin Ahmed, who was in charge of the census in the plains and low hills mauzas.

In the Kuki portion of the Henima charge the village lists, as furnished by my office, were verified by Belbong havildar, the

supervisor for this charge. He was deputed with a sepoy from the 1st November to make complete block lists of all Kuki villages, and I am confident that we have got the census of all the Kuki villages in this district.

The subdivisional register was completed in August 1890. The circle lists were completed, as far as possible in October 1890.

Census Officers

There were two supervisors, i.e. Mr Pritchard, of the Public Works Department, who was in charge of a portion of the Golaghat-Kohima road, and Belbong havildar, of the Military Police, who looked after the census operations in the Henima charge. Altogether 51 enumerators were employed. Of these, six, i.e. four literate Angami Nagas, the fourth clerk of my office, and one military policeman, were employed on the non-synchronous portion of the Kohima charge. Fifteen, i.e. the clerks of my office, with eight Public Works Department muharrirs, were employed on the night of the 26th February in taking the census of Kohima station and the various sections of the Kohima-Golaghat road. Six, i.e. five military policemen and the pandit of the Bargaon school, were employed in the Wokha subdivision. Twelve, i.e. four military policemen, the pandit of the Ungma school and seven school teachers in the employ of the American Baptist Mission, took the census of the Mokokchang subdivision. Ten, i.e. eight mauzadars, one muharrir, and one civil policeman, were employed in taking the census of the plains and low hill mauzas. Two, i.e. one military policeman and one Angami head constable of civil police, were employed in the Henima charge.

The number of paid men was as follows :

1	supervisor, on Rs 10 per month (4 months)
1	enumerator, on Rs 10 per month (2 months)
20	enumerators on Rs 5 per month (4 months)
Total	22

As these men were in nearly all instances called on to work continuously for a period of four months, it was considered

necessary to pay them in order to give them some incentive to work properly.

The enumerators in nearly every instance—I speak more particularly of the non-synchronous portion of the district—worked very well. Except in the case of the Rengma mauzadar, the census work was everywhere finished before the end of February. In the Mokokchang subdivision the enumeration of nine small villages was done by seven school teachers of the American Baptist Mission, whose services were placed at my disposal by the Reverend E. W. Clark of Molong. Mr Clark himself did nothing.

The estimate originally made by Mr Porteous that each enumerator would be able to enumerate about thirty houses a day turned out to be very fairly accurate. Of course a man could actually do about sixty or seventy houses a day; but when allowance was made for the time occupied in travelling from village to village, in affixing numbers to the houses, and the delays occasioned by references to the charge superintendent, it was found that an average of thirty houses a day for each enumerator was very near the mark.

Instruction of Enumerators

The enumerators were personally instructed by the charge superintendents during November. The method of instruction was to make the men practise under the personal supervision of the superintendent at some village near the headquarters station.

From my own observations, and from what I learn from the charge superintendents, I think that, on the whole, the enumerators' work was very fairly done.

The totals for block abstracts were first made out by the enumerators and entered on separate slips of paper. These slips, together with the enumeration books, were sent in to headquarters. Here the totals were tested by clerks or by the charge superintendent and, when all the enumerators had returned to headquarters, by other enumerators. After being checked, the totals were entered in the enumerators' abstracts. From the enumerators' abstracts

circle abstracts were made out in some cases by the charge superintendents personally, and in all cases under their immediate supervision. The charge abstracts were made out by the charge superintendents.

The only road on which there are any travellers besides Nagas is the Kohima-Golaghat road. For census purposes this road, the length of which is (in this district) 92 miles, was divided into blocks, each block being entrusted to the care of a Public Works Department muharrir. Orders were issued to cartmen and others that they were not to travel on the night of the 26th, and that they were, as far as possible, to halt at one or other of the recognized stages along the road.

Attitude of the People

The attitude of the people with reference to the census was completely passive. They offered no obstruction to the taking of the census, and the work was carried on quite quietly.

The people (Nagas) at first in many instances thought that the object of the census was in some way or other to get an increased amount of revenue out of them. Before the census was completed, however, they must have given up this notion, for in no instance were they called on to pay more revenue than they had been used to pay in former years. The more civilized among the Nagas, to whom the objects of the census were explained, considered it quite natural that the great Maharani should desire to know the exact number of her subjects.

