

NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS



TUENSANG DISTRICT

by

Dr. B. B. Ghosh M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND

K O H I M A

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FOREWORD

I am happy to introduce the Tuensang District Gazetteer. After the establishment of the State of Nagaland it became customary for the Gazetteers Unit to collect and collate information about the districts. Originally undertaken to serve administrative purpose, these studies soon won recognition as repositories of accurate and authentic information of the State and her people.

The work is the result of hard and dedicated labour of Dr. B. B. Ghosh, Editor, Nagaland District Gazetteers and his team of workers. Dr. Ghosh is in many ways well qualified to undertake the works of Gazetteers in Nagaland. In this he has the constant inspiration and direction from Miss. I. Chubala Ao, Joint Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, Art and Culture Department and Shri M. Alemchiba Ao, Director, Art and Culture.

Dated, Kohima
the 11th September 1981.

Z. OBED
Chief Secretary to the
Government of Nagaland

P R E F A C E

Tuensang District Gazetteer is the fifth in the series of District Gazetteers of Nagaland, and it has come out in a quick succession of Zunheboto, Wokha and Mokokchung which have all been published in 1979. The first district gazetteer is Kohima and it was published in 1970. The long gap of nine years is due to the fact that the post of the Editor was lying vacant for all practical purposes, for several years. I joined in July 1975 and prepared three gazetteers, viz, Zunheboto, Mokokchung and Wokha, within September 1977. Then it took about two years for approval and printing of those three. Thereafter Tuensang has been prepared by February 1979 and it has taken more than two and a half years for approval and printing.

Nagaland originally had three districts, namely Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang, but in December 1973 it has been divided into seven districts by breaking the former districts—Tuensang was divided into two viz, Tuensang and Mon. Though the districts were reorganised in December 1973, no districtwise statistics are available even by now. Therefore we had to depend on the statistics of the original Tuensang district in most cases. In respect of population of course we have worked out the details of the present Tuensang district out of the figures of the former Tuensang district.

Though there are several valuable monographs written by British administrators and foreign travellers about several tribes of Nagaland, there is no written account about this district or any of its five major tribes such as Chang, Phom, Sangtam, Khiemungan and Yimchunger. Therefore in absence of any written record we had to collect the data ourselves from the field situation. So this book will be the first recorded account of this district and those five major tribes who have not been treated before by any auother.

The draft of the Tuensang District Gazetteer was completed by February 1979, and it was placed before the State Advisory

Board For Nagaland District Gazetteers on 20th March 1979. The Board decided to send one copy of it to the Deputy Commissioner, Tuensang District, for his scrutiny and one copy each to Sri N. I. Jamir, the Chief Secretary of the State and Sri M. Alemchiba Ao, Joint Director, Art and Culture, for their Comments, and it was sent accordingly. Sri R. L. Jamir, the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang District formed a Committee taking members from the tribes of Tuensang District and the Committee scrutinised the draft and the Deputy Commissioner sent back the draft to us in May 1979 with his comments. In the meantime the comments of Sri N. I. Jamir the Chief Secretary and Sri M. Alemchiba Ao, Joint Director, Art and Culture, were also available. Then necessary corrections were made in the draft in light of their comments and it was placed before the Board on 19th October 1979, with the following persons present, and the Board approved the draft.

1. Sri N. I. Jamir, I.A.S. Chief Secretary. : Chairman
2. Miss I Chubala Ao, M.Ed,B.T. Joint Secretary,
Art and Culture. : Member
3. Sri Lalthara, I.A.S. Deputy Secretary, Home.
representing the Special Secretary, Home. : Member
4. Sri R. S. Pandey, I.A.S. Director of Education. : Member
5. Sri M. Alemchiba Ao, M. Sc. Joint Director, Art
& Culture. : Member
6. Dr. B. B. Ghosh, M.A,B.T,Ph D, Editor, Nagaland
District Gazetteers. ; Secretary

After that, the draft was approved by the Editor, District Gazetteers Unit, Union Ministry of Education, New Delhi. In the meantime Sri K. Zunkum, Hon'ble Minister of Nagaland expressed the view that Chirr, Mokware and Tikhir are only dialect groups of Yimchunger tribe, and not separate tribes. His views were placed in the Board meeting of 23rd September 1980 and the Board decided to avoid controvertial matters. Later in a meeting of the Board on 20th April 1981, the members discussed the matter thoroughly and decided to use the words "break up of language-wise population" instead of "tribe wise break up of pop-

ulation", and so those words have been used while showing the tribes of the district in page 37. Thereafter the draft has been finally approved by the said State Advisory Board for Nagaland District Gazetteers in this very meeting of 20th April 1981 with the following present.

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Sri Z. Obed, I.A.S. Chief Secretary. | : Chairman |
| 2. Sri I. Longkumer, I.A.S. Development
Commissioner. | : Member |
| 3. Sri N. Jakhalu, I.A.S. Home Commissioner. | : Member |
| 4. Miss I. Chubala, M.Ed.B.T. Joint Secretary,
Art & Culture. | : Member |
| 5. Sri M. Alemchiba Ao, M.Sc Joint Director,
Art & Culture. * | : Member |
| 6. Dr. B. B. Ghosh, M.A,B.T,Ph.D Editor, Nagaland
District Gazetteers. | : Secretary |

The photos and illustrations used in this book have been approved by the Board in the same meeting of 20th April 1981, and thereafter it has been cleared by Sri K. Zunkum and Sri Toshi Hanso, the two Ministers from this district, on 30th April 1981.

The Survey of India has given us a list of correct names of places or tribes with diacritical marks or variation in spelling, but most of those, by usage, have become quite known without the diacritical marks, or as those are spelled now. Moreover it is difficult to use diacritical marks all through the book and therefore we have not used diacritical marks except where necessary. However, a list of some names, not all, is given below with diacritical marks or variation in spelling as suggested by the Survey of India, and against them are shown the names without the marks or as is commonly written nowadays,

- | | |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Āmguri | Amguri |
| 2. Bālīpāra | Balipara |
| 3. Bāṅglādeśh | Bangladesh |

* He has become Director from June 1981.

4. Borjān	Borjan
5. Cāchār	Cachar
6. Chāre	Chare
7. Dimāpur	Dimapur
8. Gāro	Garo
9. Gauhāti	Gauhati
10. Imphāl	Imphal
11. Jorhāt	Jorhat
12. Kohimā	Kohima
13. Mokokchūng	Mokokchung
14. Mariāni	Mariani
15. Nāgā	Naga
16. Nāgāland	Nagaland
17. Nāginimāra	Nagimara
18. Nāmsāng	Namsang
19. Noksān	Noksang
20. Nepāl	Nepal
21. Nāzirā	Nazira
22. Peso	Pesao
23. Pangsha	Pangsa
24. Phokphur	Pokphur
25. Sārāmati	Saramati
26. Shamatore	Samatore
27. Tirāp	Tirap
28. Wānching	Wanching
29. Wākching	Wakching
30. Zungki	Zunki

In a few cases we have given the Survey of India spelling first and thereafter the current spelling in bracket.

I will be failing in my duty, if I do not express my thanks to Dr. P. N. Chopra, M. A, Ph. D, Editor, District Gazetteers and staff of the Central Gazetteers Unit, Union Ministry of Education, New Delhi, for their effective role in planning and co-ordinating the work of preparation of the District Gazetteers. The Unit scrutinized the draft of this volume with great care and made several helpful suggestions with a view to improving the standard and quality of the publication.

I am thankful to my Controlling Officer, Shri M. Alemchiba Ao, M. Sc, Director, Art and Culture, Government of Nagaland, for his valuable suggestions from time to time. I am thankful to Sri N. M. Ngullie B. A, and Sri P. Inaho, B. A, my two Compilers, for the assistance rendered by them. My thanks are due to various departments of the State Government for various help, particularly to Information, Tourism and Publicity Department, Agriculture Department, and Forest Department.

I am also thankful to my staff, whose names are given below for their co-operation in various works. The first four persons of the list deserve special mention because they were directly connected with the work of preparation of the gazetteer.

1. Shri P. K. Deb, B. A, Stenographer.
2. Shri T. Peseyie, B. A, Proof Reader (Since left the job)
3. Miss Watila Ao, Typist.
4. Mrs. Visekhou, Typist.
5. Shri J. C. Sharma, B. A, Superintendent.
6. Shri R. Sekhose. Accountant.
7. Shri Imkong Ao, B. A, Upper Division Assistant.
8. Mrs Ane Angami, Lower Division Assistant.
9. Shri G. D. Limbu, Driver.
10. Shri Khriesevi, Peon
11. Shri Krunio, Peon
12. Shri A. Panger Aier, Chowkidar.

In fine I place this volume, Tuensang District Gazetteer, to the reading public at large, and the people of Tuensang district in particular, with the hope that it will be useful to them.

B.B. GHOSH

Editor,

Nagaland District Gazetteers,
Kohima, Nagaland

Dated, Kohima
the 29th August 1981.

CONVERSION TABLE

Length

- 1 inch = 2.54 centimetres
- 1 foot = 30.48 centimetres
- 1 yard = 91.44 centimetres
- 1 mile = 1.61 kilometres

Area

- 1 square foot = 0.093 square metre
- 1 square yard = 0.836 square metre
- 1 square mile = 2.59 square kilometres
- 1 acre = 0.405 hectare

Volume

- 1 cubic foot = 0.028 cubic metre

Capacity

- 1 gallon (Imperial) = 4.55 litres
- 1 seer (80 tola) = 0.937 litre

Weights

- 1 tola = 11.66 grams
- 1 chhattak = 58.32 grams
- 1 seer = 933.10 grams
- 1 maund = 37.32 kilograms
- 1 ounce = 28.35 grams
- 1 Pound = 453.59 grams
- 1 ton = 1,016.05 kilograms

Temperature

- Fahrenheit = $\frac{9}{5}$ Celsius or Centigrade + 32
- Celsius or Centigrade = (Fahrenheit minus 32) $\frac{5}{9}$

Metric Weights & Measures

Length

- 10 millimetres = 1 centimetre
- 100 centimetres = 1 metre
- 1,000 metre = 1 kilometre

Area

100 square millimetres = 1 square centimetre

10,000 square centimetres = 1 square metre or one centiare

100 square metres = 1 are

100 ares = 1 hectare

100 hectare or 10,00,000 square metres = 1 sq. kilometre

Volume

10,00,000 cubic centimetres = 1 cubic metre

Capacity

1,000 millilitres = 1 litre

1,000 litres = 1 kilolitre

Weight

1,000 milligrams = 1 gram

1,000 grams = 1 kilogram

100 kilograms = 1 quintal

1,000 kilograms = 1 tonne

200 milligrams = 1 carat

GAZETTEER OF TUENSANG DISTRICT

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Introduction

Tuensang is the easternmost of the seven districts of Nagaland.

The wild tracts of land on the north and east of the then Assam Province were brought under administration in 1914 when the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 was extended to this area. After some changes, in 1951 the area was collectively known as North East Frontier Agency or NEFA. Tuensang was a part of it. In December, 1957, Tuensang Division of the then North East Frontier Agency was separated from it and was added to the then Naga Hills to form a new administrative unit known as Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short.

This Tuensang district was one of the then three districts when the State was divided into three districts, namely Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. In December 1973, the Districts of Nagaland were reorganised and there appeared seven districts in place of three, Kohima was divided into two—Kohima and Phek ; Mokokchung was divided into three—Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto ; and Tuensang was divided into two—Tuensang and Mon.

Thus Tuensang is one of the present (Sept. '77) seven districts of Nagaland and it has got international boundary with Burma which lies on the east.

Origin Of The Name

Tuensang district is named after the town of the same name, and the town is named after the village of that name which is situated close by the town. It has to be noted that though we call it a town, according to 1971 census it is not a town because it does not fulfill the conditions of a town. Anyway, the origin of the name of the village and its meaning is shrouded in obscurity.

Area And Population

Though the districts of Nagaland have been reorganised in December, 1973, its boundaries have not yet been finally demarcated, and as such its area is not known with certainty. However, the original Tuensang district was 5466 sq km¹ in area, and Mon district which has been carved out of former Tuensang is about or little more than one-third of the original district. Therefore, 3644 or say about 3600 sq km is the area of the present Tuensang district. It is inhabited by 1,08,863 people² according to 1971 census. Density of population of former Tuensang district which includes Mon also, was 32 per sq km as against 31 in the State as a whole ; it was 25 only in 1961 census³. More or less the same figure, that is 32 per sq km, may be accepted for present Tuensang district also, since there is no heavy concentration of population anywhere.

The district is populated by some ten tribes or tribal language groups, namely Sangtam, Phom, Chang, Kheimungan, Yimchunger, Konyak, Sema, Tikhir, Mokware and Chirr, as inhabitants. But there are people of almost all other tribes of Nagaland living in this district as residents. Of them the Aos constitute the biggest group. Of the inhabitants, Sangtam is the biggest tribe and Chirr the smallest language group⁴.

Topography

Tuensang is the most easterly district of Nagaland and all along its eastern side it is bordered by Burma. On the north of Tuensang lies Mon district. Tuensang also touches Assam on its north on a narrow strip between Mon on the east and Mokokchung

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1. District Census Handbook, Tuensang, 1971, p-29
 2. Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, p-46
 3. District Census Handbook, Tuensang, 1971, p-30
 4. The population is (i) Sangtam- 18,752, (ii) Phom-17,664, (iii) Chang-15,179 (iv) Kheimungan-14,300, (v) Yimchunger-13,699, (vi) Konyak-13,106, (vii) Sema-2,917 (viii) Tikhir-2,795, (ix) Mokware-2,501 (x) Chirr-692, as per report of the Census Office, Kohima (letter No. SCO-3/14/71-Vol-III dated 5th October 1977 of the Deputy Director of Census Operations, Nagaland, Kohima). The last mentioned three are considered language groups of other tribes, but those three tribes themselves claim to be separate tribes.

on the west (Mon also has got a small international boundary with Burma on its east). On the south of Tuensang lies Phek and on the west are Zunheboto and Mokokchung districts. The district is oblong in shape and stretches north-south.

The entire district is hilly and it does not adjoin any plain area except in the extreme and narrow north. The hills are on the average 1500 metre above sealevel. (Tuensang town, the headquarters of the district, is 1575 metre). Of course occasionally there are higher and lower places. The ranges have gone in all directions but its general arrangement is from north-east to south-west¹. People live on the top of the ranges, and between the ranges there are ravines some of which are precipitous and several hundred metres deep.

River System and Water Resources

There are two river systems which drain this district and they are Tizu and Dikhu. The more important one of them is Tizu. It has risen in the southern part of the district and has flown north. After going northward it has turned east and then south-east and has joined Chindwin in Burma. Tizu has been fed by Zungki from the north just before it (Tizu) has turned south-east. This Zungki has drained the middle part of the district and it has been fed by Tsohyemung on the east and Langnyu on the further east. In other way we can put it like this. Langnyu in the east, Tsohyemung in the middle and Zungki in the west have drained the central part of the district. They are all south-flowing and the first two have joined together before meeting Zungki. The Zungki has joined Tizu which comes from south and flows east and south-east and then joins Chindwin. This is Tizu system and it is called Tizu or Ti-ho or Nantaleik

The northern part of the district is drained by Dikhu system. It rises in the central part of the district and flows north. At the beginning its name is Yangmun or Yangnyu. It has been joined by a tributary from west and the combined flow is known as Dikhu. The Dikhu flows north, then turns west and passes through Mokokchung and Mon districts and flows past Naginimora (in Mon district) and later joins Brahmaputra in Assam.

1. Dr. B. B. Ghosh, *Beginners' Geography*, Revised Edition, 1977, p-170 (Published by Pramila Pustakalaya, Dimapur, Nagaland)

There are some minor streams and rills all over the district and many of them dry up during lean season but roars in monsoon.

GEOLOGY AND MINERALS¹

Introduction

The district of Tuensang lies in the eastern part of Nagaland. The district headquarter is Tuensang town which is connected by metalled road to Mokokchung.

The district consists of hilly terrain where the Indo-Burmese ranges run more or less north-south. The topography is characterised by high peaks, deep gorges, narrow valleys and some plateaus. High peaks, like Saramati rising to 3800 m from the mean sea level, abound in the eastern part of the district. Zungki (Zunki) is the main stream which flows south-westerly joining ultimately with Tizu further south. Climate is sub-tropical and the district receives a moderately high rainfall.

Geology

The most predominant rocks belong to Tertiary-Cretaceous age (8 to 10 million years) and these are actually the extension of their counterparts constituting the Arakan-Yoma in Burma. They occupy a fairly young mobile belt of the earth. The most conspicuous, however, is an ultramafic belt that runs over an extensive length along the eastern fringe of the district. This belt with the associated sedimentaries and metamorphosed rocks attracts special attention for various minerals, particularly nickel, that occur in it.

The sedimentary rocks comprise dark grey splintary shale with thin bands of sandstone belonging to Disang series of rocks and thick sandstones with intercalations of shale belonging to the Barail series of rocks.

1. This Section is entirely reproduced, as it is, from the pamphlet supplied by the Geological Survey of India, Manipur-Nagaland Circle, Dimapur, Nagaland. There may be a few minor spelling mistakes in place names, and otherwise. For example, Samatore is not a Sub-Division, but a Circle only in Kiphire Sub-Division, etc. But however it does not materially affect the geology and minerals of the district.

Minerals

A general lack of sufficient communications and poor accessibility were the main constraints that stood against a systematic search for minerals in the district during the earlier years. A number of mineral occurrences, however, have been located recently and they include asbestos, coal, limestone, marble, magnesite, chromite and pyrite as well as some oil seepages.

A short account of the mineral occurrence follows :

Asbestos : Low grade asbestos has been reported from near Ipungro village in Kiphire subdivision.

Coal : Occurrences of coal have been reported from Dikbu river area west of Namsang-Chingchung. It has also been located for a considerable distance between Konya to Pesa village lying east of the district.

Limestone and Marble : Eight bands of limestone containing very high calcium oxide and low insolubles have been reported from Nimi village of Kiphire subdivision. The top four bands have a total average thickness of 100m and extend over a length of about 10 km. Analysis of some samples is reported to indicate a very high quality of the limestone. Besides, a crystalline limestone deposit is located near Thonsonyo village along the Indo-Burma border. A small exposure of secondary limestone occurs about 3.2 km south-east of Tamlu.

Magnesite : Small pockets of Magnesite associated with ultramafics have been recorded about 2.5 km east of Ipungro village.

Nickel-magnetite-chromite : Nickel and cobalt bearing magnetite and chromite has been located in the ultramafic belt for a length of about 1 km near Phokphur village in Kiphire subdivision. A small area examined so far, indicated a reserve of 1.94 million tonnes of nickeliferous magnetite ore containing besides iron, 0.68% nickel and 0.097% cobalt in addition to 4.31% chromium oxide.

Magnetite and chromite occurrences have also been reported at a place about 1 km south of Pang village of Shamatore¹ subdivision.

1. Commonly spelled as Samatore —Ed.

Oil Seepage : Oil seepage has been reported from near Namsang-Chingchang village of Tuensang-Mon border area.

Pyrite : Pyrite as disseminations have been observed at the following localities.