I consider the results of the census in this district to have been fairly accurate.

My reasons for arriving at the conclusion are :

(a) In the hills no house or village could possibly escape enumeration.

(b) Nagas have no caste, so the columns which had reference to distinction of castes presented no difficulties to the enumerators.

(c) The enumerators appeared to take considerable interest in their work, especially the Angami enumerators, who were very keen to find out the exact size and population of villages in their own country.

It is possible that in the occupation column many men who are shown as having no land of their own really have land, and have returned themselves as having none in the hope of being exempted from paying revenue. No reliance, of course, can be placed on the accuracy of the age column. No Naga has the vaguest idea of his own age, and in most instances ages, as given in the enumeration books, are overestimates. I have always found that Nagas are inclined to overestimate their ages.

The entries in column 8 as to civil condition are probably very accurate. Slight confusion was caused by the contradictory instructions issued by you as to the manner in which divorced women should be shown. In your letter to me, No. 488, dated the 23rd September 1890, you say 'divorced women should be shown as unmarried'; but in paragraph 3 of your Circular No. 15, dated the 29th November 1890, you say 'persons who are legally divorced or who are so separated as, in the opinion of persons of their own caste, to be able to contract a second alliance, should be shown as widowed'. This is, however, not a point of very great importance.

Finally, the amount of actual testing done by the superintendents was very satisfactory, and must have gone a good way towards rendering the results of the census accurate.

The census of 1891 is the first census that has been taken of this district. In 1881 the state of the district was considered to be too disturbed to admit of census being taken. The rough estimate, however, which was made at that time was apparently a very fairly accurate one. This estimate gave the population of the district as 94,380. Since then the Mokokchang subdivision, with a population of 26,382, has been added to the district, and the total for the whole district has been found to be 1,22,077; if the population of the Mokokchang subdivision be added to the old estimate, the total is 120,762, or very near the actual numbers as brought out by the present census.

The materials available for taking the present census, especially that of the Dimapur charge, were not very good. In the Dimapur subdivision the only available agency are the mauzadars, many of whom are illiterate, and all of whom are rather dense. In addition, there was no officer serving in the district who had any personal knowledge of the tract forming the Dimapur charge.

Circumstances, as explained in the report, prevented me from visiting it personally.

Excellent work was done by the men of the Military Police who were detailed for census work. The same may be said of the literate Angamis, who were employed in the Kohima and Henima charges.

Of charge superintendents, Mr Woods, Assistant Commissioner, and Jadab Chandra Barua, Rai Bahadur, tahsildar at Wokha, appeared to me to take most interest in their work.

As far as actual numbering of the people goes, I think, however, that we have got a fairly accurate census of the charge. The caste columns, too, are probably accurate. I cannot, however, say so much for the employment column. Here in very many instances the only entry is 'kheti kari khai',¹ no attempt having been made to distinguish between men cultivating their own land and those who only rent land. It would, however, be pretty safe to assume that amongst the Mikirs and other migratory tribes each man cultivates his own land.

¹ I.e. earning his livelihood (literally 'eats') by cultivation.—N.K.R.

Chapter XVII

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

CURIOUS REPORTS

(F. Hamilton, *An Account of Assam*, first compiled in 1807-14, 1940 ed., p. 76)

ON THE SIDE OF THE BRAHMAPUTRA, opposite to the Miri or Dophlas immediately beyond the Dikrong river, are said by the native of Nogang to dwell a people called Abor, and farther up another tribe called Tikliya Nagas, both of whom are extremely savage. They are indeed said by the Brahman of Bengal to be cannibals, and to have little intercourse with the people in Assam, although the two territories are adjacent. In Nepal I heard of a nation of cannibals in these eastern regions, who in 1802 were said to be engaged in a war with the Chinese of Thibet, and probably may have been one of those tribes, or at least some kindred race. In place of the Abor, the Raja Brajanath places Khamti, although both the native of Nogang and the Bengalese Brahman place this nation nearly south of Jorhat; while the Tikliya Nagas, which the Bengalese Brahman placed to the north of the Abor, the Raja brings to the west of Nora in place of Khamti. His authority I considered as the best, and therefore I consider Khamti, which may be another name for Abor and Bong, as occupying the left bank of the Brahmaputra above Sodiya.