- (i) In sericite-quartz schist near Thongsnyo.
- (ii) In ultramafics near Makhute (Makuge) nala close to Ipungro village.
- (iii) In Disang shales and phyllites in Zunki nala.

Slate and Phyllite : Slate and phyllite occur at a number of localities in the district. Of these, the occurrences of compact phyllites east of Nimi and dark grey slates in between Thonokyu and Pang are noteworthy.

The Tuenyang nala microhydel scheme envisaged the construction of a low weir with 7.45 km long power channel to conduct water to power house for generation of 1600 kw of hydel power. Geotechnical studies have shown relatively unstable slope for the power channel which made the project consequently uneconomical.

MAJOR MINERALS AND MINERAL BASED INDUSTRIES IN TUENSANG

LIMESTONE

Deposit	Reserve	Quality	Industry
Nime limestone	To be assessed Thickness 100 m Lenght 10 km.	High (preliminary assessment) To be studied in details.	

NICKEL MAGNETITE

Phokphur (Pokphur) ¹	1.94 million tonnes	Nickel 0.68% Cobalt 0.097% Iron oxide 43% Chromimum oxide 4.31%	Suitable for special alloy Steel and/or extraction of Nickel metal.
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(Reproduction ends)

1. In Pokphur there is a quarry where lodestone is available -Ed.

Hydrocarbon

No mineral or natural gas has yet been discovered in this district. In this connection the report of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Nazira, is reproduced below.¹

“The old Tuensang district of Nagaland was geologically surveyed by the Assam Oil Company in the early part of the present century. Subsequently, as a part of the Oil exploration programme, the Oil and Natural Gas Commission carried out detailed geological surveys in Naginimara-Kongan-Borjan areas under the then Mon Sub-division and further beyond (in Mokokchung district), in late sixties and collected necessary structural and stratigraphic information. Although considerable thickness of Tertiary sediments are present, the area is sliced by a number of NE-SW trending major faults and no favourable structures suitable for entrapment of hydrocarbons was encountered within the area”.

Earthquake

This district lies in a highly seismically active zone, and therefore very often earthquake of different magnitudes takes place.

On 10th January, 1869, an earthquake of 7.5 magnitude took place here. On 12th June, 1897, an earthquake of 8.5 magnitude took place. In recent decades one took place on 29th July, 1947. (magnitude 7.75) and another on 14th August, 1950 (magnitude 8.6). In both the cases the epicentre was far away, in Tibet, and there was no much damage to property.

Report of seismicity of Tuensang district is not available separately. The report of the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi, regarding the seismicity of former Naga Hills district may be treated as applicable to Tuensang district also, though it was not a part of Naga Hills that time. Nagaland the present State is a small area, only 16,527 square kilometre, and Tuensang is within that. Since Tuensang district is adjacent to the former Naga Hills district and within so small an area, it may be con-

1. Reproduced from the letter NO NZR Gelo / 14/Tech-13/Nagaland.177 dt 14-10-77 of the Chief Geologist, ONGC, Nazira.

sidered seismically in the same zone with former Naga Hills. That is, the State of Nagaland may be considered as a unit for the purpose of seismicity.

Below is reproduced the letter of the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi.¹ But here Kohima district which he has mentioned inadvertently, means the former Naga Hills district.

“Kohima district in Nagaland lies in a highly seismically active zone. History of past 100 years reveals that the area has been severely affected by the great Cachar earthquake of 10th January, 1869, the great Assam earthquake of 12th June, 1897, and often major earthquakes take place from time to time. During the Cachar earthquake of 1869 considerable damage was caused to property at Silchar. Earth fissures and sand craters were also very abundant. During the Assam earthquake of 1897, earth fissures and land slides occurred in Kohima district.

The earthquake in the region are attributed to the various geological and tectonic features in and around this area such as great Himalayan Boundary faulted zone, Indo-Burma Fault, Shillong-Garo plateau and various small features in the region.

Taking into account the history of past earthquake and the above tectonic picture in the area, Kohima district has been placed in zone V in the seismic zoning map of India prepared under the auspices of the I.S.I. In this zone the maximum seismic intensity may exceed IX MM in future (Specification enclosed). This is a high intensity and would call for provisions which would be prohibitively expensive. Since such high intensities are caused by very strong earthquakes only which occur after long intervals of time and also may not occur always close to the proposed alignment it is considered adequate if provision for a slightly lower intensity viz about VIII is made.

Studies made in U.S.A. and other advanced countries reveal that intensity VIII corresponds to horizontal seismic ground acceleration of 1972 cm/sec^2 . The wide range of acceleration figure is due to the fact that structure founded on soft filled up

1. Letter No. S-01103 (X) dated 17th November 1975 of the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi.

ground experiences much larger acceleration than the structures founded on hard rock.

The choice of the seismic factor depends upon the type of structure, the ground condition and the economic aspects etc. Considering all these points a provision of 15% gravity (·15 g) may be considered adequate.”

Intensity scale of earthquake is given in Appendix of this Chapter.

FLORA AND FAUNA.¹

Tuensang District is situated in a very peculiar way. Its land mass forms a long slice of which one end (Tamlu-Namsang area) is touching Assam and the other end (Kiphire-Pungro area) is forming international boundary with Burma. Tamlu-Namsang area is adjacent to plains of Assam and its altitude is about 200 metres whereas the other end contains the highest Peak of Nagaland—Saramati, altitude 3840 metres.² In between is situated the Tuensang District Headquarter whose altitude is 1575 metres. Because of this variation in altitude, Vegetation of this District is equally varied and variagated. Forests of the District are tropical to Sub-tropical. The Forests of the lower ranges of Tamlu-Namsang area and other parts of the District be classified as “Tropical Wet Evergreen Forests” mixed with “Tropical Semi-Evergreen Forests”. Hollang (*Dipterocarpus macrocarpus*) and Makai (*Shorea assamica*) associations of these Forests are the most valuable timber Species. The Forests found above 1000 metres of altitude are classified as “Montane Sub-tropical Forests”. These forests are further divided into “Sub-tropical Broad Leaved Hill Forests” and “Sub-tropical pine Forests”. Broad leaved hill Forests are found in Longkhim, Tuensang, Noklak and Tobu areas. Bonsum (*Phoebe* Species), Bogiboma (*Chukrassia tabularies*) are the some of the important timber Species of these Forests. Sub-tropical pine Forests are found in Shamatore, Kiphire and Pungro areas. There are some pure patches of Khasi pine (*Pinus kesiya*) in these

1. This Section has been contributed by Sri. M. Hashim, IFS, Divisional Forest Officer, Tuensang Division, Tuensang, along with his letter No. AC-2/33/76-77/1842 dated 28th September 1977, and is reproduced as it is.

2. Saramati is on Indo-Burma border.—Ed.

areas with local Oaks (*Quercus* Species) in the lower storey. Some of other Species found in this District are Amari (*Amoora Wallichii*), Gamari (*Qmelin arborea*), Hollock (*Terminalia myriocarpa*), Nahor (*Mesua ferrea*), Uriam (*Bischofia javanica*), Alder (*Alnus nepalensis*), Kachnar (*Bhahunia* Species) etc. Because of heavy rainfall in this area these forests are full of undergrowth, shrubs. More than dozen Species of ferns and numerous Species of Orchids are found in this District. In Tuensang area (altitude 1500 metres and above) Rhododendrons are also found whose big red flowers make a pleasant site in the forests in the months of March-April.

Agorwood from Sasi tree (*Acquilororia agallocha*) is also found in the District. There are trees of Dalchini and Tejpat scattered here and there in the District. Various varieties of Canes and bamboos are found in this area.

The District is quite rich in its variety of fauna Tiger, Panther, Jungle cat, Himalayan Bear, Bison, Sambar, Barking deer, Wild pig, Slender loris are the some of the important animals found here. Among the birds Indian horn bill, Tragopan Pheasant, Grey Pheasant, Jungle fowl, Green pigeon doves etc are found here. Phython is the most important among reptiles found in this District.

Forest Products : Timbers of various Species for construction and furniture, Fire wood and Charcoal, Stone Cane, Bamboos, Agorwood, Dalchini etc are forests products and exploitation of these provides revenues to the Government. Apart from these, forests are valuable for the protection of soil, water sources and maintaining of ecological balance in the nature. Unfortunately there are no Reserve Forests or Protected Forests in this District. All the forests in this district are owned by village communities and their legal Status is as Private Forests. The approximate area of these forests is 53,580 ha. There is no direct control of the Forests Department on these forests and department earns some revenue when timber or other forest products are used for trade purposes by the local people.

Income from forests : In 1976-77 revenue from timber was Rs. 8709.50p and Rs. 19.016.70p from other forests products.

Climate

Tuensang enjoys monsoon climate with a difference. The difference is this that unlike the plains of Assam here the winter is cold and summer is rather cool. In winter the night temperature comes down even up to 1° C in December and January which are the coldest months. But the average December temperature is 4° C. In Summer it is not at all hot but cool and the highest average summer temperature is about 25° C (74° F)¹ which is reached in July.

Rainfall is on the average 200 cm (80")² and it falls for 180 days³ covering a period of nine months of the year, greatest concentration being in July and August.

Towards the end of winter season, in February-March, the sky is clear almost through out the day, with occasional cloudiness in the afternoon but clear again at night. This time high wind blows almost through out the day beginning at about midnight or early in the morning. Sometimes it blows throughout the day and night. It blows so high that some damage is caused to tin roof buildings (but not to the traditional Naga houses of thatch roof because those are constructed strong and low). The wind generally blows from south-west. At times the velocity rises upto 100 kilometre per hour. Had the wind been accompanied by rainfall it would have been considered storm. In April the wind dies out.

Some drops of rain fall in February, a few showers in March and a little more in April. May witnesses several showers and monsoon sets in from June.

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1. Temperature chart of Tuensang Town is not available, and so we are taking recourse to analogy. Kohima, the capital of the State is 1561 metre above sea level and Tuensang is 1575. That is, it is almost at the same altitude with Kohima. Therefore we have accepted the temperatures of Kohima for Tuensang and rounded it off.
 2. In the Statistical Hand book of Nagaland, 1974, the rainfall for Kohima for 1973 has been shown as 2028.3mm, but we have arbitrarily accepted 2000 mm or 200cm for Tuensang. But it is expected to be more.
 3. In the Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1974, the number of rainy days for Kohima has been shown as 180, and we have used that figure for Tuensang also. It may be more.

The sky is clear and the day is bright in March, April and May. Temperature also gradually rises but suddenly falls during shower. Sometimes hailstorms occur in March and April, and during the hailstorm the temperature falls down and suddenly it becomes cold.

Monsoon sets in, in the middle of June and continues up to middle of September. It brings heavy rain, mostly in shower but there are very few days without drizzling. Towards the end of the rainy season of course, the rainy-days (2.5mm) are less in number. Here the rain comes without any warning and so it is difficult to forecast.

During the rainy season the average relative humidity is 85% but at times it goes up to 90% to 95% and as such it is rather damp.

The hottest month is July though it is not at all hot but rather cool (25° C)¹. Though nowhere it is recorded, from my personal experience I know that maximum point of day temperature is reached in September during sunny days,—it does not reach in July or August due to heavy rain. The highest temperature may be about 30° C or 86° F. However from that month the temperature starts coming down and by November it is regular cold. From October to January a cold wind blows from the high range of Saramati which lies in the east of this district. This wind gets mixed up with the North-East Monsoon and it brings cold to this District. The coldest month is January but even up to March it is cold.

Sometimes storms occur during the onset of South-West Monsoon in March-April and again during the onset of North-East Monsoon in September-October.

Though it seems unlike it is a fact whenever there is depression in Bay of Bengal, Nagaland and so this district also gets clouded sky, drizzling and rainfall—it begins one day earlier and lasts one day later.

As a result of the longer cold season the Government servants get winter allowance for five months of the year, from October to February, for altitude of 3000 ft or above.

1. As per analogy of Kohima.

From November to February the mornings are bright but then by 1100hrs or 12 noon the sky becomes cloudy and it becomes cold, and again the night sky becomes clear.

The mirth of Spring can be felt to some extent only in April and May.

Thus the analysis of climate reveals that practically two seasons—winter and rainy—dominate the year. Spring and Autumn are nominal and shortlived.

Since the air is thin (because of altitude), the sun is scorching. In the winter, inside the house is cold but outside is rather scorching if the sun is vertical and the sky is clear. If a pair of trousers is kept outside for drying, the side facing the sun will be drying but the other side which is in shade will not dry.

In the summer, during hot sun, inside the house is pleasant but outside is hot. This is all because the air is thin.

APPENDIX

MODIFIED MERCALLI INTENSITY SCALE OF 1931¹

Scale	Specifications
I.	Not felt except by a very few under especially favourable circumstances.
II.	Felt only by a few persons at rest, especially on upper floors of buildings. Delicately suspended objects may swing.
III.	Felt quite noticeably indoors, especially on upper floors of buildings, but many people do not recognise it as an earthquake. Standing motor cars may rock slightly. Vibrations like passing of lorry. Duration estimated.
IV.	During the day felt indoors by many, outdoors by few. At night some awakened. Dishes, windows, doors disturbed; walls make cracking sound. Sensation like heavy lorry striking building. Standing motor cars rocked noticeably.
V.	Felt by nearly everyone; many awakened. Some dishes, windows, etc. broken; a few instances of cracked plaster; unstable objects overturned. Disturbance of trees, poles and other tall objects sometimes noticed. Pendulum clocks may stop.
VI.	Felt by all; many frightened and run outdoors. Some heavy furniture moved; a few instances of fallen plaster or damaged chimney. Damage slight.
VII.	Everybody runs outdoors. Damage negligible in buildings of good design and construction; slight to moderate in well built ordinary structures; considerable in poorly built or badly designed structures; some chimneys broken. Noticed by persons driving motor cars

1. The scale of intensity of earthquake was originally prepared by one Italian seismologist Mercalli. It was in ten degrees. But later, in 1931, it was modified and the degrees were raised from ten to twelve, and hence it is called Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale of 1931.

- VIII. Damage slight in specially designed structures; considerable in ordinary substantial buildings with partial collapse; great in poorly built structures. Panel walls thrown out of frame structures. Fall of chimneys, factory stacks, columns, monuments, walls. Heavy furniture overturned. Sand and mud ejected in small amounts. Changes in well water. Disturbs persons driving motor cars.
- IX. Damage considerable in specially designed structures; well designed frame structures thrown out of plumb; great in substantial buildings, with partial collapse. Buildings shifted off foundations. Ground cracked conspicuously. Underground pipes broken.
- X. Some well-built wooden structures destroyed; masonry and frame structures and their foundations destroyed; ground badly cracked. Rails bent. Landslides considerable from river banks and steep slopes. Shifted sand and mud. Water splashed over banks of rivers, etc.
- XI. Few, if any, masonry structures remain standing. Bridges destroyed. Broad fissures in ground. Underground pipe lines completely out of service. Earth slumps and landslips in soft ground. Rails bent greatly.
- XII. Damage total. Waves seen on ground surface. Lines of sight and level distorted. Objects thrown upward in the air.
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CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Introduction

Tuensang is one of the 7 districts of Nagaland. The other 6 districts are : Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Zunheboto, Wokha and Mon. When the State was created, it was divided into three districts such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. The then Tuensang district included the present Mon district. This former Tuensang district was a north-south stretch of land lying on the east of the State bordering Burma all along the eastern side. In December 1973, districts of Nagaland were reorganised and the three districts were made 7 districts, Tuensang being divided into two—Tuensang and Mon. Thus the present Tuensang district came into being. Mon lies on the north of the district and so still Tuensang district forms boundary with Burma on the major mid-east part of the State.

The district was inhabited by different Naga tribes, and still it is so except for a few people who have come from outside the State on service or business etc.

History of the Nagas is shrouded in obscurity and it is more so in respect of this district because there is no written accounts whatsoever in respect of this district whereas there are some accounts in respect of other districts. This position makes it extremely difficult to write any history worth the name of this district. However, we shall endeavour to do justice as much as we can on the basis of traditional stories and personal knowledge of the Editor.

All the authorities agree that the Nagas have come from different parts of Indo-China. Even some suggests that some of the Naga tribes might have come from far east Asia or even China. However, that they came through Burma is widely accepted. Some authors, on the contrary, have suggested that the Nagas were living in the plains in Assam and were pushed to the hills by the pressure of other

people. This seems to be wild conjecture based on the condition of other inland tribes of India. True it is that many tribes of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Kerala etc have been driven to the hills by the plains people, but that is not true about the Nagas who live in the border. All the authorities agree that they have come through Burma, and traditional stories of all the Naga tribes also tell the same thing. Therefore the question of Nagas coming from the plains of Assam does not arise. Also it is not certain that the Kiratas were Nagas though they were hunters and lived in wilderness.

Different Assamese Buranjis (history) refer to the Nagas and none of them has ever spoken of the Nagas as living ever in the plains. Therefore the question of identifying Kiratas with the Nagas does not arise. Only this much can be said that in ancient time there were wild hunting tribes in Assam and they were known as Kiratas. However, it is an accepted fact that the Nagas came through Burma.

However, though the Nagas came from Burma side they came through different routes. The Southern Nagas came through Manipur. The Northern Nagas came through north-west of Patkai Bam and the eastern Nagas, the people of this district, came through south-east of Patkai range and direct east.

Origin of the name Naga

Tuensang district is inhabited by Nagas, as many as ten tribes including some language groups. So before we go into the details of the history of this district it is necessary to try to trace the origin of the word Naga.

Nagaland is almost entirely inhabited by Naga tribes except some Kukis, Kacharis, Garos, Mikirs (Karbi), as well as some Bengalees and Assamese etc in the plains sector. Not only Nagaland, but parts of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Burma are also inhabited by different Naga tribes. Though nowadays they are known by the common name Naga, originally they did not have any generic term for the whole of the race¹. Even the different tribes

1. Notes on the Wild Tribe Inhabiting the so called Naga Hills, in our North-East Frontier of India, a paper read by Lieutenant Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, 1881, in the Meeting of the Anthropological Institute.

also did not have common name for themselves, but used to be denoted by a specific name for a group of villages. Though this was the condition in the later part of 19th century, in the later part of the 20th century the people of a wide area are known by the generic term Naga. The process of absorbing more tribes under the name Naga is continuing. Naturally the question comes as to how the name Naga came to be used.

There are several views expressed by many scholars regarding the origin of the word *Nāgā*. One of the views says that the word Naga has evolved from the Sanskrit word *Nagna* which means naked. It is so because the Nagas are proverbially known by the paucity of their clothes—in fact they used to cover their private part with a loin cloth and so were practically naked or nude. But this view does not seem to be tenable because in Sanskrit literature the wild inhabitants of hills have also been described as Kiratas¹. Another view says that the word, for the same reason of nudity, has come from the Hindustani word *Nangā*, meaning naked. This view is also not tenable because the Hindusthani speaking people have never before come in so close a contact with the Nagas as to give them a name. A third view says that it has originated from Bengali word *Nengtā* meaning naked. It is also not tenable because of the same reason with Hindusthani. Moreover the Bengalees have come in more close a contact with Garos who are accustomed to a greater degree of nudity than the Nagas, but the Bengalees have not used the word *Nengta* or *Naga* to the Garos². Another view is this that the word *Nāgā* has originated from *Nāga* meaning Snake or the king of snakes. Mythologically, princess Ulupi was a *Nāga Kanyā* that is daughter of the King of snakes. She was married by the third Pandava brother Arjuna of Mahabharata fame. Ulupi's residence is generally identified with Hanima in the south-west of Nagaland. Since this area was under the kingdom of *Nāga-raj*, that is the King of snakes or King of the *Nāga* tribe, the people are known as *Nāgā*, a derivative of the word *Nāga*. A fifth view says that throughout India the words *Nāga Sanyāsi* are applied to the naked mendicants. As the naked sanyasis are called *Nāgā* so also the naked people of this area are called

1. Chatherjee, S. K., *Kirata Janakrti*, 1950

2. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841, pp-380-98.

Naga. This is also not likely, because the term is not applied to other nude tribes of India, particularly Garos. A sixth view is that the word Naga has originated from a Kachari word Naga meaning a young man and hence a warrior. The seventh view, as expounded by Peal, Gait, Holcombe, Elwin etc says that the word has originated from root of some tribal word *Nok* or *Noka* which means 'folk'. It is also suggested that the word *Nok* or *Noka* has some connection with Sanskrit word *Loka* meaning people. Another view, the eighth says that the word Naga has originated from Assamese word *Nogā*, meaning naked. Often Assamese 'O' is pronounced as 'A' in Bengali. Therefore Assamese *Nogā* becomes *Nagā* in Bengali. Since there are many Bengalees in Assam and many of them came in close contact of the British Administrators, it is likely that they have introduced the term Naga. It may be noted that this people have been referred to as *Nogā* in the historical chronicles of Assam, even in the thirteenth century. Though this view can not explain all the pros and cons and extension of the generic term to all the people to whom it is applied now, it satisfies most of the requirements as to the origin of the word. Still now Assamese word for the Nagas is *Nogā*. It is widely used in Assam, and there is no other word to substitute it. In fact *Nogā* is a purely Assamese word and is in use in Assamese literature all through.

It has to be noted that originally the word *nogā* or for that sake *nāgā* used to be applied to the naked people of the hills who used to come in contact of the plains people of Assam. Gradually the name was applied to a greater number of people and ultimately it has become a generic term for many tribes. It is very likely to extend further and include still greater number of people.

Autochthony

Though it is certain that the people of this district came to this place from outside, probably from different parts of Indo-China and South-East Asia, and through Burma, it is not known when they came. No scholar has thrown any light as to the time of arrival of the Nagas to the present Nagaland. There has been some inferences of the arrival of the

southern and western Nagas to their present place, but there has not been any such inference in respect of the eastern Nagas, and in fact no written document about them is available. In absence of any such authentic document we are to depend on assumption on the basis of traditions of other tribes.

Ao, Angami, Sema and Lotha, the four major tribes, say that the Aos had come first or had gone ahead of other three tribes. So this may be accepted as correct. Now, the Aos say that they had originally settled in Chungliyimti village and from there they have crossed the Dikhu river and have come to the west of it. Their first village on the west of Dikhu is Ungma and from there the Aos have spread to their present villages. The Aos accept Ungma to be their parent village, and they also say that Ungma is currently (1978) runing 32nd generation of their first settlement there. Be it so, we can accept the age of Ungma as 800 years taking 25 years for each generation. If we allow one hundred years more for their entering this land and settling, then we can say that the Aos entered this land some 900 years hence, that is, $20 \text{ minus } 9 =$ in the 11th century. This calculation places the Nagas, since Aos were closely followed by others, coming to this land two hundred years before the Ahoms entered Brahmaputra valley in the 13th century¹. In absence of any authentic history, the time of the arrival of the Aos and other Nagas to this area may be treated as an open question.

Coming to the eastern Nagas, the people of this district, we are reasonably confronted with the doubt as to whether these tribes, Chang, Sangtam, Kheimungan, Konyak, Phom, Yimchunger etc, came to this place at the same time with the other Nagas or not.

In absence of any authentic historicity we can probably depend on circumstantial evidence. It is a fact that the above mentioned tribes were not, and still are not, at the same level of development with other Naga tribes. When the Angamis came to this place, they came with their mode of terrace cultivation which is unique in Nagaland and was not known by other tribes, and even is not practised by many now. This shows

1. E. A. Gait, History of Assam, pp-77-78. (Thacker Spinks & Co. (1933) P. Ltd, Calcutta, reprint 1967)

that the Angamis were long used to settled life. Whereas some of the people of Tuensang district still do not cultivate rice, not even in jhum, not to speak of terrace, but they go in for millet which is very easy to cultivate, that is sowing and reaping. It is of course argued that land is not suitable for rice. But it is not correct, because the Agriculture Department is introducing rice cultivation in places where millet used to be grown before 1950, notably in Kiphire, Samatore, Noklak, Tuensang, Tobu¹ etc areas. This goes to prove that the people of these areas were less developed than others. This does not decisively prove that the people came later. But the next part is important. Originally people were food gathering and that time they were nomads. When they learnt cultivation they founded villages and settled there. Between the food-gathering and rice-cultivation stages there lies the stage of millet cultivation, because rice requires more cultivation than millet. Millet cultivation is a stage ahead of food gathering but definitely one stage below rice cultivation. This state of development on food front, the most vital front of the primitive people, goes to show that some of the people of this district have been used to settled life rather late, and definitely later than southern and western tribes. But this does not give us any definite idea as by how many centuries they were late. However we may arbitrarily accept that they came here about five hundred years later than southern and western Nagas.

It may be pointed out here that there is difference in the stages of development as well as time of arrival in this land, even in the same tribe. For example, the Konyaks are a big tribe, about 80,000, and they are divided into two groups - Lower and Upper Konyaks. The Lower Konyaks were once staying in some of the villages now occupied by the Aos. So it goes to prove that the Lower Koyaks were simultaneous or slightly earlier than the Aos. Whereas the Upper Konyaks probably came later but earlier than the others.

Thus we can say that a good number of the people of present Tuensang district came much later, say 300 to 500 years, than the southern and western Naga tribes.

1. Kiphire—Eastern Sangtam, Samatore—Yimchunger, Noklak—Kheimungan, Tuensang—Chang, Tobu—Upper Konyak.

Traditional Stories

The Britishers have left accounts of the major Naga tribes such as Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Rengma and a few references to other tribes. They have with great pains written details about these tribes. Somethings have been written, mainly on manners and customs, by Haimendorf about the Konyaks who now live in both Mon and Tuensang districts. Otherwise there is no written account of the tribes living in Tuensang district. It is probably because Tuensang district came under the administration in 1948 when the Britishers had already left. Though the Indians took over the administration of this district in 1948, unfortunately still now there has not been any written documents about the tribes of this district. So in absence of any written records we are to draw analogy of the traditional stories of migration of the Nagas of other districts, as well as take into account the fragmentary traditional stories so far collected by us.

All the authorities agree that the past history of the Nagas, and therefore that of the people of this district, is shrouded in obscurity. In absence of any recorded and agreed upon history we are to depend on the traditional stories told by the grand old men of the villages. Though the traditional stories may not be accepted as fool-proof, yet it is worth recording as it may throw some light on important incidents of the Naga history.

A tradition held by some of the major Naga tribes such as Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami and Chakhesang¹ says that they originated from a cave at Khezakenoma. According to this traditional story, which varies in respect of details to some extent, all these five tribes came out of the cave at Khezakenoma, in the south-east of Nagaland bordering Manipur, and thence migrated in different directions and settled in different places. According to this story the Aos went ahead and were followed by the Lothas and then Semas. Then came the Rengmas being followed by the Angamis and Chakhesangs.

It may be interesting to note here that the Semas refer to the Aos as Cholimi which means 'who preceded'. Angamis are called

1. Chakhesang are not one tribe but a combination of three tribes and the name has been formed taking first part of each tribe such, as Cha of Chakruma, Khe of Khezama and Sang of Sangtam. Formerly this tribe used to be called Eastern Angami.

Tsungumi which means 'left behind'. This Sema nomenclature for other tribes corroborates the order of migration. Again, in the present Lotha area there are some villages which have got Ao names and it is said by the Aos that they left these villages and moved northward and the Lothas occupied it, whereas the Lothas maintain that they have occupied those villages forcibly from the Aos. Anyway, it goes to prove that the Aos went ahead of the Lothas.

Aos maintain that they originated from Longtrok¹ whereas other tribes say that the Aos were ahead of them without any reference to their (Aso) having emerged from Khezakenoma or Longtrok. This goes to prove that the Aos were the first party to settle in this land whether they emerged from Longtrok or not.

The above discussion shows that the five major Naga tribes such as, Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami, and Chekhasang have come from south-east of the State, from Manipur. Aos have also most probably come through the same route but ahead of them, though their traditional story says that they have originated from Longtorok (Six Stones), now in Sangtam area in Tuensang district. Traditional stories do not say anything about Chang, Sangtam, Konyak, Kheimungan, Phom, Yimchunger etc big tribes of this district. Therefore it can be reasonably presumed that these tribes did not come along with the others who came through Manipur. Since this district borders Burma and some villages still do have kinship and matrimonial relations with the villages in Burma side it can be reasonably accepted that the majority people of this district came directly from Burma side.

It may be noted that some seven tribes are inhabitants of this district. They are : Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Kheimungan, Phom, Konyak, and Sema. Of this the first five do not live outside this district, whereas the last two, that is, Konyak and Sema, mainly live in other districts—Konyaks are mostly in Mon, and Semas are mostly in Zunheboto districts. So the first five tribes are the real autochthonous people of this district. (There

1. Longtrok means six stones. The Aos believe that they originated from that group of stones. It is now in the village Chungliyimti in Sangtam area, in Tuensang district, some 30 km east from Mokokchung. (Long = stone, trok = six)

are nearly two thousand Aos in this district but they are there mostly on service and business etc and they hail from Mokok-chung which is their native district)

It will be interesting to note the traditional stories of some of the tribes of this district, as given below.

CHANG. Chang is one of the biggest of the seven tribes of this district. They have got a population of 15,179 according to 1971 census, out of the total population of 108,863 of the district. Not only that, they are otherwise important also because the Tuensang headquarter is situated in Chang area and the Tuensang village is a Chang village. According to their traditional story they have emerged out of the earth from a place known as Changsang Mongko which is situated between Tuensang and Hakchung villages and it is about 15 km north-east of Tuensang town. Since they came up from a place called Changsang Mongko, they came to be known as Chang in short.

SANGTAM. Sangtam is another very important tribe in this district. They are 18,752 in number according to 1971 census out of the total population of 108,863 of the district. They do not go with the details of their migration but simply say that they have come from east. So it appears that they came from Burma.

Regarding the origin of their name they say that during their migration from east to west they were in various places including one Sema area and settled there for some time among the Semas. In course of time some people came across them and inquired who they were. The Sangtams lived in houses of raised platform which they called Singtam. So when they were asked about their identity, they thought it proper to identify themselves from the pattern of houses they lived in and so they replied that they were Singtam, that is, people living in houses of raised platform. From that very time onwards they came to be known as Singtam. Later, during the British rule it was corrupted into Sangtam and they themselves also started using that corrupt form.

YIMCHUNGER. Yimchunger having 13,699 people is another important tribe in this district. According to their traditio-

nal stories they emerged from a cave in a place known as Kemephu near Waphur village. It is situated on the south of Samatore and thus is not far away from Burma border. They say that they emerged from a cave in great number. Since their number was great they did not want any more people to come and so they closed the cave with a huge stone and thus others were left behind. This story probably suggests that they passed through a narrow pass. However, the Yimchungers stayed around that place, Kemephu, and later went to Yimkhiung village and stayed there for some time. From there gradually they spread to other places. They claim their boundary from Mount Saramati in the east to Hirupong, the present Helipong, in the west. If their claim of boundary from Mount Saramati has got anything to do with their migration, it can be reasonably said that they came from the east, that is, Burma, since Saramati is in the Indo-Burma border. In course of their sojourn, they were living in Longa village but being oppressed by their ruler Lakiumong who was a terror, they left the village of 900 houses within one night and spread to different directions. The Yimchungers recon that this event took place approximately seven to eight hundred years before.

Thus all told, it is most likely that the above mentioned three tribes as well as some others of this district had migrated from Burma to their present habitat.

Origin and migration of the Nagas.

There are about a dozen major tribes among the Nagas of Nagaland and they speak as many as twice the number of languages and dialects. They have got differences in physical features, characteristics, and dress and various other cultural traits, but in spite of all these differences they have got cultural affinity which bind them together under the name Naga. Dr Hutton¹ has stated that the place now occupied by the Nagas was formerly, either wholly or partly, occupied by the people of Mon-Khmer affinities. Dr Hutton² has also stated that bands of Negrito hunters were

1. Dr. Hutton J. H., Mixed Culture of Naga Tribes, reprinted from the Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, p-19

2. Ibid.

once wandering here, and their traces are still found here and there. All the scholars agree that the Nagas have come to their present habitat from outside.

But it is not definitely known wherefrom they originated and how they migrated, and that is why there have been many conjectures, and most of the scholars have pointed to the South-East Asian countries as their places of dispersion. Lotha tradition says that they came from a far off place which they still nostalgically remember as Monsuraj.

Dr Smith¹ a Christian Missionary and a Sociologist, has taken great pains to enumerate some thirteen characteristics of the Nagas which are common with Indonesians, that is the people of Malaya and the islands of Indonesia. Some important ones of these are head-hunting, common sleeping houses for unmarried men, disposal of dead on raised platform, trial marriage or great sexual freedom before marriage, aversion to milk, hilly residence, etc. This goes to prove that one time or other the Nagas were closely connected with the tribes of South-East Asia, particularly with Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra, Igorots, Ifugaos and others of Philipines, and some tribes of Formosa.

All the Naga people are fond of cowries and conch-shells which they use as ornaments. It is strange that though they are living far away from sea and are cut off from it by any means of communication, yet they have got a special attraction for these marine articles. This fact goes to prove that once they were living by the sea. Butler has reported² that in 1874 he has been told by some Rengma people at Tesophenyu that they 'ruled the coast for ages'. We have also been told by an elderly Lotha on February 9, 1976 at Wokha, that they have come from Manchuria which they call Monsuraj, and during their sojourn they have been on the coast for some time.

Anyway, since all the authorities agree that the Nagas have got strong cultural affinities with the tribes of South-East Asia and even Oceania, it is needless to elaborate the point here.

1. Dr. W.C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, 1925.

2. Dr H. Barch, *Kohima District Gazetteer*, 1971.

It has been suggested by many that whatever may be their original home they have entered India through Burma. Most likely they were divided into several groups and entered their present habitat in waves—and not all at a time. Some have come through the north-west of Patkai hills and others through south-east, via Manipur; and some from direct east. We have been told at Wokha in February 1976, by the same elderly Lotha that they have come via Burma and had crossed a river while coming to Manipur.

Thus it appears that the southern Naga tribes such as Angami, Rengma, Lotha, Sema etc came through Manipur, and the tribes of this district, or rather the eastern tribes, came directly from Burma, not via Manipur.

Early Condition.

Whatever may be the time the people of this district might have come to their present place,, it was a time of anarchy, and there is no recorded history thereof.

The practice of head hunting was an established custom among some of the South-East Asian tribes notably Dyak, Igorot, Ifugao etc. The Nagas are closely associated with the cultures of these tribes and naturally they also had the practice of head hunting. The practice of head hunting was not confined to the Nagas alone but to many other tribes of this side of Indian boundary.¹ From its prevalence only among the primitive tribes we can say, it is an act of barbarity found among the uncivilised people. The people of this district, from time immemorial, were headhunters. And since headhunting was widespread we can call it a state of anarchy.

During this period, the period of headhunting, every village was an autonomous State. We can also call it the time of Village States. Under this village-state, every village was more or less self sufficient or in any way did not go in for anything to other villages.

1. Bikas Chandra Gohain,, Human Sacrifice and Head Hunting in North East India, P-25. (Lawers' Book Stall, Gauhati, 1977).

Every village had its own cultivable land, its water sources on the outskirts of the village, its own livestock for meat, and a wide range of forest around the village for building materials, fire-wood and games etc. The villages were (and still are) situated on top of hills in a well defended position. In short the villagers did not require to go to other villages for anything, except, in some cases, salt only which they used to get through friendly villages.

Of course headhunting does not mean wanton killing of anybody, because the rule of the game is to chop off the head of the enemy only, and not each and every one on which one can lay hand. Wanton killing was not possible not because it was not relished but because of the fear of retaliation in the same manner. As a result of this, headhunting was restricted to enemy heads only.

The area was unadministered and the stage of village-states continued, from when no body knows, till the end of nineteenth century when the British administrators took cognizance of it and tried to prevent it, or at least punish for it. Prevention was not generally possible until the to-be-affected village prayed for protection. But expeditions used to be led against the offending village if heads from an administered village were taken away. Accounts of a few such expeditions against offending villages are given below. It is mainly collected from Kohima District Gazetteer after correction. (pp 47-49)

(1) The district boundary of the then Naga Hills extended up to Dikhu river in the north-east which is now comprised in Mokokchung district. But the people of trans-Dikhu as well as cis-Dikhu continued their raids into the administered areas and so they had to be punished. This they did not like. So in July 1888 several villages such as Noksang, Longtang, Yali, Longla, Koksang, Litam, Santak and Tuensang¹ together carried out a severe raid in Mongsenyimti and Longkong villages in Ao area leading to the loss of one hundred seventy three persons the heads of many of whom were carried away. The Government could not be a silent witness to such a massacre in the administered area and so, apart from opening one army outpost at Mongsenyimti, it carried out an expedition to Noksang (Noksang) in December that year, ie, 1888. Soon the village was subdued but the scene of expedition had to be shifted to Tuensang,

1. Tuensang village has become the present district headquarter of Tuensang. It is a Chang village.

the leader of the group. There was strong resistance and after a long battle the village was burnt and indemnity imposed. Ten other villages, who sided with Tuensang, were also suitably punished.

(2) In 1900 second expedition was led against Tuensang (present Tuensang headquarter), a Chang village, because of their failure to pay the indemnity arrear due since 1888-89. The expedition was led by Captain Woods, the Deputy Commissioner, with 100 Rifles. On the way it passed by many villages but none resisted except Yachumi (Yimchunger village) which was subdued. Tuensang was punished by destroying it.

(3) In 1903 Tuensang village committed another raid in which two Aos were killed, but the village was not punished for it till 1905. By this time the political control had extended upto Tamlu which included the coal-bearing area of Kongon village of the Konyaks. (Kongon is now (1978) under Mon district).

(4) Tuensang village till 1908 did not pay the fine imposed on them in 1905 for their raids in Ao area in 1903. On the other hand they committed another raid in Ao area in October 1908. For this, an expedition was led against them in 1909. The expedition was led by Colonel Woods and Major Bliss. The expedition was successful and the fine was collected not in cash but in kind. Since then Tuensang village has not given any major trouble to the administration.

(5) The Phom village of Yongya (Yongnya) was subjugated in 1922-23 for their wounding a British subject of Kamahu village (Phom). In the same year Tangsa, also a Phom village, was punished for immolating a girl who was purchased with price.