EXPRESSIVE AND ANIMATED

(W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, 1841, p. 395)

AMONG RUDE TRIBES in every part of the globe, the love of dancing is a favourite passion; and we find it to be the same case with the Nagas. As during a great part of their time they languish in a state of inactivity and indolence, without any occupation to rouse or interest them, they delight universally in a pastime which calls

forth the active powers of their nature into exercise. All the Naga dances are imitations of some action; and though the music by which they are regulated is extremely simple and tiresome to the ear by its dull monotony, some of their dances appear wonderfully expressive and animated. The war dance is perhaps the most striking. In this the women dance in an inner circle, whilst the men holding up their weapons in their hands dance round them, beating time and singing in strains of wild and plaintive melody. The women on such occasions are neatly dressed in long dark blue or black garments, ornamented with all their finery of beads and brass rings about their necks. They move in slow and decent movements, but the men, arrayed in their full war dress, enter with enthusiastic ardour into their several parts; they exhaust themselves by perpendicular jumps and side leaps, in which they exhibit considerable agility. On the whole their gestures, their countenances, and their voices are exceedingly wild, and well adapted to their various situations.

3

ELEPHANT HUNTERS

(T. Brodie, in a letter of 6 August 1844 to Major F. Jenkins, from *Selected Papers*, pp. 302-3)

AN OCCURRENCE, however, that has lately taken place in this direction, which is reported in a letter from Mr Wood, the Sub-Assistant stationed at Golaghat, No. 64 of the 4th ultimo, copy of which is annexed, will render a further communication with these chiefs necessary in the ensuing cold season. It appears that six elephant hunters, while out hunting under the hills, were attacked by about 30 Nagas, who plundered whatever they could lay hold of, and wounded some of the hunters. Two of these escaped with their lives, and one is missing and supposed to have been murdered. When applied to by Mr Wood, the Lotah chiefs objected to coming down to the plains in consequence of the lateness of the season; and I consider this objection reasonable enough. It is probable that they will come down when the rains are over, and give the explanation required of them; and until they refuse this, it seems unnecessary

to take any measures of coercion. It is doubtful in my mind what tribe are the offenders; but from some of the depositions taken by Mr Wood, and from the nature of the case as detailed by him, I am inclined to think that the affrays may have arisen from the Nagas supposing that they alone have the privilege of hunting wild elephants in the place where it occurred. It happened within the jurisdiction of the Principal Assistant at Nowgong, and I should wish to be furnished with instructions as to whether the inquiry shall be made by him or by myself.

4

CROWS AND JACKALS

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, p. 72)

TODAY WE SAW a crow for the first time since we left Dheemahpoor and entered the hills. It is a remarkable circumstance that there are neither crows nor jackals in the Nagah hills, and their absence failed not to make us feel very sensibly that we were in a different climate and country.

5

NAGA DIET

(John Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, 1855, p. 70)

THE NAGAHS are the most unprejudiced race I have ever met with as regards their diet. They eat dogs, rats, elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, cows, pigs and fowls; but, strange to say, they have no ducks. A dead elephant is esteemed a great prize as well as a delicacy. The flesh is merely dried in the smoke and eaten without any further cooking, either roasting or boiling. They are extremely fond of spirituous liquors, the stronger the better; we gave them wine, beer,

and brandy; the latter was highly approved of, but the bitter taste of the beer they did not at all relish; they did not either like vinegar or sauces, or anything sour; but sugar, jams, aniseed, or anything sweet, please them much, and they immediately asked for more. In fact they ate and drank of everything we offered them, and smoked our cheroots with great satisfaction. If such a people could receive a moral education, how soon would their habits of rapine and murder be changed, and their fertile, well-watered soil, be converted into one of the most beautiful tracts on which mortals could reside.

6

LAW AND ORDER IN 1878

(G. H. Damant, *Report on the Administration of the District of the Naga Hills for the Year 1878-9*, pp. 11-12)

STATE OF POLICE, CRIMINAL, AND CIVIL JUSTICE. Under this head there is very little to remark. The criminal cases tried by the Political Officer and his Assistants amount to ten in number, none of which were of a serious nature; this does not of course in any way represent the real crimes of the Naga Hills, which is, I imagine, ten-fold greater than in an ordinary district of the same population; murder, cattle and gun stealing are here regarded as virtues; it is true some descriptions of crime, such as rape, forgery, and others are rare; they will probably develop as civilization increases.

Only the other day on visiting Teruphima, a distant Sema village, about sixty half-anna and one-pice pieces whitened with quick-silver were brought to me by the innocent Semas, who complained that they were turning brown; I found they had been passed as rupees and eight anna pieces by some Nagas of Kohima, who will be arrested before long. I afterwards found that the same imposition had been practised on the people of a distant Angami village called Kotcoimi.

In another instance an Angami sold another a quantity of powdered charcoal for gunpowder; in fact my short experience of the Nagas leads me to modify very much the high opinion of their

virtue expressed by my predecessors. Briefly, I believe them to be capable of any crime when they get the opportunity. Next year will undoubtedly show a very large increase in our crime returns, and this increase will continue for some years, as we exercise more and more direct control over the people.

Civil disputes are generally settled by the people themselves; twelve suits however, all of a petty nature, were decided by the civil officers.

The police of this district are surely military, and not invested with any civil powers whatever. They are, on the whole, a most excellent body of men, and are admirably adapted for the work they have to perform. They are composed almost entirely of Garos, Hill Cacharies, Mech, and Goorkhas, and for the rough work which they have to perform in these jungles, without proper carriage or supplies, it would not be easy to find another body of men who would do their work so well and with so little grumbling. Hillmen themselves, they care little for caste prejudices, and can feed themselves where a plains man would starve. Their conduct has been almost invariably good and very few departmental punishments have been inflicted. I regret however to have to record two bad cases of theft, one by a constable at Wokha, who, while on duty as sentry, broke open the Government treasure box with his bayonet and stole the contents, fortunately not a large sum, all of which was recovered; the man was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. A similar sentence, with the addition of 20 stripes, was also passed on a constable, against whom five cases of theft from his comrades were proved.

During the year the force was raised from 163 to 232. It was brought up to full strength partly by a draft from the Garo Hills Police and partly by raising recruits; it is now at full strength, and I am glad to say that the difficulty which has been felt in former years in obtaining recruits has quite disappeared. The force has lately been armed with short Enfield rifles, a great improvement on the old carbines. These, it is hoped, will be exchanged for Sniders before long.

COLONEL DALTON CRITICIZED

(a)

(John Butler, *Tour Diary of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, for the Year 1870-2*, p. 25)

5TH JANUARY (1873).—We moved Camp today to a spot on the left bank of the Zullo near its source and close below the village of Phunama (one of the group called 'Sopvomah' by the Angamies and 'Mao' by the Manipuries) *en route* we passed through the villages of Jakamah, Viswemah and Khuzamah all the villagers of which thronged out to see us pass by.

In the evening Colonel Thomson's dak brought in Colonel Dalton's work on the Ethnology of Bengal¹ in which I was not a little amused to recognize my old friend 'Aja' Chief of Phusamah (one of the villages belonging to the Sopvomah or Mao group already referred to), figuring as an 'Angami Naga' and I am the more surprised that Dr Brown should have made such a mistake as, if I remember right, he laid considerable stress upon the differences existing between these two Tribes (the Angami and Mao) and in a measure very rightly so for even their languages are very dissimilar; however it appears this is not the only error he seems to have fallen into for Colonel Thomson informs me that the 'Manipuri' represented in the same plate (XIX) is he believes a Sylhetia one Jadub Sing, whose only claims to being a Manipuri rests upon the fact that he has served the Rajah of that State for the last 12 or 13 years, and if this is the case it only shows how particular one ought to be in compiling a work of this kind and I wonder it never struck Colonel Dalton to apply directly to the several officers in charge of Frontier Districts to assist him in the very difficult work he was undertaking.