(6) In 1927, the same village Yongnya, was punished for its assault on a British subject, and during the same year (1927) the area between Yichung and Chingmei rivers with six villages was added to the administration.

(7) In 1935 Pangsha (Pangsa) a Kheimungan village near the Burma border carried out a raid on Kenyu and other villages of the same tribe with great ferocity. Therefore an expedition was led from Mokokchung in November 1936 by J.P. Mills, the Deputy Commissioner. The expedition passed through many villages and at Noklak the Pangsa messengers came to welcome them. But when the expedition reached

Pangsa, they refused to deliver the kidnapped people whom they were using as slaves. Therefore the village of Pangsa was burnt down and then only they came to terms and delivered the kidnapped people and paid the fine imposed on them. Thereafter in 1938-39 Pangsa was brought under administration.

Since 1936 there has not been any great trouble in this district or for that matter in the whole of the then Naga Hills or Tuensang Frontier Division either, in respect of coming under the control of administration. Of course there have been several cases of headhunting thereafter, and even as late as early 1960, but those were cases of feuds within the administered area.

Introduction Of Administration

It is a process of civilisation that administration extends from administered to unadministered area. Even in the beginning of 19th century a vast tract of land between properly administered Assam and Burma was unadministered. This condition continued till the beginning of 20th century with more and more area coming under administration. The then Naga Hills which is a major part of the present Nagaland was formed in 1866 and its headquarter was moved from Samaguting to Wokha in the heart of the Hills in 1876 and by the first quarter of this century the area of Naga Hills was more or less settled. But still there was a big tract of land between Naga Hills and Burma which was not administered.

Likewise there were other such areas on the north-east of Assam, between Assam and Burma. The then British Government was aware of the fact and felt the need of bringing this area under administration but did not like to interfere in the life of the people of this area until there were sufficient resources of money and men to man the administration of the area. So the British Government decided to leave the area alone until the tribals raided the settled areas of the administration. Similar view was adopted by Burma also which declared in 1895 that she would not interfere into the affairs of the people of unadministered areas so long they refrain from conducting raid into the administered area of Burma.

However, the area of the no-administration could not continue for long, and by the year 1914 the Foreign and Political Department

of Government of India by a notification extended the Assam Frontier Tract regulation of 1880 to the Hills which were inhabited or frequented by Abors, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Daflas. Thereby the Government brought the hitherto unadministered areas under some sort of administration in 1914 and the area was named North East Frontier Tract. So the present Tuensang district also officially came under purview of this notification, but in practice there was no administration till 1948.

The area newly brought under administration was divided into three sections such as (1) the Central and Eastern Section (2) the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and (3) the Western Section.

From 1914 to 1937 certain areas were either excluded or included in the above mentioned North-East Frontier Tract.

“In 1937 the aforesaid North-East Frontier Tract came to be collectively known as the Excluded Areas of the Province of Assam under the provision of 91 (1) of the Government of India Act 1935, which was given effect to by the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Area) Order of 1936. This excluded areas came under direct charge of the Governor of Assam who administered them in his discretion under section 92 of the said Act, through the Political Officers and the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur”.¹

The major part of present Tuensang district including Tuensang group of villages was brought under the administration of Naga Hills in 1948.

In 1951 the plains portions of Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Abor Hills district and Mishmi Hills district were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam. Thereafter the remaining area of the said North-East Frontier Tract together with the Naga tribal area of Tuensang area were renamed as North-East Frontier Agency, and Tuensang

1. P. N. Luthra, Constitutional and Administrative Growth of the North-East Frontier Agency. pp-9-13.

became a part of it. In 1954 the administrative units were reconstituted with redefined boundaries, and renamed. Then Tuensang area came to be known as Tuensang Frontier Division.

In 1957 this Tuensang Frontier Division was separated from North East Frontier Agency and joined with Naga Hills to form a new administrative Unit named as Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short. This NHTA came to be known as Nagaland, a de-facto State, in 1961. On first December 1963, it was formally inaugurated as a State under the name Nagaland, and the Tuensang Frontier Division ceased to be a frontier division and became a district of Nagaland. But later in December 1973 it was divided into two such as Tuensang and Mon. Tuensang district comprises two-thirds of the former Tuensang district.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

Introduction

Tuensang is the biggest of the seven districts of Nagaland. It is north-south long and borders Burma on the east all along its eastern border. The district is inhabited by some ten tribes or language groups who are the real inhabitants of this district. They are Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Kheimungan, Konyak, Sema, Phom, Makware, Tikhir and Chirr;¹ of course, there are people of other tribes living in this district, but they are mainly on service or business. Apart from the tribals there are some non-tribal people also who have come here from all over the country on service or business. The total population of this district according to 1971 census is 108,863. Of this the total tribal population is 103,647. That means non-tribals are a little more than five thousand. Since the non-tribals are very small in number and they are not permanent inhabitants of this district, they may be ignored for the purpose of cultural aspects of the people of this district.

Nagas are divided into many tribes (Thirteen or Sixteen in Nagaland) and each tribe widely differs from others in respect of language, clothing, housing, food-habits, rites and rituals etc which together constitute the culture of the people.

There are about two thousand Aos in this district. But since they have been treated in Mokokchung District Gazetteer, they will not be treated here. Semas have been treated in Zunheboto District Gazetteer and Konyaks will be treated in Mon district. Of the remaining eight tribes, it has not been possible for us to get the details for the topics to be discussed in this Chapter.

1. Makware, Tikhir and Chirr are considered language groups only of other tribes, but they themselves claim to be separate tribes and have been enumerated as such in the Census.

Features

The people of this district, like other Naga tribes, have Mongoloid features. All the Naga tribes are different from each other even in features and it is so in this district also. That is, all the tribes of this district differ from each other to some extent in physical features. But inspite of the differences, Mongoloid features can be discerned in each tribe. Though they belong to Mongoloid stock, many of them are not fair in complexion. Otherwise, they do have, to some extent, other Mongoloid characteristics such as, snub nose, straight hair and brachycephalic head. The people are on the average, not very tall neither very short—they are around 5' 3" or 158 cm on the average. Women are on the average 5 cm shorter than men.

Population

The total population of the district is 108,863 of which 56,646 are male and 52,217 are female. The number of tribal people is 103,647 and of them 52,836 are male and 50,811 are female.

SEX RATIO : The total population of this district is 108,863 of which 56,646 are male and 52,217 are female. This gives a overall sex ratio of 922 which is very much less than required. If we come to the tribal population alone then we see that out of the total tribal population of 103,647, the males number 52,836 and the females number 50,811. This gives a tribal sex ratio of 966. This is also much less than required. So it appears that unlike some other Naga tribes, notably Ao, Lotha and Sema, the tribals of this district have got very low sex ratio.

If we come to the non-tribal population then we find that they number only 5,216 of which 3,810 are male and 1,406 are female. This figures give a very much disconcerting sex ratio of 390 female per thousand male. This is abnormally low sex ratio and so it requires some explanation. This low sex ratio is due to the fact that many non-Nagas are there in this district (as well as in other districts) on service and business. Many of them are unmarried and many are staying without their female counterparts and hence out of the total non-tribal population of 5,216 only 1,406 are female. This imparity in sex ratio tends to illegal sex activities and probably it is not very uncommon in this district as it is so in other districts too.

Population Trend

The present district of Tuensang together with some parts of Mon district came under the administration in 1948 and it was first censused in 1951 but only for 129½ sq km. It is not known what this area was. Probably it was Wakching area which came under administration earlier than 1920. Next time, in 1961, major part of the then Tuensang, which is now Tuensang and Mon, was censused. The then Tuensang district was 5466 sq km and the censused area was 5356 sq km. But break up of figures for that of present Tuensang district is not readily available. So it is not possible to give the decade variation of population of this district. However, since Nagaland is a small State having only 516,449 people and the rate of growth being almost same everywhere, we can take the rate of growth of Nagaland as the growth rate of this district also.

The population of the then Naga Hills in 1951 was 212,275 and it was 16,309 more than in 1941, and the decennial percentage variation was plus 8.60. In 1961, the population of Nagaland was 369,200 and it was 28,975 more than the previous census. It gives a decennial percentage variation of plus 14.07. According to census of 1971, the population of Nagaland is 516,449 and it is 147,249 more than previous census. It gives a decennial percentage variation of plus 39.88, say 40. This is much higher than all India average which is plus 24.75, say 25. This high rate of growth of population is mainly due to two factors: Firstly, due to increased medical facilities available to almost all the villages, the death rate of grown up people as well as that of children and maternity patients has decreased considerably. Secondly, there has been influx of people from outside the State, and they have come here on service or business. It may be noted that Nagaland is a good ground for business. Further, it may be noted that not only people from the rest of the country have come but there has been an infiltration of some foreign nationals also, mainly Muslims from Bangladesh. And of course there are many Nepalis in this State, direct from Nepal. It may be noted that the foreign nationals are less in number in the eastern side of the State, near Burma border, than in the western side of the State which borders the State of Assam. As a result, foreign nationals are less in this district than in western districts.

Rural and Uaban population

The entire district may be called a Rural area since there is no town as per the specification of the Census Department. There are a number of out-posts and administrative centres in this district but they are very small to be considered as a town. Even Tuensang town (we called it town to differentiate it from Tuensang village) which is the district headquarter is not officially a town to the Census Department. The population of Tuensang town or Tuensang headquarter is 6,978 of which 4662 are male and 2316 are female. So, though the population of the town is more than five thousand it does not fulfill the other conditions of being a town. Therefore, there is no town in this district and so there is no urban population, that is, all the people of this districts are rural.

Though officially there is no town in this districts, but for all practical purposes the people of Tuensang town may be considered as urban since they have developed most of the characteristics of urban people.

TABLE OF POPULATION OF TUENSANG DISTRICT
(on the basis of 1971 census)¹.

1. Total population	:	108,863
2. Total Male	:	56,646
3. Total Female	:	52,217
4. Overall sex ratio	:	922
5. Total tribal	:	103,647
6. Total tribal male	:	52,836
7. Total tribal female	:	50,811
8. Tribal sex ratio	:	966
9. Total rural population	:	108,863
10. Total working population	:	56,378
11. Total female working population	:	23,665

1. Source : Census office, Kohima, as per their letter No SCO-3/14/71-Vol III of 5th October, 1978.

12. Total tribal working population	:	53,339
13. Total tribal male working population	:	32,713
14. Total tribal female working population	:	23,598
15. Overall percentage of literacy of the district	:	15.97
16. Percentage of male literacy	:	21.95
17. Percentage of female literacy	;	9.48
18. Overall percentage of tribal literacy	:	13.81
19. Overall percentage of tribal male literacy	:	18.51
20. Overall percentage of tribal female literacy	:	8.93
21. Total number of villages in the district	:	204
22. Total number of houses in the district (including Tuensang town)	:	22,899

**Break up of language-wise population of Tuensang district
as per 1971 census.**

		Total	Male	Female
1. Sangtam	...	18,752	9,482	9,270
2. Phom	...	17,664	9,199	8,465
3. Chang	...	15,179	7,540	7,639
4. Kheimungan	...	14,300	7,468	6,832
5. Yimchunger	...	13,699	7,003	6,696
6. Konyak	...	13,106	6,518	6,588
7. Sema	...	2,917	1,460	1,457
8. Tikhir	...	2,795	1,439	1,356
9. Mokaware	...	2,501	1,263	1,238
10. Chirr	...	692	324	368

Of the above tribes, Sema and Konyaks mainly live in Zunheboto and Mon districts respectively and their population in this district is a small percentage of their total population. The remaining 8 tribes or language groups do not have any substantial population in other districts, that is, they are inhabitants of this district only. (There are nearly two thousand Aos in this district but then they are there on service and business and they hail from Mokokchung which is their native district).

Languages

Though the Nagas speak many languages and dialects, those have been divided into several groups and sub-groups of Tibeto-Burman family by Sir George Grierson¹ and naturally the languages spoken by the tribes or language groups of this district come under those groups.

The district is inhabited by some ten tribes and then there is a substantial number of Aos who number about 2,000 and they are on business and service. All these tribes speak their own languages. That means, the number of languages is not less than eleven. Further, some tribes have got some variations in their languages and therefore one tribe may speak more than one dialects. If we exclude the dialects, then the languages spoken in this district are eleven and they are all local.

It may be noted that the local languages being tribal and so, much undeveloped, cannot express the thought fully as a developed language can do. So to make up the deficiency the people have got several methods. One of the methods is to give accent on the first, or middle or last syllable, and the meaning vary according to the accent. Another method is to make up the deficiency by physical gesture such as the movement of finger and hand etc. This is true about other Naga languages also.

This is in short the local languages. We say 'local' because there are four other languages which have come from outside but are widely used. These are Nagamese, English, Hindi and Ao.

Nagamese is not formally a language yet, but is in the process of being so. It is broken Assamese with many non-Assamese words and scant regard for grammar. Since this kind of language is spoken by the Nagas, it is called Naga-Assamese, shortened form of which is Nagamese. This is widely used as link language between the tribes, in the State as a whole but in much lesser degree in this district than in the western parts of the State which borders Assam. (Ao, Angami, Konyak, Sema,

1. Sir George Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol-III.

Lotha and Rengma etc tribes speak Nagamese as their link languages). While talking with another tribe they take the help of the third language because they do not understand each other's language. Sometimes this language is Nagamese.

Ao has practically become a link language in Tuensang district because not only it has got border with Ao area but the people have to communicate with plains of Assam through Ao area and most of their trade and commerce used to be carried through Ao area ; and it is still so. Thus they learnt Ao. Not only that, in initial stage most of the L. P. School teachers of this district were Aos (and still are). Because of all these reasons many people of Tuensang district know Ao language and so it is the linguafranca of Tuensang district. It may be noted here that Assam being rather far from this district Assamese language and so naturally Nagamese also has not been able to make much headway.

English is the link language of the educated people. Educated men and women have got special fascination for English and even at their homes sometimes they converse in English. It has to be mentioned here that English is the official language of the State of Nagaland.

A good number of the people of this district had been and still are in the Indian Army. There they have learnt Hindi and so very often those Ex-servicemen speak Hindi with a non-Naga.

RELIGION AND CASTES

Caste

There is no caste system in the Naga society and since the overwhelming majority of the people of this district are Nagas, there is no caste system in this district. Or we can say there is no caste system among the indigenous people of the district. But those who have come from outside the State have come with their caste system and there are people of all the castes in this district to varied numbers. Though they have come with their own castes

they do not observe the minute details or restrictions of their castes, particularly in respect of food, though they may observe all the inhibitions in their homes.

Since there is no caste system among the Nagas there is no evil associated with birth of anybody in this district. Nobody is high or low by virtue of birth, and there is no stratification of the society in terms of caste or any other division. Not only that, even the illegal children, or children of unmarried mother are looked upon at par with others. Thus all told there is no caste system among the indigenous people of this district, and there is nobody high or low by virtue of birth.

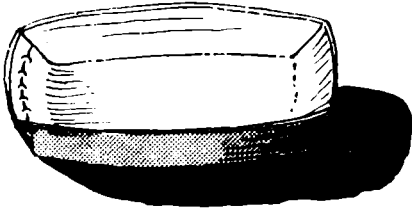
Religion

There are some ten tribes in this district and two of them, namely Konyak and Sema, mainly live in Mon and Zunheboto districts respectively. Therefore, remains 8 tribes who are indigenous of this district and do not have any major settlement any where else. Each tribe is different from others in respect of language, culture and religious beliefs and practices. It is difficult to treat the individual tribes in details, neither do we have the necessary data to do so. Therefore, we shall confine ourselves in dealing with the religion taking all the tribes as a whole or rather we shall deal with the things which are common to all of them.

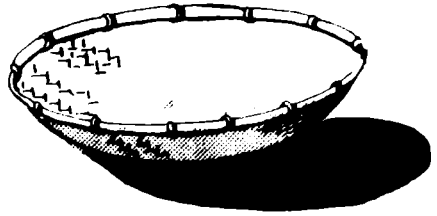
The indigenous people of this district are Nagas and are scheduled tribes and they are to some extent still primitive. Therefore, they have got primitive forms of beliefs and practices in respect of religion and god. Though there were a few Christians before 1948, the spread of Christianity got momentum after the area came under the administration in 1948. Since then Christianity has spread steadily and as a result probably about 50 percent of the population are now Christian. However, we shall deal here the old religion first and then Christianity.

According to the old religion the people believed in three different kinds of Gods. First of them is the creator which approximates to the idea of Supreme being. He lives very far high and does not interfere into the day to day behaviour of human

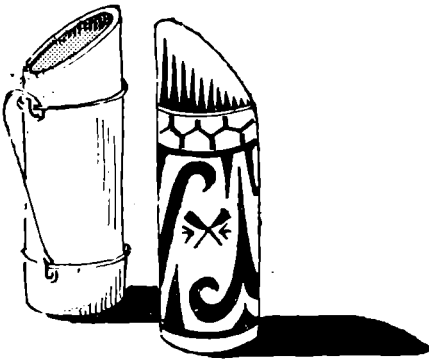
HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS



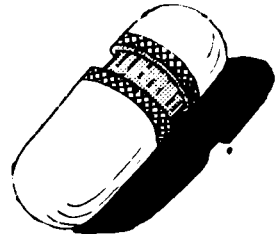
BAMBOO PLATE



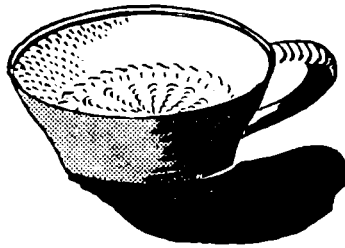
BASKET



BAMBOO MUGS



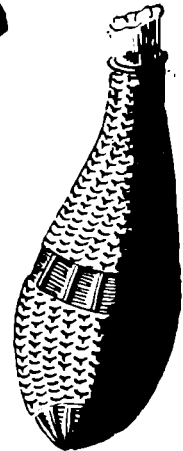
MONEY BOX
OF BAMBOO CHUNGA



SMALL BASKET

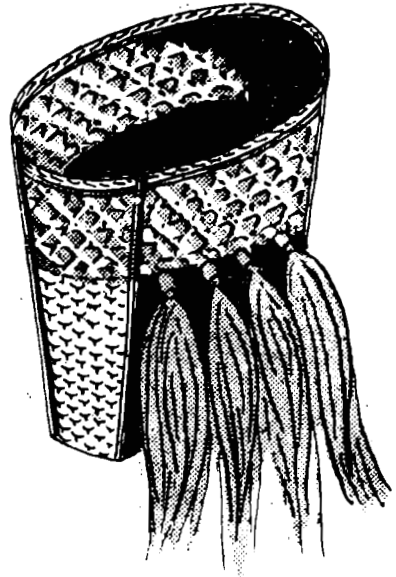


EARTHEN POTS

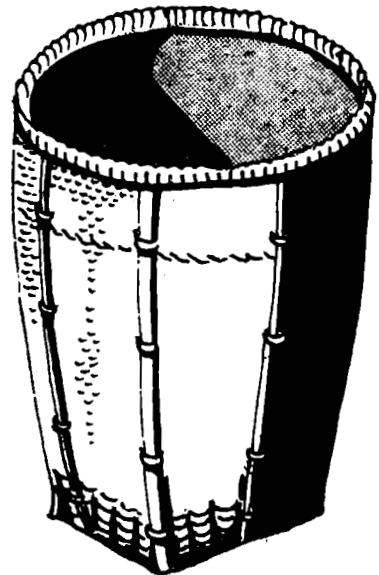
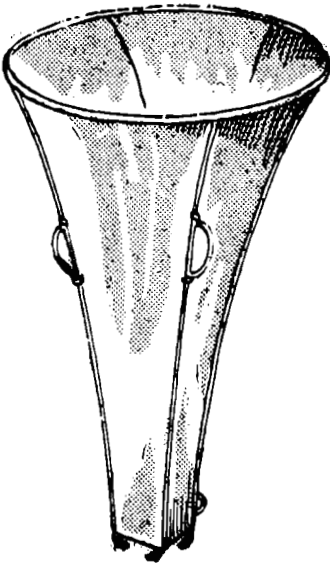