9 March 1873.—Amused myself by reading some of Dalton's work on the Ethnology of Bengal and was much surprised to find

¹ Mildred Archer, writing in *Man in India*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 170, says, 'Its arrival must obviously have caused great excitement and like most men when confronted by evidence of excellence in a colleague, Butler was highly critical of its contents.'

that the letter press, at all events as far as the Naga Tribes are concerned, is not in my humble opinion worth very much and yet this is the very portion of the book for the accuracy of which he states in his preface that he himself is alone responsible. It seems strange that he should not apparently ever have considered it worth his while to refer to any of the Frontier Officers in Assam, for I notice that although he concludes his preface with a long list of officers to whom he is indebted for their contributions, there is not a single Assam Officer among the list. I should very much like to have Williamson's opinion on the Garo portion of this work, and Bivar's on the Khasiah, with Shadwell's on the Jaintias. Whilst talking of this I must not, however, forget to mention here that Thomson told me this morning that on further inquiry regarding the parentage of the Manipuri figuring on plate XIX he finds that the man really is a Manipuri. On the other hand I must also not omit to say that the two copper figures in plate XXXII are, I think, either Chirus or certainly Komo (Kukies) and not 'representations of the Koch nation' as Colonel Dalton would have us believe—indeed I think I have got a photograph of the man in the upper left hand corner, anyhow I feel pretty confident, I am not mistaken in pronouncing them not to belong to the Koch lot.

(b)

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, 'On the Rude Stone Monuments of Certain Naga Tribes', *J.A.I.*, 1875, Vol. IV, pp. 146-7)

THE MANY NAGA TRIBES vary greatly one with the other, although evidently of one common origin, and the Kutcha Naga is in dress and customs very different from even the Anghami, who adjoins him on the east.

Colonel Dalton, in his beautiful book, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, in Section 7, page 42, has fallen into error by adopting an artificial separation of the Nagas east and west of the Doyang River, and I trust he will forgive my criticism. This has led to a terrible mixing together of such very different ingredients as the Naga of Asalu, the Arung, and the Anghami, by quoting Major Stewart's (not Steward) really good account in the *J.A.S. Bengal*¹ of the former

¹ See Chapter XI of this book.

tribes as the type of all living in his assumed geographical sub-province, while a well marked section of the Naga race, those in the Mikir Hills, the Rengmah Naga, are not alluded to at all. These last are undoubtedly emigrants from Lotha Nagas, east of the Doyang. Summing up at the end of this section—which, it is to be regretted, is all misleading—Colonel Dalton, still taking the Doyang as his boundary, decides that the Naga on the west is allied to the Munipuri (a decidedly mixed race—in truth, no race at all), and the Kukis and Nagas to the east to be ‘allied to the Singpho and other pagan tribes further east’.

Now, no Kuki tribe—not even one single village, is to be found to the east of the Doyang, or even so far north as its head waters—i.e. north of the main watershed of the Irrawaddy and Brahmaputra, nor have they any connexion with the far distant Singphos in either language, manners, or customs. The last paragraph of this section is to a certain extent contradictory to the preceding, where the Munipuri and Kuki are supposed to be nearly allied. To a certain extent the population of Munipuri has mixed its blood with members of tribes to the south, but I should say—and I am supported by Colonel McCulloch—was of Naga origin.

The true Kukis have only very recently—about 1840—come up from the southward, and they have only within the memory of the present generation become neighbours of the Naga race on the Burreil range and in North West Manipur. Both sections referring to the Nagas and Kukis have been written without sufficient personal knowledge of the people. One great point of dissimilarity between the Anghami and Arung is in their songs and dances. The really pretty active dances of the Arung village maidens is never seen when in Anghami and Naga villages, and in the latter, singing is little heard, and when so is quite of a different kind. Other distinctions are observable in the form of their houses, in the arms they carry, and dress, particularly of the women, and mode of wearing the hair adopted by the unmarried girls. The Kutcha Naga carries the shortest and lightest of spears of any of the hill people I have seen, and seldom, if ever, a shield.

WILD DOGS

(John Butler, *Tour Diary of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, for the Year 1870-2*, pp. 10-11)

21ST DECEMBER.—Moved Camp to the 'Tarapung' a mineral spring situated on the right bank of the 'Horu Kolliani' about a day's march from its source. This spring lies in a remarkably pretty glade in the midst of the forest surrounded on all sides by low hills and is the resort of innumerable wild beasts of every kind from the elephant, tiger and mithan down to the pig. Wild dog and others whose excreta covered the banks of the pool for a good foot in depth which fact alone gives one some idea of the numbers of the ferox nature which must visit it almost daily or nightly which is more probable. I shot a very fine Sambor which was feeding close by as we first came out upon the glade so I hope to get some sport tomorrow.

22nd December.—Halted in order to try and get some shooting as well as to enable the coolies to cut a good path on to the 'Borping'. I was not very successful however in the shooting line. The most interesting thing I came across were 5 wild dogs of whose existence in the Forest I had often heard but had never been able to verify. The Nagas and Mikirs both appear to have a most unaccountable dread of these animals and relate a queer story of their method of hunting down game. They say that as soon as the dogs see a deer or other animals feeding ahead of them they immediately circle round him and piss all over the bushes scattering the wine about with the aid of their long tails and that they then drive him through these be-sprinkled bushes contact with any portion of which has the effect of at once blinding the poor beast when the dogs rush in and polish him off. Judging from outward appearance these dogs seem to be a cross between the wolf and fox. Whilst chatting round the Camp Fire last night I was very sorry indeed to hear that some of the Survey people seem to have behaved very badly up here last year. The Nagas of 'Karenka' declare they never received payment either for the russud¹ they supplied or for the coolies they furnished and speak

¹ Stoves, provisions etc.—N.K.R.

very bitterly against them. I have no doubt that complaints are somewhat exaggerated though at the same time I feel equally sure there is a great deal of truth in what they say. It seems from their story that they could neither understand, nor be understood by 'the Saheb' (or Sahebs for they state there were two) and that everything was managed by some native servant of theirs who of course cheated the poor fellows right and left.

9

A CONCEALED PIT

(H. H. Godwin-Austen, *Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur during the Field Season 1872-3*, p. 78)

MR OGLE had made great progress, had not been impeded, and joined us on the 8th April [1873]. We remained there to observe at the last stations in the neighbourhood; only Tellizo and Khunho now remained to be visited. Mr Ogle proceeded to the first, Colonel Mowbray Thomson returned to Manipur, and Captain Butler and self left for Sopvumah below Khunho. On the ascent to this peak I met with what might have been a very nasty accident by falling into a concealed pitfall in the middle of the path; fortunately the pit was not spiked, so that I escaped with a severe shaking and a bad cut on joint of forefinger, which has caused a permanent still joint, but I was able to go on fortunately and finish the angles, and closed the work for the season. Halted two days at Sopvumah, as the fall had left me so still and bruised.

10

ROCKETS

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 2-3)

SHOULD THESE SURVEY OPERATIONS be continued during future seasons, I see no reason to fear that any opposition offered by the

villagers could not be easily combated. What is wanted is a moderately large force (say about 100 men), well seasoned and well armed. As the object of such a party is not to fight unless forced to, and the lives of the ignorant savages should be spared as much as possible, I think a couple of rocket-tubes, with a supply of Congreve rockets, would have a wonderful effect on any opposing village. These tube-rockets could be easily carried by coolies.

11

CAPTURE OF A DEER

(R. Brown, *Narrative Report of the Progress of the Survey Party, Naga Hills, Season 1874*, pp. 8-9)

A CURIOUS CIRCUMSTANCE OCCURRED during a former visit to this place,¹ no less than the capture of a fine deer by some of my servants. It appears that four of them came suddenly on two deer on the bank of the river, under a somewhat steep hill; the two deer made for this hill, and while mounting it, one of them slipped and fell into the river, laming himself. He made off into the grass jungle, but was overtaken and seized by a Naga servant, assisted by the other three; the animal was securely bound and brought triumphantly into camp by the Naga and my Bengalee cook. The deer, which was fine a large animal, made famous eating for the camp for some days.

Height of camp, 3,650 feet; thermometer at freezing-point at night, and ice formed on water placed outside the hut.

12

DAK-RUNNERS

(T. B. Michell, *Diary of a Political Agent, Naga Hills*, 1881, p. 6)

OCTOBER 18TH, 1881.—Left Kohima in the morning and marched to Jakhama about 12 miles, it rained in the morning soon after

¹ Meitheiphum Valley, on the Manipur border, three marches from Kohima.—N.K.R.

leaving Kohima, and the path was very muddy, it would be quite impossible to take horses up the ascent to Kuguema, there is a very long stone staircase. Something like the ascent to Jotsoma when coming from Konoma, but much more difficult. I intended staying at Jakhama tomorrow, but in the afternoon I received a telegram from the guard saying the Commissioner in Chief would be at Golaghat on his way to Kohima on the 27th of this month; as I intend meeting His Excellency at Dimapur I must return to Kohima sooner than I intended. In the afternoon I went over the village accompanied by all the headmen, it is a large village and one of the cleanest I have seen, the people appear well off, the houses are unusually large and well built and I noticed a great many fowls and pigs. I had no military escort with me, only a head constable and 16 constables, with my own orderlies, the crops all about here are magnificent, the people are just beginning to cut them, and I hope the price of rice will soon fall very considerably, the people brought a pig in the evening as a present to my escort and there was a big feast in camp.