BAMBOO CARRIER

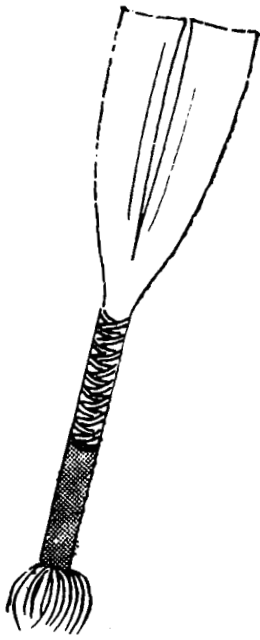
DIFFERENT KINDS OF BASKET



DIFFERENT KINDS
OF
BASKETS



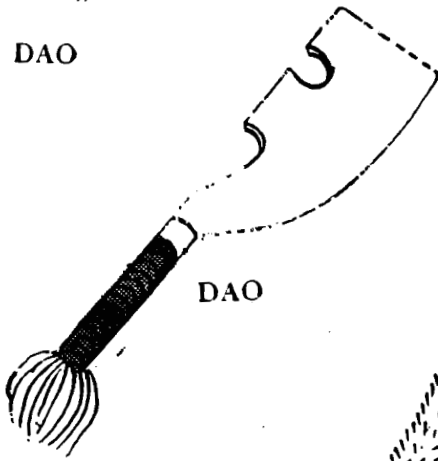
WEAPONS AND HEADGEAR



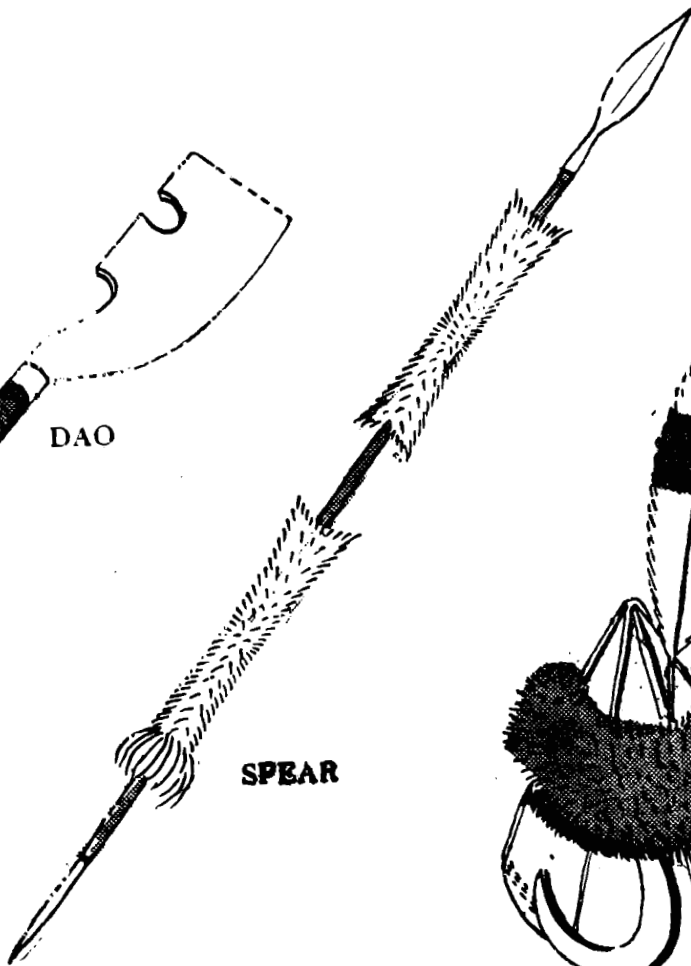
DAO



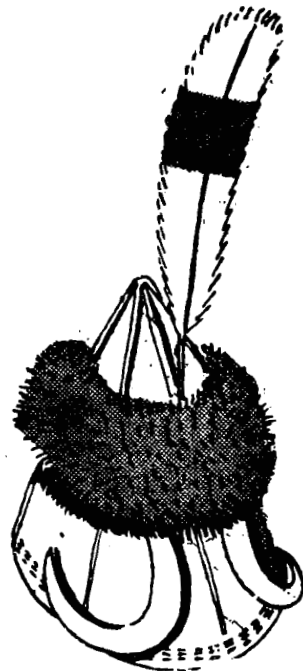
HAND MADE GUN



DAO

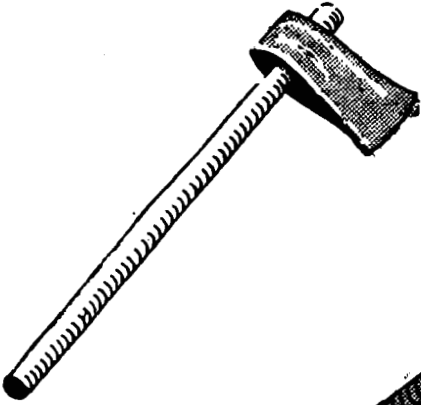


SPEAR

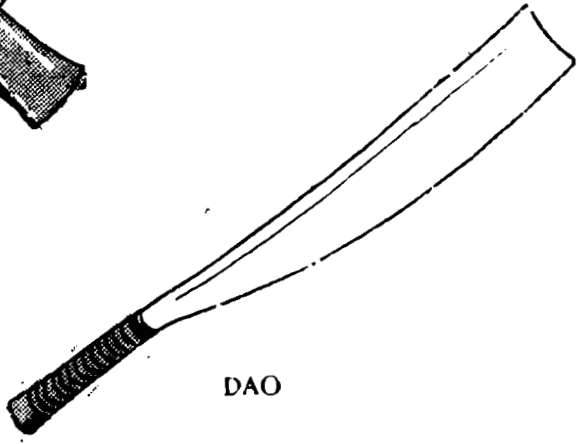


HEADGEAR

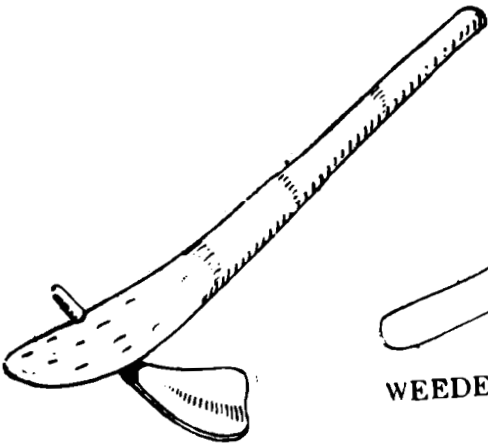
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



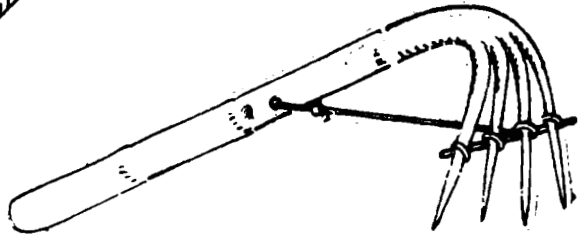
AXE



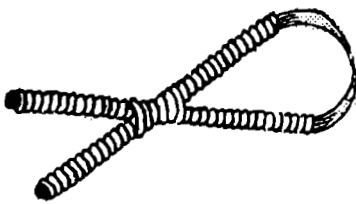
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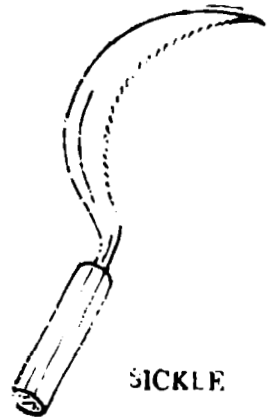
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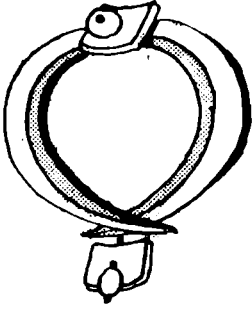


SCRAPPER

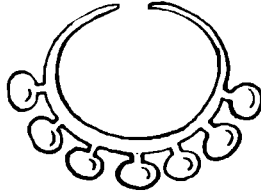


SICKLE

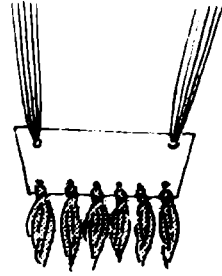
ORNAMENTS



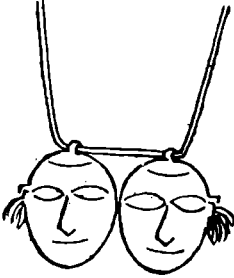
NECKLACE



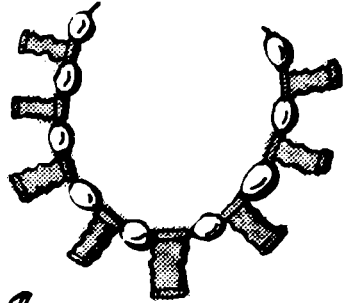
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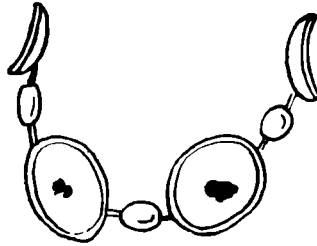
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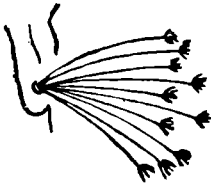
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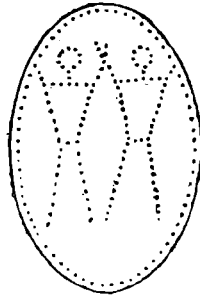
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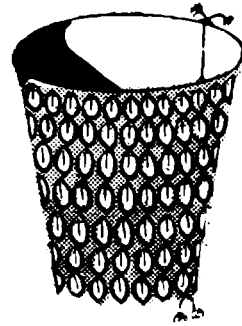
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EARRING



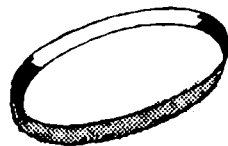
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WRISTBAND



BANGLE



BANGLE

being. The second group of Gods live high up in the heaven but often comes down to the earth and inter-marry with the human being. They are generally benevolent but may get angry sometimes. They resemble more or less the Gods of Hindu pantheon.

The third group of Gods are spirits, and they live among the men unseen, in their houses or in the jungle. They are even referred to as 'Jungle men'. Even they are heard calling people in the jungle but on search are not found. These spirits are generally malevolent but benevolent to the persons to whom it is attached. It is believed that most of the sicknesses, accidents and untoward happenings are caused by these spirits, and therefore they ought to be propitiated. These groups of God has similiarity with the malevolent Goddess of Bengal such as Raksha Kali, Ma-Sitala and Manasa etc. It may be noted here that there is no goddess in this district or in the Naga society, but all man-gods. It is so because the people do not attach any special importance to their women. Women are considered as man-power and bed-mates only and nothing more than that. Of course things are changing of late due to acculturation, but the influence is too early to create any female god yet.

It may be mentioned here that even some Christians still do believe in the spirits, particularly malevolent spirits, in case of sickness. Further, some of them still go on believing in the 'jungle men' whose voice is supposed to be heard in the woods but not seen. And so on.

A few people from this district were converted into Christianity in the 10s of this century when they had stayed in Impur (in Mokokchung district) the first centre of Christianity in Nagaland. But actual spread of Christianity in this district took place later and it began after the area came under administration in 1948. Since then, and more so after 1957 when the area formed a part of Naga Hills Tuensang Area, Christianity made steady progress and by now (1979) probably fifty percent of the population are Christian.¹

1. According to 1971 census the overall percentage of Christianity in Nagaland is 66.76 or say 67. But greater percentage of people of the western districts of the State are Chirstians and it is much less in Tuensang and Mon districts. So though the overall was 67% it will be around 50 in this district.

When first introduced it was American Baptist Mission and was introduced by foreigners. Gradually local people came forward for preaching work and by 1950s the entire work of Christianity was taken over by the local people and there were no more foreign missioneries.

In 1960s Roman Catholic started coming in into Nagaland and they have got several schools in this district now and are making progress in respect of conversion.

It is not necessary to discuss the details of Christianity here because everywhere it is the same and it is no different here. Their religious belief, way of prayer, marriage etc are same everywhere varying with the denomination only. It may be mentioned here that almost all the tribes of this district though they are between thirteen to nineteen thousand people have got Bible translated in their own languages.

Magic, Belief And Superstition

Like most of the common people of the world and like the rest of the Nagas, the indigenous people of this district believe in magic cure of sickness. There are many ways of propitiating the evil spirit who is believed to have caused the sickness. One most common form is to offer some food items to the evil spirit. It may be eggs, cooked pork or other meat and rice, a bird killed and hung, etc. etc. There are great variations in the details of rituals from tribe to tribe or even from village to village. There are specific persons who perform this rites and they are something like village priests.

Another form of magic cure is extracting bits of stones, chewed leaves and other substances from the body of the person without any pain or leaving any mark were it came from. It is a matter of faith and so often it cures the disease. It may be noted that in almost every village there is found a person who can do this magic operation and they are something like the Onjhas of Bengal villages.

Another kind of persons is found in some villages or groups of villages who can fore-see a thing and tell the future. Often such a person fall in trench as found all over the world, and like

rest of the world they tell things some of which come through and some not. Sometimes these people actually do not get possessed but simulate it to keep up the prestige, and often they take recourse to magic. Such a person may be a man or woman.

The people also believe in impersonification in the form of animals, particularly tiger. The district, like the whole State, is covered by jungle and there are tigers and leopards, and in olden days people often used to fall victim to such a beast of prey. Therefore tiger has become a part and parcel of lore of the people. It is said that there are persons who can take the form of tiger and roam here and there incognito. If such a tiger is killed or wounded the actual person who has taken the form of the tiger, also dies or get sickness.¹

Omens

Most of the people of this district believe in the practice of omen. Omen is taken for assessing the future or to know what will be the result of a particular project. Very often omens are taken before embarking on a big work, say for example, fishing, hunting, making new road etc and of course in olden time for head-hunting expedition or warfare. However, omen is taken from various things such as by killing a chicken, cutting ginger, breaking eggs etc. The articles from which omen has to be taken and details of taking the omen vary from tribe to tribe. It has to be noted here that in each village or group of villages there is found a person who is supposed to read the omen correctly. Such a person has got different names among different tribes.

Dream

The people of this district attach much importance to dreams, but not so much as to dominate the important events of life as in the case of the Angamis and Semas. Throughout the world the common people attach importance to dreams, and the

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1. When the Editor was in Wakching, then in Tuensang district and now in Mon district, he was told by a teacher in 1963 that his sister paid a visit to him the previous night in the form of a tiger which he heard growl near his house. The man was an Ao. But this is a common belief all over the State and such belief in crocodile and tiger is found in Bengal also.

people of this district are no exception. Dream has to be interpreted and there are some 'wise' people who are believed to have the capability of interpreting the dreams. Generally the village 'priest' (Not Christian priest) does all these things—interpreting dreams, reading omens etc. Generally the dream does not mean what is actually seen in the dream but often it is just the opposite or otherwise. For example if one sees the death of a near one it means the demise of a distant one, and vice-versa. Likewise, a good dream does not always forecast a good thing or a bad dream a bad thing. There is no hard and fast rule for interpreting the dreams and so there is a wide latitudes for the interpreter to interpret it.

Second Sight

Sometimes the people see a person in advance. For example, some person or persons see a person of another village coming into theirs. But in fact he has not come, but would come a few days later. In such case the first person seen is the wraith of the real person and such sights are known to have occurred. It is more found in connection with dead man. Suppose a man of another village is dead on a particular day, but he is seen roaming in another village a day or two after his death.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Though there are great differences among the Naga tribes, there are great similarities too. So manners and customs of the people of this district are similar in many respects to those of the tribes of other districts of this State. Let us discuss here a few manners and customs.

Birth

Generally a child is born within a year of marriage if not earlier. The birth of a child is followed by a genna¹ of 5 to 6 days—5 days for a female child and six days for a male child. (It may be noted in this connection that in Bengal, and

1. Genna is a non-Naga term meaning taboo, ceremony, prayer, puja, A-sauch etc.

probably in rest of India too, the *a-sauch* is observed for the same period for the same sex). During this genna period the mother of the child does not go out of the house except for answering the call of nature. (Incidentally, the birth takes place within the main house unlike in Bengal and Assam villages and probably rest of India where a separate small hut is made for this purpose). The after-birth is buried in one corner of the house so that it is not trodden by anybody.

During this period the members of the house do not go to their own field or grannary, but can go to other's fields. All these days the mother is fed with usual diet of rice but with chicken curry. On the first day of course she is given chicken soup and other days too. It is a practice among the Naga people to come with a chicken to see the new born baby, and therefore there is no dearth of chicken to have soup or curry all these days. As a result of the chicken soup and curry, the mother regains vigour within a few days. In fact she does not suffer any apparent ill-health after the birth. Many non-Nagas in Nagaland are following this practice and are getting fit quickly.

It will not be out of place to mention that generally a newly wed couple keep a dog and one of its duties is to lick-clean the anus of the few days old baby whenever it passes stool. It continues till the baby grows to childhood. This is not as a matter of rule but as a matter of convenience that most of the people do it.

The ears of the new born baby are pierced irrespective of sex. It is done on the last day of the genna—that is 5th or 6th day. The number of hole in the lobe of each ear varies from one to four in different places and among different tribes. Piercing of the ear of the baby of both the sexes is still a must with the non-Christians.

The baby is also named on the day of piercing the ears. Even if for some reason piercing of ears is not possible on that day, naming is done. But however it can be done later also. There is no hard and fast rule for anything.

Mortuary

Dead body has to be disposed of. There are different methods all over the world. Here in this district there was the method of exposure and now it is the burial.

In olden days, before this area coming under administration, some of the people, particularly Konyak, used to keep the dead body exposed in front of the house on a platform and then later used to despose it outside the village. This was the custom among all the people of this district even a century before, as it was the case with other Nagas.

Nowadays as a result of administrative order preventing exposure of dead body as well as due to influence of civilisation and more so Christianity, the dead body is buried instead of exposed. For burial every village has got a separate plot of land near or within the village, but more often than not the old and dear ones are buried in the court yard itself and very often a stone cairn is raised over it. Sometimes a tomb stone is also erected on the cairn.

Soon after the death of a person and before the burial, a feast is thrown by the bereaved family. The size and grandeur of the feast depends on the social status and richness of the deceased. Generally the feast is simple in the sense that much fanfare is not done, probably for shortage of time, and rice and meat are given in the feast. The meat is generally beef and or pork. But strictly speaking it is not a feast but a feed for the people who come to sympathise with the bereaved family or help in the burial. However, this feast may be compared with the Sradh-feast of the Hindus which takes place 10 to 30 days later. But the pre-burial feast of this district varies in meaning and purpose and in details from tribe to tribe.

The death is followed by a genna which generally extends for ten days. During this period the relatives and clan members of the deceased, if living in the same village, will not go to the field and will abstain from eating any vegetarian food, that is they will eat meat and rice and no vegetable. This is just opposite to the Hindu practices.

At the end of the genna period the utensils of the house will be cleaned and the genna will be over.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

Marriage

The district of Tuensang is inhabited by ten Naga tribes indigenous to this district. Of this ten tribes, two, namely Konyak and Sema though indigenous to this district, have got major settlements in Mon and Zunheboto districts respectively, and they have been treated in those districts. Therefore remain eight tribes¹ who have to be treated in this district. But then there is a great difference of culture, and so marriage practices, among the tribes and even among different groups of villages of the same tribe. Therefore it is difficult to deal with details of each tribe, and neither we do have the materials to do so. Hence we propose to give the practices which are common to all the tribes, and not the details of each tribe.

Marriage in this district is more a process of living together than an event or a ceremony. Often boys and girls freely mix with the opposite sex and choose their partners. During the process of this social intercourse, sexual intercourse also takes place. If in the process the girl gets pregnant or even deliver a baby, the thing may be legalised by marriage. Sometimes unmarried mothers are also found if some how the marriage does not take place.

But any way pregnancy before formal marriage is not the rule but exception and at the same time the rule is more observed in violation than in observance.

It is the general custom that the boy and the girl choose each other. Then they let it know to their parents. Generally parents agree because there is no caste system and in the villages there is no great difference in economic standard among the people. So when both the parties agree, a date is fixed for the marriage ceremony.

1. Those eight tribes are : Sangtam, Phom, Chang, Kheimungan, Yimchunger, Tikhir Mokware and Chirr.

The marriage proposal is often accompanied with a nominal present, as token of respect, to the father of the girl. Otherwise there is no dowry system, neither marriage price for the girls as among Semas and Lothas.

Among the non-Christians the marriage is solemnised by the elders (there is no priest) of both the families together who drink rice-beer, rice and pork and bless the couple. They also pray for the long and happy married life of the newly married couple. This takes place in the house of the bride and then follows feast which takes place in the afternoon. After the feast the newly married couple go to the groom's house in the evening. It is the bride's husband's house, not the house of her father-in-law, because before the marriage takes place a house is constructed for the marrying son, by his father and relatives. Therefore the newly married couple straight away go to their new house and not to the boy's father's house.

In the new house some feast and merry making take place. Also take place some rituals details of which are different among different tribes. But often omen is taken to know the future relation of the bride and groom. The bride generally does not go out of the house the next day or even the following day except for nature's call, and then the marriage ceremony is considered to be over.

The marriagable age of the girls is between twenty to twenty five and that of the boys is between twenty five to thirty. Marriage can take place on any day of the year but generally as a matter of convenience it takes place in November to February, because this is the time when the harvest is over and new agricultural operation has not began in full swing. Also this is the time when there is no much rain. Date of marriage is fixed according to convenience and without any reference to any heavenly body—not even phases of the moon.

The Christian marriage takes place in the Church and is solemnised by a priest who is called the minister. The Christian practices are same everywhere and so need not be elaborated here. But it may be noted here that if the girl is pregnant then the marriage does not take place in the church, but it is legalised by throwing a feast.

In both the cases, Christian and non-Christian marriages, the cost of the feast is borne by the groom.

Unlike the Hindus and like most other people of the world, the Nagas do not have any sign or symbol by which a married woman can be differentiated from an unmarried or widow or divorced.

Divorce

Where the marriage is without any price for the girl, divorce is also divorced of repayment of any price. But where there is a marriage price, the question of divorce is intimately connected with repayment of the price. If the divorce is due to infidelity of the wife, the husband gets back the marriage price subject to certain conditions of time limit etc, but in all the cases it comes from the paramour of the wife.

If the divorce takes place as a result of the infidelity of the husband, he may be fined by the wife's guardians. Of course, all the cases of divorce are settled with the help of both the parties concerned and the village elders.

Divorce is the normal rule of life as marriage is. But unlike marriage, divorce is unceremonial, and often arises as a process rather than an act.

Morals

Dr Smith, a Christian Missionary and a Sociologist has enumerated some thirteen characteristics of the Nagas which are common with Indonesians, that is the people of Malaya and the islands of Indonesia. One of the important points of that is great sexual freedom before marriage. This is verily true in respect of this district also. As a result of great sexual freedom before marriage often the boy and the girl stay together before formal marriage, and even produce children. Here there is not much difference between formal marriage and staying together, and society also does not look down on it or the children of such a union.

Pregnancy before marriage is not favoured, and gradually it is becoming less among the educated people, not because that they avoid sex before marriage but because they take preventive measures—thanks to *Nirodh*, the contraceptive. Still then medical termination of pregnancy of unmarried girls does occur.

Unmarried mothers are not uncommon. If the father of the baby refuses to marry the mother of his child, he is required to pay for the up-bringing of the child so long it suckles. But the authority of the village elders on such unwilling fathers is getting gradually loose.

Apart from the normal cases of unmarried mothers or pregnancy or child birth before marriage, often sexual intercourse takes places between willing boys and girls and even adultery takes place, but it goes unnoticed if they are clever enough, as in other societies, but a little more here. Also changing of sexual partner before marriage is common. Further, divorce on ground of infidelity is also common.

SOCIAL LIFE

Property and Inheritance

Laws of inheritance varies slightly among the different tribes, but here we shall discuss the common things only.

In this district, like other districts of this State the line of succession follows male heirs only and no female is entitled to inherit any property. This is same with all other Naga tribes also.

The property goes from father to son, and if the son predeceases him leaving male heir, then the property of the grand father will go to the grandson. If the man dies without any direct male heir, then his property will go to his brother's sons, and if there is no brother's sons, it will go to his father's brother's sons and so on.

Women cannot inherit any landed or any immovable property such as house etc, neither she can inherit the livestock also. Of course, she can inherit the fowls and ducks etc because it is primarily her look-after and it is not costly.

But woman can possess any property including immovable property during her life time. She might have acquired it by her own income or as present from her parents or husband.

Of course, husbands generally do not make any present of any immovable property to their wives because there is always the chance of divorce. Similarly nobody makes his wife nominee of any life insurance policy, if there is any, because of the same reason.

If a woman possesses any immovable property, after her death it will not go to her sons but to her brothers or brother's sons etc.

Credit together with debt of the deceased is considered to be a property. Debts due to, or from, the deceased, is considered to be a cash and hence it is divided according to the principle of succession of movable property.

Individual property can be sold or purchased but it cannot be transferred to any other village. That means sale or purchase should confine itself within the village. It is so because the villagers resent transfer of any land to other village. Land of course cannot be sold to any non-Naga without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner, which is not available.

Other than personal property, there is a village property also which is owned by the villagers jointly. It is generally the woodland or some fallow land, and it can be disposed off only jointly by the village elders, and not by any individual.

Dress And Ornaments

Though the people of this district have come under the influence of administration, and so to some extent modern civilisation, in 1948, actually they have seen the light of civilisation only in the last two decades — since 1858 — as this district formed a part of the then NHTA or Naga Hills Tuensang Area on 1st December, 1957. Since then there has been change in many spheres of life, but the change in dress is by far the greatest.

Actually for many centuries there has not been any change in the dress of the people of this district, but the birth of a separate administrative unit in 1957, de-facto State in 1961 and formally inaugurated State of Nagaland in 1963 and attendant all round development and people's participation in it, in the form of contract works etc, have brought change of outlook and

brought money and so the dress has greatly changed. The most important factor for change in dress is the influx of money rather than anything else.

Formerly men used to wear only a loin cloth and nothing else. The place being cold, to keep them warm they used to sit by fire and sometimes could not sleep due to cold. Of course, they used to wear a chadar but that was more ceremonial than common, and the poor people could not afford it. Nowadays also the same thing continues in the villages where the people have not yet got enough money to change over to better dress. However, even in the villages those who can afford have changed over to half pants and a chadar. The question of educated men and women is different because they dress in perfectly modern way. The men use under-wear, trousers, ganji, shirt, sweater, coat, shoe and often a tie. Some times they use trousers and chadar.

So far the women are concerned they used to wear a very short mekhala which hardly used to come down to the knee, and there was nothing to cover the upper part of the body, except many stringed necklace to partly cover the breasts. But nowadays even in the villages they wear longer mekhala and blouse. But the educated or well-to-do women use longer mekhala, petticoat, bra, blouse and shoe. And the young educated girls not only use longer mekhala which come down up to the heels, but often they use trousers and very high heel shoes. They also use panties, bra and blouse etc. Often they use a chadar also.

Both men and women used to wear ornaments. Men used to wear only ear-ring and nothing else in ordinary time. But for ceremonies they used to wear a pair of ivory armlet. Nowadays the modern educated men do not use any ornament.

The women used to wear ear-ring, many stringed bangle, and many stringed necklace of beads etc. But the modern women and girls do not use practically any ornament. But still then the latest development is towards use of a simple ear-ring, a ring on a finger and nothing else. These are made of gold, whereas the traditional ornaments were of brass or alloy of silver. Some young girls are leaning towards using gold necklace also.

In the villages women wear long hair but the modern educated girls keep it short or bob it. It is true about other districts of the State also. In the interior villages still some men keep long hair and wind it up in a hair-do, but the modern men crop the hair like other civilised people. Of course, nowadays, the young men are keeping comparatively long hair, as in the rest of the country.

Most of the people in the villages, particularly women, use tattoo marks on the face and other parts of the body.

TYPES OF DWELLING

Villages

All the Naga villages are situated on the top or shoulder of a spur. It is so because of defence purpose. In the olden time there used to be feuds between the tribes or villages and so it was necessary to have the villages in a well defensible position.

In the villages the houses are congested. Sometimes there is a line along the middle of the village and houses are situated on either side of it. Sometimes the houses are in clusters. On the whole it is filthy due to cows and pigs etc. The old villages used to have a treble line of defence — two stone walls and a ditch in between, and often itching plants outside it. There used to be a few narrow roads leading to the village and mouth of each such road used to be well defended. Nowadays these arrangements are breaking down and often villages are built on the valleys and without defence.

As a result of introduction of Christianity and influence of modern culture, many people do not like to live in the old and congested villages and so they have made new settlements. That is why often we find a New or Modern village near the old village, and they do have modern type of houses. These villages are generally peopled by Christians and or Educated and well-to-do people.

Housing

In the villages houses are made of jungle wood posts, bamboo mat wall and are roofed by thatch or a kind of palm leaves. Houses

generally do not have raised plinth, or hardly a plinth of 15 cm high, and a drain is dug round the house to let the water pass. Though the houses are almost on ground level yet it is dry and not damp. The eaves of the houses come down within a metre of the ground and the height of the roof is from 3 to 5 metres, from the rear to the front. On the front side there is an apse-like low semi-circular addition which serves the purpose of portico. There may be another in the back of the house also. Often two bamboos forming the front of the gable are extended beyond the roof to form snail-horn. It is a decoration only and sometimes imitation birds of wood are also fastened to it.

The houses are without any verandah, but often with a machang in the back for washing purposes. The house is generally divided into four rooms. The first one through which one is to enter into the main room is the place where pounding tables are kept. Pigs are also allowed to stay there. The next room is used by the grown up girls for sleeping. The third is the main room where lies the hearth, and cooking is done there. This is an all-purpose and the biggest room and the head of the family and his wife and young children sleep there. It is generally furnished with a few simple type of wooden cots or bamboo machang to sleep on. The fourth and last room is generally used for keeping rice-beer and a few other articles. The houses generally vary from 12×5 metre to 20×10 metre in size—the higher the status of the man the bigger the house. The general arrangement of the houses is like that of other Naga tribes but there is variation from tribe to tribe. For example, the houses of Chang tribe have got raised bamboo mat floor.

Often in the first room or outside the wall are kept the heads of mithun (gayal), cow, buffalo, deer etc animals which have been killed by that house.

Formerly narrow bamboo machangs of about 50 to 75 cm width were used for sleeping purpose, and the head of the family, if rich, used to sleep on about a meter or more wide wooden block with legs, hewn out of a single log of a tree. But nowadays modern bedstead of simple type are widely used even in the villages.

Houses do not have any latrine and so for motion the people go to the jungle outside the village. If untimely motion is felt or a

sick or infirm person can not walk upto the jungle, he or she may answer the call of nature in any convenient place near the house and pigs clean it quickly. The people do not use water after motion, but use jungle leaves, stick or paper.

In the New or Modern Village the houses are much better. There are either Improved Basha Type (jungle wood posts, double tarja bamboo mat wall and tin roof) or Hill Type (Tin roof on timber frame and cement plastered slit bamboo wall). Those houses do not have the traditional specification, but are made according to convenience and ability. Most of these houses have a bath - room in the courtyard and a separate kitchen. Some such houses do also have separate latrine of simple type.

In the towns most of the houses are modern, either Hill Type or brick building—the brick being brought from Amguri, Mariani or Dimapur—more than 200 km each.

Food and drink

The people of this district are in general rice eaters, but in some areas they do not grow sufficient rice, or no rice at all as late as 1950, and so their staple food is millet. Two Types of millet are there, one is hill millet, grains of which are like mustard seed, and the other is jobs-tears, grains of which are like grams. People eat both the types of millet. Another important substitute of rice is maize. The people also eat taro (colocasia) that is Kachu in time of scarcity.

They eat rice, millet, maize or Kachu as the case may be with some curries and often some chutney of chilli, or chilli and dry fish, or chilli and rotten soyabean, etc. Curries are made of pumpkin and wild roots and leaves, but nowadays they are taking modern vegetables such as potato, cabbage, cauliflower, brinjal etc. They also take meat as much as available. In fact what is fish to a Bangalee or a Malayalee is meat to these people, but the poor people cannot always afford to have it. They take all sorts of meat not excluding elephant, tiger, bear, snake, dog and frog, whenever it is available. Some people do not take dog, tiger or snake, Christians generally do not take snake considering it a Satan.

Beef is the most common meat but pork is more relished. Meat of buffalo and mithun (gayal) is also used in plenty. Mithun is used particularly in any big feast. Most of the meat comes from domestic animals such as cattle, pig, goat, sheep, fowl, duck, Chinese duck etc and it is occasionally supplemented by hunting wild games such as deer, wild boar, wild fowl and varieties of birds. The hunting is done by modern fire-arms such as single or double barrel gun, menagerie rifle, shot gun or even muzzle loading gun. The people are used to make muzzle loading guns themselves.

Fish is not generally available in this district except by the river sides. It is so because there is no pond, tank or lake there to have fish. Running waters are also very few and narrow and most of them dry up in dry season. Therefore fish is available in the comparatively big rivers, of which there are a few. However, the people fish in these rivers during lean season. The fish are generally only carp weighing from a few hundred grams to two to three kilogramms. A few cat fishes and murrels are also available.

Among vegetables, mustard leaf is the most common and enduring vegetable because it grows for five to six months, during winter, and grows in plenty. The other important vegetable is squash which also grows for five to six months during monsoon. Another important vegetable is pumpkin. And now all the modern vegetables have come up to stay.

Food is taken thrice a day in the villages, such as in the morning, noon and evening. The morning meal is taken, in the villages, at sunrise or so before going to the field, noon day meal is taken by noon, generally in the field house during agricultural operation, and the evening meal is taken before sun set.

The people sometimes take tiffin of burnt pumpkin, or taro or even cooked cereals. Modern people are changing their food habits and the timing according to their convenience—often breakfast at 8 a.m, lunch at 1 p.m, and dinner at 8 p.m. They also take bread, butter, luchi, roti etc for tiffin.

Drink is too important a thing to be omitted. People in this district, and practically all over the hills of Nagaland, do not

generally drink water¹ but whenever they feel thirsty they drink rice beer or plain tea without sugar or milk, the plain tea mainly by the Christians. However rice-beer is not only common drink but a part of food itself in this district as well as in other districts too. It is used in all ceremonies and functions in the villages. Rice-beer has got several varieties. All the varieties of rice-beer are commonly known as Modhu, an Assamese term, to the outsiders. Christians generally do not take rice-beer, but occasionally other hard liquors such as rum, whisky etc Indian made foreign liquor.

One of the characteristics of the Mongoloid people or more correctly the tribes of South-East Asia is aversion for milk, and it is so here. Until recently or even now milk is not taken in the villages. Cows are kept for breeding, for the purpose of meat only and not for milk. Only recently in the urban areas the people have started taking it and following that some people in the villages too have appreciated milk as food item. But still then milking is rare in the villages now (February, 1979).

The people smoke dried tobacco leaf and have learnt to smoke biri and cigarette too, but no Hukka is ever used—they do not know it. Not only the men but the women also smoke. But modern educated girls generally do not smoke until ultra modern.

COMMUNAL LIFE

All primitive societies are communal in character, and so also is the social set up of the tribes of this district. Nagas as a whole are communal in outlook and its component tribes are also so. They work together, they play together, they fish together and they feel together. Any pride of an individual of a village or a tribe is considered a pride for the entire village or tribe as the case may. So also any loss of prestige of any individual member of the society is considered a loss of the village

1. Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited Mokokchung in November, 1978, and it is said that he wanted a glass of water to drink but it was very difficult to get.

and the tribes. In ancient time the loss of a head at the hand of the enemy was considered loss of the entire village. It may be noted in this connection that communal feeling is based on the family and gradually goes up to clan, village and then the tribe. Originally the feeling was very strong but gradually with education and civilisation it is getting loose.¹

Here we shall be discussing some items of communal life of the people of this district.

Games And Sports

All sorts of modern games and sports, including Cricket, have been introduced in this district in the last few decades and those are played in the administrative headquarters, out-posts, and even in the villages. But apart from the modern games and sports, the people have got some games and sports which are their original. These games and sports are played and enjoyed by many in a communal manner. Some of these are discussed below.

Mud-Pies. The children of this district, as all over the world, make mud-pies. But unlike in other places, here they moisten the earth by urine, because water is scarce. With that moistend earth they make utensils and make pretence of cooking and eating. This is purhaps the oldest play of the world.

Tops. The chidren play various types of peg tops and spin tops. Those are made with stick and gourd and are played by

1. In 1965 or 66 when this Editor was Headmaster of the Government High School at Wakching, (now in Mon district) one Assamese gentleman was the Treasury Officer at Mon. Somehow he misappropriated some thirty thousand rupees from the Treasury and was facing suspension and traial which would definitely land him in jail for several years. The administrati-on was kind enough to agree to let him go if he could pay the money misappropriated. It was a Konyak area. Yanang, a Konyak teacher of Wakching village, expressed his surprise as to why a man would go to jail for such a thing. On inquiry he told me that in such a case about a person of their village the entire village would have collected the money, and paid it to get back his job and prestige, because he is our man. This is how every village and even the tribes used to feel before, but nowadays the feeling is getting slack. —Ed.

the children with enthusiasm. A kind of top is made of a hard block of wood and is shaped in two cones, base to base. This is played with a string wound round it. It is thrown to the ground to spin and often it is made to fight with other such tops. This game is also popular among the lads and grown ups.