19th October.—Returned to Kohima. The weather is still very hot we marching in the day time, I find the Golaghat dak of the 11th which contained the English Mail has been lost, the dak of the 12th from Golaghat was received here today. Ordered immediate march to be made, the mail bags are never stolen they are thrown away into the jungle, when they are unusually heavy, by the miserable sickly dak-runners.

TIGER-MEN

(A. W. Davis, in *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, Vol. I, pp. 250-1)

OF THESE, two of the most curious are (1) the belief in the existence of 'tiger-men', i.e. men with the power of turning themselves into tigers; and (2) the belief in the existence of a village inhabited only by women. Tiger-men are well known, and I have the pleasure of the acquaintance of one. This gentleman is a Sema chief of a

small village in the Tizu valley. He himself disclaims the power, but that he has it is implicitly believed by the whole of the Sema and Angami tribes. A whole village of tiger-men is said to exist in the far north-east. It is in this direction, too, that there lies the happy village peopled entirely by women. The population of this village is kept up by its inhabitants being visited by traders from the surrounding tribes.

14

A NAGA BAND

(Mrs E. S. Grimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur*, 1891, pp. 75-9)

WHEN WE FIRST WENT TO MANIPUR we had a certain amount of society, as it was then the headquarters of a Ghoorka regiment, which was stationed four miles away from us, at a place called Langthabal; not a pleasant spot by any means, as it had only been roughly cleared for a cantonment, and the roads about it were little better than paths. The officers lived in huts made of bamboo, and the walls had a thin covering of mud on the outside, which some of the more enterprising inmates had painted with whitewash, making them look a little more like the habitations of civilized folks. Some of the huts had very pretty gardens round them, but small, of course, though the flowers there seemed to do twice as well as ours did in the Residency garden. We saw a good deal of the officers in the 44th Ghoorka Rifles, the regiment there when we arrived. They used to come in for polo twice a week, and to what I was pleased to call my 'at home' every Thursday, when we played tennis and had the Maharajah's band from four o'clock till six.

This band was composed of Nagas, and it was wonderful to hear how easily they learnt English music. Waltzes and any dance music came easiest to them, and they kept excellent time; but they could manage anything, and I have heard them play difficult selections from the great masters without a mistake. Their bandmaster was very talented. As a young man he had gone to Kohima to be taught by the bandmaster of the 44th Ghoorka Rifles, and he had

a natural ear for music, and could even sing a little. He used to get very impatient at times when the bandsmen were more stupid than usual, and on one occasion he took to beating them, and they refused to work any longer under him. They were imprisoned, and many of them beaten, but at last, after a great deal of persuasion, backed by a few rupees, they were induced to begin again, and the bandmaster promised to cease from castigating them whenever they played a wrong note.

I shall never forget my first introduction to the bandmaster. He arrived dressed in what he called his 'Calcutta clothes', of which he was immensely proud. They consisted of a white frock coat, made in a very old-fashioned way; black broadcloth continuations, rather short and very baggy; a red-corded silk waistcoat, with large white spots, and tie to match; turn-down collar and ancient top hat, constructed in the year 1800, I fancy. He had a small peony in his button-hole, and last, but not least, patent-leather boots stitched with white and covered with three rows of pearl buttons. He carried a light cane, surmounted by the head and shoulders of a depraved-looking female in oxidized silver as a handle. He showed this to me with great pride, and really it was a marvellous machine, for when you pressed the top of her head attar of roses came out of her mouth and nose, and if you were anywhere near you were covered with the pungent liquid. It was very difficult to avoid laughing at this curious get-up, and when he had safely embarked on a long overture from 'William Tell', I disappeared for a few minutes to give vent to my amusement. He was quite a character, and always afforded me a weekly surprise, as he seldom appeared in the same clothes twice running, and his wardrobe seemed as endless as it was select.