Seeds of Sword Bean. There is a game which is played with the seeds of swordbeans. Sword beans are about 75 cm long and it contains some seeds which are about 3 cm square and 1.5 cm thick with rounded corners, and reddish colour. Generally the young girls play with these seeds by placing one after another and hitting it with another to knock it out of the stack.

Kick-Fighting. This is a kind of fighting by kicking. In it the boys stand on the left leg and fight each other with right leg, often at right angle. This is a dangerous game because it may hurt and cause wound. So the onlookers do not allow to continue the game longer. Or they stop it as soon as they see that some contenders are losing temper.

Chadar-Fighting. This is a play of fighting with chadar, without any definite rules. It is played by children. In it one boy holds one end of his chadar and slaps another boy on the bare leg by the other end of the chadar. It is more or less a fun but painful often because the slap of the thick rough cloth and the way it is done, gives burning sensation.

Spear-Throw. It is a kind of javeline throwing, but instead of javeline the people use spear for mark-manship. It is a game of the young men and the competitors who hits the exact place or bull's eye is acclaimed for his accuracy. For bull's eye they use banana tree. This game is not played always but only when such a competition is organised. For practice the people use bamboo or wooden rods, or even the spear without the iron blade.

Head-Hunting Game. This is a game in which mock fighting is arranged and people want to take the 'head' of enemy by cutting the banana trees which are placed to pretend as the enemy force. This is done in loud war-cry and actually cutting down the banana trees with sharp daos after firing down the 'enemy'

with actual guns. It is actually not a game but a play and also is not always played, but only when such a thing is organised.

Wood-Chopping. This is also not a game but a play. In it a piece of soft young slim tree or a piece of thick cane is stuck into the ground and then it is chopped off from the top with one stroke of sharp dao. Whoever can do so leaving a fine slanting cut mark is acclaimed to be a good chopper. In olden days, during head-hunting time the young men used to practise it to be expert in chopping human head. But the days of head hunting being over, it has now become a play of pleasure reminiscent of the old days.

Pole-Climbing. Climbing of a clean and smooth bamboo pole is also a play. Children or even young men try to climb it and who can reach the top without slipping down once is acclaimed to be a good climber.

Tug of War. It is game as elsewhere but here instead of rope the people use a stout jungle creeper. If the creeper is crooked or has got a knot, it may break there, so care is taken to find out a straight creeper. In this game sometimes women also put their hands, more in jest than in seriousness.

Stone Throw. It is like shot-put, but instead of the shot of iron, the people use rounded stone of desired weight. Generally such round and smooth stones are available in river beds. Whoever can throw the stone farthest is acclaimed as the best thrower.

Amusements. There are different kinds of fun played by the people of this district. One of them is running after the girls. On way back from the field sometimes a girl may ask a boy to catch her by running. The girl is a few spaces ahead of the boy. Both of them start running—the boy behind the girl. After sometime the boy is rewarded by the pleasure of catching the girl. Another fun is throwing fruits. Sometimes a girl may throw some small fruits, generally goose-berry, to a boy. The boy in chivalry turns back and side to escape the fruits, but does not run away. Both the above two funs are amorous in nature.

Apart from the games, plays and funs mentioned above, all sorts of modern games and sports such as Foot-ball, Volley ball,

Badminton, Tennicoit, High jump, Longjump, Shot-put, Javelin-throw, Pole volt etc etc have come to this district in the last few decades, and they are played enthusiastically everywhere.

Hunting

Villages are situated far apart, 5 to 10 km, and the intervening areas are covered by jungle. Therefore there is plenty of jungle. In these jungles there used to live various wild animals in olden days, but due to indiscriminate use of fire arms since the Second Great War till today, the wild life has dwindled. But still then there are some. They include various birds, deer, bear, wild boar, pangolin, python, leopard, wolf, tiger, wild dog, wild goat etc.

Since the people are living in the midst of jungle and so in close proximity of the wild animals, they have become expert in hunting. In the olden days they used to hunt with muzzle loading gun, arrow, spear and even sling for birds. Nowadays most of the hunting is done by modern guns and there are many of it—almost every rich man has got one or more as it is a status symbol.

There are two types of hunting. One is individual just for meat or hobby, and the other is corporate. Corporate hunting is a big community affair. In it the den of the game, generally a bear or tiger or leopard, is found out. Then a day is fixed for hunting. It may be participated by only one village or even several villages together. On the day all the able-bodied men go to the spot being armed with guns and spears. The people surround the area to be hunted and gradually close up. In the line, father and son or the brothers stand side by side so that in case of danger one can help other.

The thing being ready picketers howl the animal out of its hide-out. Sometimes dogs are also used. Anyway, when the game comes out, the people shoot it or spear it and thus kill it. Then the animal is cut up and the meat is divided among all, the greater share or the best portion going to the person who first shot or speared it.

It is something like a war and the pleasure is more for the victory than for the meat it produces (any kind of meat is eatable). Like many other primitive and even civilised people, the Nagas consider

sex as inauspicious and therefore refrain from sexual activity the previous night of hunting. They did the same thing for warfare in olden time.¹

Fishing

Waters are not plenty in this district but still then people fish in whatever water is available there. Lakes and Bils are conspicuous by their absence, in this district, as in the rest of the State (except in the small plain sector). So the people catch fish from the rivers only.

Fish is caught only during dry season because during monsoon no fish can be caught in the torrential currents of the hill rivers. So fish is generally caught from November to March, and the fishing is generally limited to the villages near the rivers.

The people use various implements to catch fish. Some of them are the following : (1) Landing net (2) Drag net of small variety (3) Rod and line (4) Basket of different of varieties, and (5) Dao etc weapons. These implements are used for individual catches but by far the most important fishing is the community fishing, in which those implements are not generally used,

Community fishing is done generally in two ways. One by making a weir or dam across the shallow water of the river and the other is by poisoning or bombing etc. In the first case a dam is made across the shallow water of the river. Then the water of the up-stream is emptied by baskets or bowls and fish is caught from there. It may be noted that it is possible because there is no or very little current that time and so the water does not swell. After emptying the water the fish is caught by groping from under the stones .

In the case of poisoning the people also make a low dam across the river and pound the poisonous creeper on the dam itself.

1. Head hunting and warfare has become a thing of the past, but still then as late as March, 1978 some nine Chang men killed four Sema students while they were sleeping in a road-side camp. The incident took place near Tuensang Town, some 10 km from it, in Chang area. This incident led to a great Tension between the two tribes involved. And in fact war preparations took place on both the sides but some how it was averted.

The juice of the creeper which is poisonous mixes with the water down stream. When the fish drink this poisonous water they become sick and float on the water. The people then catch them by hand, by net, or cut by dao etc. This way the fish is caught even a kilometre or more down stream of the dam.

Besides fishing by poisoning, fish is also caught nowadays by using DDT powder. It has got the same effect like poison and the fish is caught in the same manner. Of course, in using DDT some-time dam is not made but DDT is used in a pool of water.

Fish is also caught by bombing, that is, throwing a powerful cracker into the water. It stupifies the fish and then it is caught by the people.

This community fishing is a big festival in which even several villages together take part. Not only the men go for fishing, but the women and children follow them. They spend the whole day in the river side, cook and eat there, and come back in the evening singing. The whole thing is like a war against the denizen of the river.

Fairs and Festivals

Unlike the plains of Assam or other plains, here in this district there are practically no fairs, but festivals are there.

Every tribe has got its own festivals which are differently known but are generally known by the common term *genna*. *Genna* means a festival, *puja*, *taboo*, *restriction*, *asauch* etc. However most of the festivals are connected with agricultural operations. Every tribe has got some festivals for first cutting the *Jhum* field, first sowing, first harvesting and new-rice etc. Some festivals have got some restrictive features whereas some others are of festive nature. In most of the festivals feasting is done on family basis, but there are some in which the entire village takes part as a matter of enjoyment. The feasting is done with rice, pork, beef and rice-beer.

Not only the festivals of each tribe are different, but the dates of the festivals differ from village to village, the dates being decided by the village priest (non-Christian), according to the

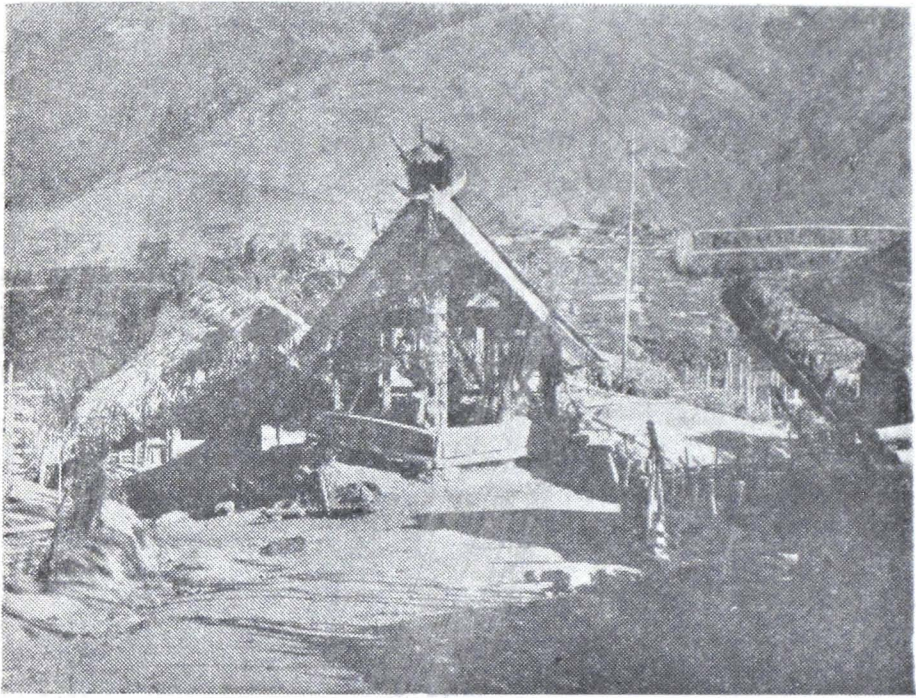
convenience and other factors. But nowadays most of the tribes have permanently fixed the dates of the major festivals so that every one knows it before hand, and can take part in it.

In the case of feast of merit, the feast is given by a person to the whole village. Here the most important sacrifice is Mithun (gayal) and its meat is the most important item of meat.

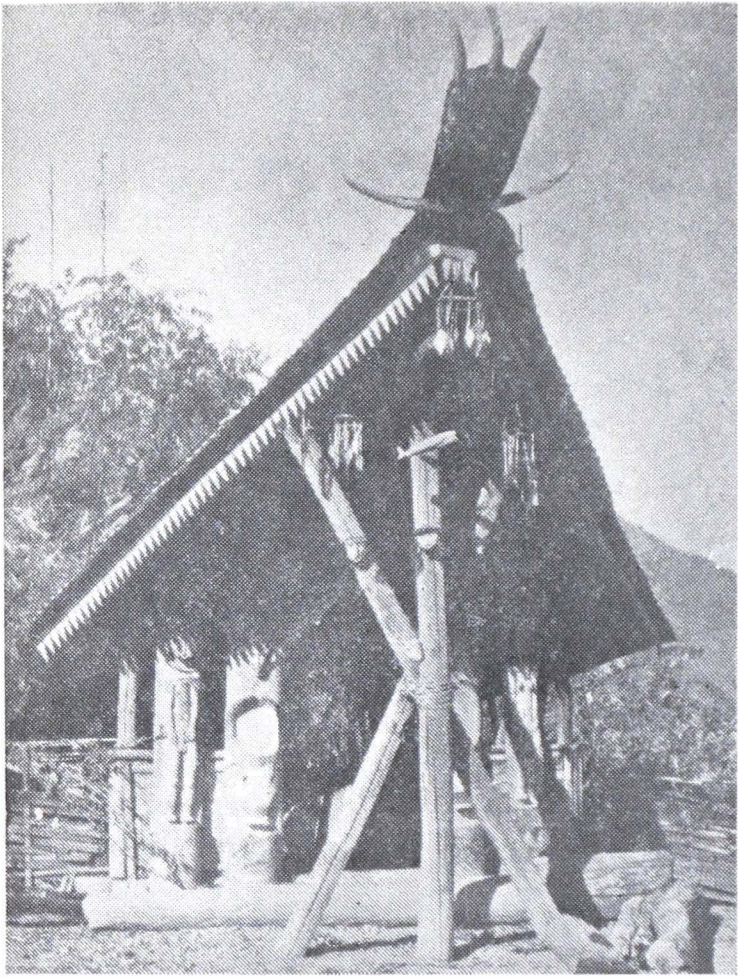
Almost every tribe has got morung system. In morung used to sleep the bachelors of the village and it used to serve the purpose of a fortress. Where there is morung system, every khel¹ of the village used to have a separate morung. Nowadays educated or Christian youngmen do not sleep in the morung, and so every where it has fallen into disuse. Still however, it is re-constructed or repaired occasionally and that occasion is an occasion of festivity for the khel to which the morung belongs. In such an occasion everybody enjoys the feast of rice, meat and rice-bear.

For the Christians the most important festival is the Christmas which is observed on 25th December each year. On this day Christians decorate the houses, and often throw a community feast. In this occasion games and sports etc are also organised.

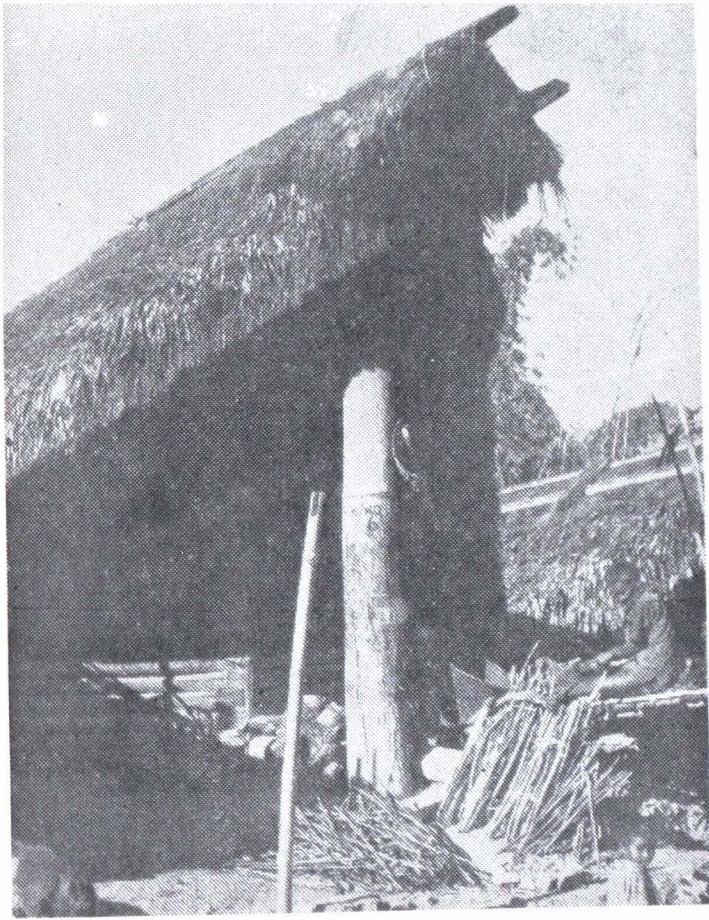
1. Khel is a part of a village with independent identity. In fact it is a village within a village..



A Morung of Tuensang Village, showing a part of the Village



Front of a Morung of Tuensang village



A traditional Chang house



A Sangtam woman weaving her cloth



A Konyak old woman and her daughter



A Phom man weaving his basket

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

Introduction

For about a millenium, since the people have settled in this area, they are cultivating in their own way. Probably in the earlier centuries of their settlement here they were not tilling the land but were just sowing or putting the paddy in the hole made by a stick. Gradually they have learnt the present method of cultivation by spade and hoe.

The people are all agriculturalists and they all live in villages. Even Tuensang town, according to 1971 census, is not a town because it does not fulfill the conditions of a town. Therefore all the people of this district are rural. Not only they live in the villages but their very heart and soul depends on agriculture. They do not have any other occupation, and even if they have, it is only a subsidiary one, not the main. Of course, recently some people have entered into Government service and contract works, but their percentage is very small. So still agriculture is the main-stay of the people.

Land Reclamation and Utilisation

There is no waste or barren land other than the forests. On the other hand the density of population is only 32 per square kilometre. That means there is sufficient arable land. But the practice of Jhum reduces the total arable land available to one-fifth, if not still less. It is so because the same land is cultivated after about three to ten years. Though there is sufficient cultivable land the rate of production per unit is not good. And that is why they do not produce food for one harvest to another — often they suffer from shortage. There are many people who produce food sufficient only for nine to ten months of the year. These

people in time of scarcity subsidise their food by taro (*Colocasia* — a plant of arum family), apart from millet and maize. It goes without saying that the people are rice-eaters but can not afford it all the year round.

Since the entire source of subsistence is the land, people value it much. Since they are land-based they have all the virtues and vices of an agricultural community. They are tillers per se.

Soil

The entire district is built up of sedimentary rock which decays quickly. Naturally the soil is a decayed sedimentary rock and it is about a metre deep. From time immemorial the trees have shed leaves and the undergrowth has decayed contributing to the growth of topsoil. At the same time, every year some portion of the top soil is washed away by rains and again it is replaced in the same natural process. As a result of this alternate action of erosion and deposition, the top soil remains the same. This top soil is very fertile but porous. It is about 15 to 20 cm deep.

The river valleys have accumulated this soil and have grown in thickness varying from 1 to 2 metres. It is more fertile than uplands.

The major parts of this district are occupied by the soils which are technically known as Spodosol and Oxisol. Spodosol soils occur over high altitudes with humid and temperate climate but under coniferous (pine) vegetation and are characterised by a sub-surface horizon with high cation exchange capacity and high base saturation. It occupies a greater area than the other. Oxisol occupies lesser area than spodosol. Strongly weathered lateritic soils and non-laterised latosols have been grouped under Oxisol. The sub-surface horizon is characterised by low base exchange capacity, friable and massive structure and accumulation of iron and aluminium. This soil order occurs over the foothills and lower ranges on the west (of the State), more or less up to an altitude 750 metre from the sea level. These soils have a

prolonged dry period (rainshadow belt) and are predominantly under degraded grass and bamboo forests.¹

Land Tenure

All the lands belong to the villages. Every village has got its own land surrounding the village. In the village again every khel² or clan has got its own land. Thus the land belongs to the clans and so there is no Patta or Rayati system. In the clan again, every individual family has got its own land. This family land goes on sub-dividing itself as the members of the family increase in number. When thus the land falls short for any particular family, it is made good from the khel-land or the village land. However, any individual person may sell or purchase land from the same village, but not from other village, because there is a strong aversion among the villages to sell land outside the village. However for any case if the land falls short, then some people may go away to establish a new village, as the Semas do.