Being able to have the band when we liked was very pleasant. It brought the officers over from Langthabal once a week at any rate, and we always rode out to see them every week. We were very gay there in those days, and we used to have dinner-parties, and I enjoyed the change of going to the mess to dinner now and then. Of course the four miles' journey there was a little trying. The Manipur roads never admitted of driving, so I used to be carried in a long chair by hospital Kahars, and my husband used to ride. It was terribly cold coming back late at night, and often very wet, but we did not mind that very much to get an outing occasionally.

BATHING-DRAWERS

(Mrs E. S. Grimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur*, 1891, pp. 49–50)

OUR LARGE GROUNDS were a great delight to us at Manipur. We had quite a park at the back, with fine large trees and bushes of gardenias and roses and oleanders. The kitchen-garden was separated from the rest of the grounds by a wall which ran all round it. It always reminded me of an English garden with fruit-trees growing on the wall, and English vegetables all the year round. We had nine gardeners, or Malis, as they are called in India.

Talking of them reminds me of an amusing incident which happened in connexion with them. They were Nagas belonging to one of our villages which lay at the back of the Residency grounds, between us and the river. The Nagas never burden themselves with too many clothes, and these in particular wore little beside a necklace or two. I mentioned this fact to a spinster lady friend of mine on one occasion, and she was so horrified that she sent me shortly afterwards nine pairs of bathing-drawers to be given to them. They were very beautiful garments; some had red and white stripes, and some blue, and they were all very clean. I presented them gravely one morning to my nine Malis, and a few days after I went into the garden in the evening and found two of the men at work. One had made a hole in his bathing apparatus and had put his head through it, while his arms went into the places for the legs, and he was wearing it with great pride as a jacket; and the other had arranged his with an eye for the artistic on his head as a turban. After this I gave up trying to inculcate decency into the mind of the untutored savage.

THE SECOND KHITMUTGHAR

(Mrs E. S. Grimwood, *My Three Years in Manipur*, 1891, pp. 50–3)

WE HAD A GOOD MANY NAGA SERVANTS. My second Khitmutghar was a Naga, and a very excellent servant he was too, except when

he was drunk, which I am sorry to say was very often. If we were going into camp, or if we had just returned, were the particular occasions which, in his mind, were the ones of all others to be celebrated with much spirituous fluid. A message would come from the village to say that Mecandai (the gentleman in question) was very dangerously ill—in fact, that he was not expected to live through the day. At first my sympathies were all aroused in his cause, but after a little experience I discovered the nature of his illness, and had him conveyed to the house. The native doctor was then sent for, and if he said the man was ill he was put into the hospital, if not, he went under military escort to the quarter-guard.

The Nagas will drink anything, but the stronger it is the better they are pleased. They have a beverage of their own which they make of fermented rice water. They can drink great quantities of it with no bad effect at first, but they get very drunk on it if they go beyond a certain limit. They call this liquor Zu, and I have heard my husband say he found it very refreshing after a long hot march; but I never had the courage to touch it, as they offered it to one out of a bottle that was never cleaned and that everybody drank from. I suppose to a Naga there is nothing more delicious



Khulan Mutan

than roast dog washed down with quarts of this Zu. Poor doggies ! They are only kept to be eaten. They are well fed while they are growing up, and then, when they are ready to be eaten, they are starved for a day. At the end of this they are given an enormous feed of rice and the remains of a former comrade, perhaps, which they eat up ravenously ; and then the head man of the village gives the victim a blow on the head and converts him into curry and rice.

On one occasion we were going up to our hill bungalow, and our village Nagas, wishing to do us honour, erected a triumphal arch at the entrance to our garden. Fortunately I looked up at it before going under, and saw, to my horror, the head of a dog, which had just been cut off, hanging in the centre of the erection, whilst his four paws and tail graced the sides, and the whole archway was so low that I should have touched the top of it as I rode under. I dismounted, however, and walked through.

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For this Bibliography I must acknowledge my obligations to a Bibliography of the Ethnology of Assam by the late Mr J. P. Mills (at the time of writing still in manuscript) which introduced me to many rare and obscure books and articles, and to E. von Füller-Haimendorf's *Anthropological Bibliography of South Asia*, which was published in Paris in 1958. After I had completed my own selection I sent it to Dr J. H. Hutton in England. Characteristically he took a lot of trouble over it and returned it to me with a goodly number of additional references which he had entered in his own hand.

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