In case of sale, it is verbally done in presence of some responsible persons of the village. Nowadays such sale is generally written as many of the people can read and write their own language (there are many languages). Such a deed is generally not registered but simply witnessed by responsible villagers. Only in the case of urban and costly properties it is registered in the court of the administrative officer under whose jurisdiction it falls.

All told, land belongs to the villages, its khels and its families and their individual members and there is no deed for it.

Nagaland Jhum Regulation Act 1964, has defined and regulated the rights of the people to Jhumland. It has also defined how a right is accrued, enjoyed and transferred. The Regulation has conferred the right on the people to collect forest products from their Jhumlands for domestic use but not for sale or barter.

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1. Source : Soil Survey Reports of Nagaland, P-5 and the soil map between the pages 2 and 3.
 2. Khel is a specified area of settlement of the village and the division is made on the basis of clan.

Forms of Cultivation

The district being hilly and being situated in the midsts of the hills of Naga Hills bordering the Hills of Burma, has got no adjoining plains. As every kind of agricultural operation of any place is conditioned by the physiography of that area, this district practises two forms of operation as are possible and easily done here. They are Jhum and Terrace.

Jhum is the most widespread form of agricultural practices in the hills of the world particularly in the hills of North-East India. In the hills of entire north-eastern region, consisting of Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh etc and the hills of adjoining Burma, the main form of cultivation is Jhum.

The other form is Terrace. This is practised in a limited way, because everywhere the land form is not suitable for terrace, neither the facilities for irrigating the terrace are available everywhere.

We shall now discuss these forms in details, one by one.

Terrace

Terrace is not much practised in this district. In the State of Nagaland, the Angami Nagas are noted for terrace cultivation, the knowledge of which it is said, they have brought along with them from their earlier settlement in Indo-China. The predominant tribes of this district do not have expertise of terrace cultivation and therefore it may be said that they did not come from the same place as the Angamis.

However, though they were not earlier acquainted with terrace cultivation, the Government of Nagaland is trying to introduce it among them.

In this form of cultivation, Terrace, a plot of land generally having gentle slope, is selected for this purpose. It is then made into several flat plots of land. For this purpose, the land is

divided into many plots and the higher part of the plot is cut and the earth is spread on the lower part to make the entire plot a flat one. The sides of the plot are raised and helped with stone and earth to hold on. Sometimes when the sides are high enough, it is retained with wall of stone and earth. Thus the entire land, which generally is much less than one acre, is made into several flat plots.

Now the question of irrigation comes. Since in a terrace the paddy plants are transplanted in the mud, the earth has to be prepared and for that irrigation to flood the land is necessary. Therefore, terrace cannot be made if suitable source of irrigation is not available near at hand.

For the purpose of irrigation, water from a monsoon stream or a fall, is canalised to the field. Sometimes the canal is taken a kilometre round the neck of a hill or over gentle slopes, to reach the land. It has already been mentioned that the sides of the plots are raised. It is done so to hold water. The sides are generally 20 to 30 cm high. A water passage is cut at the level of about 10 to 15 cm in the side so as to allow the excess water to pass to the next plot of land. Thus always 10 to 15 cm of water remains in the field.

When during monsoon, in June-July, the lands get the required water, the earth is spaded and made into thick dough. As soon as the land is ready, the paddy plants are transplanted there straight from the seed-bed. Soon after transplantation the plants grow pale but within a week it regains strength and turns verdant and starts growing.

It does not require weeding and is harvested in October-November. All the time during the growth of the paddy and even until it is harvested, water is allowed to remain accumulated in the field. Unlike Jhum, in the terrace only paddy is grown and no extra crops.

Harvesting is done in the same way as Jhum. That is it is reaped at ears only and thrashed near the field, or even in the field

itself, if it gets dry. In wet terrace, thrashing arrangement may not be possible and in such case the ears of paddy are carried home and thrashed. For thrashing, wherever it may be, they use plaited bamboo mats to thrash upon.

MERITS OF TERRACE. Terrace is a permanent field of cultivation, because once it is made it continues for indefinite period. Once the plots are made and arrangement of irrigation done, there is no capital expenditure. Every year the water will flow into the plots and every year it will be cultivated in the same manner. In it the manure is not washed away, unlike in Jhum. Only as a result of repeated cultivation of the same land the fertility decreases, but for that occasional use of cowdung or other manure will do. In terrace the production per acre is also much higher¹ than in Jhum.

As a result of all these merits of terrace cultivation the Government is doing its best to introduce this system of cultivation among the people of this district, as it is done in other districts also. But since terrace making is a costly affair, it is not always possible for every farmer to make terraces themselves. So to ameliorate this financial difficulty as well as to encourage the people, the Government of Nagaland are giving subsidy for making terrace lands. The subsidy is given at present (Nov. '77) at the rate of Rs. 300/- per acre or Rs. 750/- per hectare, whereas the average cost of terracing an hectare of land is about two thousand rupees. So it is quite clear that the subsidy is a very nominal one and is practically nothing more than a mere incentive.²

Area under terrace cultivation in this district is as follows.³

1974-75	...	3232 hectares.
1975-76	, ...	398 additional hectares, total 3630 hectares.
1976-77	...	974 additional hectares total 4604 hectares.

-
1. Production of paddy per hectare is two metric tonnes in Jhum and two and a half metric tonnes in Terrace.
 2. The facts and figures have been taken from a Note dt. 5-11-77 of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland.
 3. As above.

Irrigation

The land is too hilly and therefore the most common form of irrigation of the plains such as perennial or innundation or tube-well or tank is not possible here. Of course a few natural tanks in the bowls of the hills have grown up here and there. But those are very small and they dry up in dry season. However, some people grow vegetables on the bank of such natural tanks because the land remains moist there. Even if necessary it can be watered from that tank. Question of canals from rivers does not arise in the hills. Neither tube-well can be sunk here. In fact, there is no tube-well in this district or even in the whole of Nagaland except its plain areas. Also, irrigation is not needed to grow main crops such as rice, millet and maize, because they grow during monsoon when the rainfall is sufficient. Further, even if the rainfall is not sufficient, the steep slope of hills cannot be irrigated in any way.

However, irrigation is needed and it is practised to water the terrace lands. Terrace cannot be cultivated without irrigation. For this purpose, the people make small canals to divert the water from monsoon streams or falls to the field. These canals are generally half a metre wide and similarly deep, and runs a few hundred metres or even a kilometre round the shoulder of the hill or over gentle slopes. Though this is the only form of irrigation practised in this district the area covered by it is very small because terrace still is in its infancy in this district.

Construction of irrigational canal is also subsidised by the Government, and the rate is 50% of the cost of unskilled work and cent percent of the skilled work, that is masonry work etc. On the average the cost of construction of one kilometre of this type of irrigation canal is four thousand rupees (as in 1977). On the average the length of such canals is about half a kilometre. The biggest canal in this district is in Tuensang village and it is about 4 km long.¹

1. The above facts have been taken from a Note dt 5-11-77 of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland.

Statistics of irrigation of this district are not yet available. However, the statistics of irrigation of former Tuensang district which has been converted into Tuensang and Mon are given below. It may be mentioned that the present Tuensang district is about two-thirds in area of the former Tuensang district.

**IRRIGATED AREA OF FORMER TUENSANG DISTRICT
(IN HECTARE)¹**

Year	Total irrigated area	Irrigated area under crops
1970-71	2636	2636
1971-72	3036	3036
1972-73	1338	1338
1973-74	3461	3516

Jhum

By Jhum we mean shifting of cultivation, that is, place of cultivation is changed every year or every few years. Some people use 'slash and burn' to denote Jhum but that is not correct, because slashing and pruning of leaves and branches can be done anywhere for any purpose but it does not explain the actual system which verily means shifting of the site of cultivation.

In this system a plot of land is cultivated once, or even for twice and hardly thrice successively. Then the land is kept fallow for about three to ten years depending on the fertility of that land and availability of other lands. The original land is cultivated for paddy for the first year, for maize or millet in the second year or hardly even in third year. Then the land will remain unused for several years during which period other available lands are cultivated and when no new land is available, the people will come back to the original plot of land to cultivate it again. This is a cyclic process of agricultural operation and it is called Jhum.

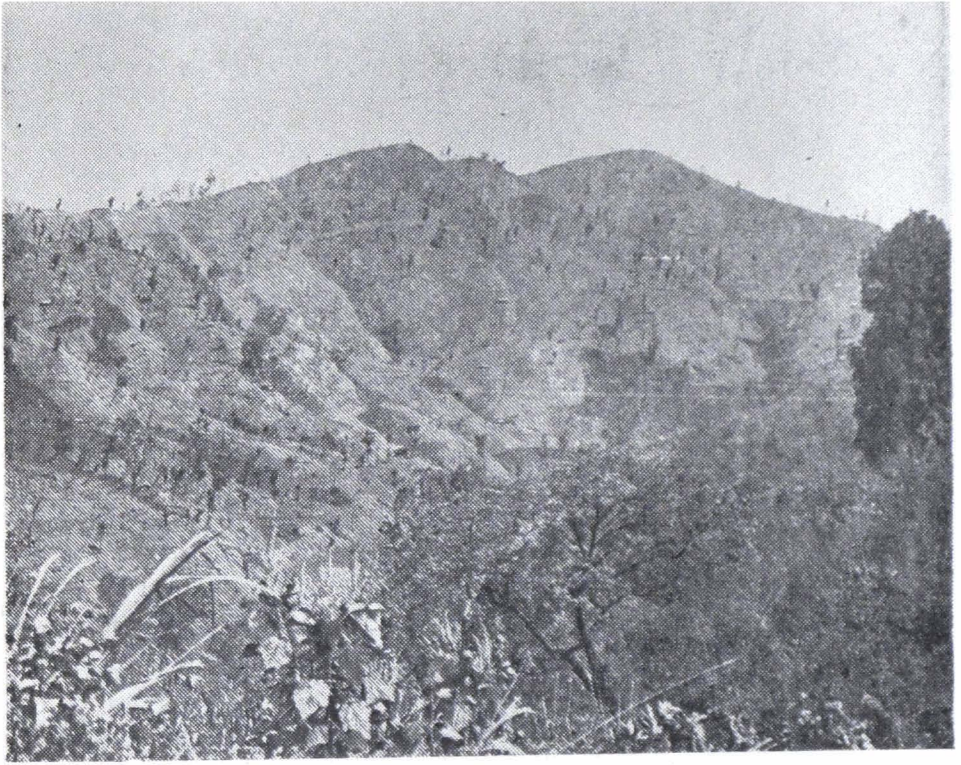
1. Sources: Directorate of Agriculture, Nagaland, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland in their Statistical Hand-book of Nagaland, 1974 (P-82-83)



Growth of paddy is luxuriant



A bumper crop of Jobstears (millet) which was the staple food before



Jhuming is still the main form of cultivation in this district



Terrace, the best form of irrigated cultivation in the hills, has started

In the first year, the plot of land being virgin, mother earth will bestow her blessing to the people in the form of abundant crop, invariably paddy. The people are rice eaters and so they grow rice in the first year when the soil is very fertile. The land being generally steepy hills and soil being loose, the fertility is washed away quickly during monsoon downpours. So the next year mother earth cannot bear as luxuriantly as it was in the first year. So in the second year they grow maize or millet both of which are substitute food during scarcity. The producing capacity of the land is still much less in the third year and so it is generally not cultivated in the third year provided the demand for land is not greater than the supply. However, if it is cultivated in the third year also, the same crop, that is maize or millet is given, but the harvest is generally poor.

In this form, that is jhum, a piece of land to be cultivated is selected first and then in the months of November and December it is cleared of all the undergrowth, shrubs and bushes and small trees. Then the branches of the big trees are slashed in such a way so that the trees do not die but on the other hand it does not hinder the growth of the crop by causing shadow. Cut-down branches and the small trees as well as the shrubs and bushes etc lie there for several months to be dried up. In the months of February and March those are collected in heaps and fire is set to it. The fire is generally set in the evening and the field burns throughout the night and sometimes the next day also. After the fire dies out, the half-burnt and unburnt logs are collected and arranged in lines to make some sort of terraces so that the top soil is not washed away easily. While doing this, the logs are helped in their positions with the help of pegs. The excess or unused logs and branches are then carried home to be used as fire wood.

It has to be mentioned here that before setting fire to the field, care is taken so that the fire does not extend to other area. For this purpose, generally a fire-path of about two to three metre width is made round the field. It goes without saying that the fire-path is cleared of any dry substances which may catch fire.

As a result of burning, the field not only gets cleared but also gets some manure from the ashes. Soon after the burning, the

land is tilled with the help of spade and hoe and then paddy is broadcast. In some cases instead of spade and hoe, even stick is used to dig a small hole and the seeds are put in it, as it is practised in the lower range of Wokha District of this State. Alongwith the paddy, generally, on the outskirts of the field are grown taro (Kachu), chilli and some vegetables. In March and April the paddy is sown and it is harvested in August and September. During the first two months of its growth weeding is done once or twice.

Unlike other parts of India, stalk of paddy plants are not used as fodder for domestic cattle and so only the ears of the paddy are reaped and the stalks which grow less than a metre high are left in the field as it is. The harvested paddy is thrashed in the field itself. It is also winnowed there and then the clean paddy is brought home in basket. For the purpose of thrashing a piece of land in the field itself is cleaned and thrashing is done there on plaited bamboo mat.

In every field there is a field-house, a small hut, in which the people take rest and take food during the agricultural activity.

Farming

Most of the cultivable lands are Jhum lands which are not permanent. Farming has not yet developed. A few individuals have planted some fruit trees in the back yard or outside, but those are not properly attended or no profit has yet accrued from. Therefore those cannot be termed as a farm.

Co-operative farming has not yet started in this district.

But then there are several Government farms and those are given below. ¹

1. Chentang Apple Orchard Farm	—	50 acres
2. Mangaki Fruit Nursery	—	20 acres
3. Kuther Potato Seed Farm	—	25 acres
4. Pungro Potato Seed Farm	—	20 acres

1. As per information received from the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland, in a note dated 5-11-77.

5. Kiphire Paddy Seed Farm	—	5 acres
6. Tuensang Paddy Seed Farm	—	15 acres
7. Helipong Regional Foundation Potato Seed Farm (It is under North-East Council)	—	400 acres.

Important Crops

PADDY. Most of the people of this district did not know the cultivation of paddy until recently (even upto 1950)¹ and so their staple food was millet, maize and taro. But nowadays (October 1977) they are growing paddy to some extent and have become more rice-eaters than anything else. However, still millet, maize and taro constitute the bulk of their food. Husk of the paddy is used as feed for the pigs.

MILLET. Two varieties of millet are grown in this district, one is called hill millet and the other is jobs tear. Hill millet's grains are very small and round like mustard seeds whereas that of jobs tear is like a gram. Millet is used as one of the main foods. Only the ears of the plants are harvested and stalks remain in the field. It does not require very good soil to grow. This is the most important crop of this district and it is easier to cultivate.

MAIZE. It is used as main food, but it is also used as a feed for the pigs, fowls and ducks etc. When green, it is roasted or boiled and taken as tiffin. It has got two varieties such as small and big. The big sized ones are very common. Small ones are red in colour and very sweet and sticky. Both are cooked and used as food.

TARO. It is a bulbous root crop of arum family and its botanical name is colocasia. It is commonly known as Kachu. It comes in the fourth position as an item of food. It is taken boiled or burnt. It is used with other curries also. It is grown in Jhum field along with paddy.

1. Still now Kiphire, Samatore, Noklak and Tuensang Sadar including Tobu do not grow sufficient rice and so rice is not the staple food in those places.

PUMPKIN. It is a vegetable and so is used in curries, but it is also used as tiffin by burning or boiling. It is grown fairly widely along with Jhum paddy—on the sides of the field.

BEANS. French bean, soya bean and other kinds of bean are widely grown. French bean is used as main food also by some people, particularly Yimchunger.

SQUASH. It is a bulbous fruit of a creeper plant. It was introduced in Nagaland in the first quarter of this century from the then Khasi Hills. It is grown in the kitchen garden or near the house. The creeper grows luxuriantly and even the shoots from one root may cover about a hundred square metre of area on machang or house roof. It bears fruit from July to November and the fruits can be preserved for several months. When mature, the fruit grows shoots from the seed inside while the fruit is still dangling in the machang. By placing this fruit in the earth, the plant can be grown. The plant grows fleshy roots and it is also used in curry. The fruit itself is a good vegetable and is used almost in every curry. It is an important vegetable since it is grown for six months of the year, and it grows abundantly. It is used in curry as well as taken simply by boiling.

MUSTARD LEAF. It is a leaf vegetable and it is grown in kitchen garden. It is very enduring item of vegetable, since it grows from November to April, and sometimes off season also. It is very widely used and is something like pulses of the vegeterians of the rest of India.

OTHERS. Apart from those mentioned above there are brinjal, cabbage, cauliflower, varieties of gourd etc vegetables. And chilli, the most important item for every curry is widely grown. It has also got several varieties. Garlic and ginger are also grown for domestic consumption as spices for curry.

Crop-Calender

The district being cold practically nothing grows during winter, from November to February, except a few winter crops such as Mustard leaf, Cabbage, Leaf-cabbage, Cauli flower, Radish etc. It may be noted that the district as a whole is undeveloped, and so vegetables are very few and far between. All other crops

are grown during warm season, from March to October. However below is given the calendar of crops.

RICE. Paddy in the Jhum fields is sown in March-April and harvested in July-August. And that in terrace is transplanted in June-July and harvested in October-November. Of course, the seeds are sown in the seedbed about a month or two before. It may be noted that terrace is very few, and rice is not the staple but one of the main foods of the people.

MILLET. It is sown in March-April and harvested in July-August. It is one of the main food crops, the other being maize and rice.

MAIZE. It is sown in March-April and harvested in July-August, or Sept-October in the case of smaller variety. It is one of the main food crops, the others being millet and rice.

TARO (Kachu). It is put in the earth in March-April and harvested in September-October or even up to December.

MUSTARD LEAF. It is sown in October-November and very often transplanted during those months, and its leaves are plucked as and when required, throughout its growth. Its growth stops by February-March when it bears seeds. Later those are collected. It grows best in the cold.

CABBAGE. It is planted in October-November and the harvest continues from January to April or even May.

LEAF-CABBAGE. This plant bears only leaves and does not form into cabbage. It is planted in March-April and by June-July the leaves are ready to be plucked. It is plucked from the lower side and the stem goes on growing. It continues growing throughout the winter and dries up in February-March. But by that time shoots come out from its roots and cluster round the parent stem. The original plant is then destroyed and young ones planted. The plant grows, on the average, more than a metre high.

CAULIFLOWER. It is planted in October-November and harvested between February and March.

SQUASH. Once planted, it continues for indefinite period—every year the plant dies and new shoots come up from the root. But beyond three years the production decays. In Feb-March the young shoots come up and continues coming up throughout the season, till October. It bears fruit from July to November.

FRUITS. Among fruits mention may be made of banana, guava, orange, pine-apple, pear, plum etc. But those are grown in backyard and for domestic consumption. Farming of those fruits has not yet started.

OTHERS. Pumpking, French been, Soyabeen, Water gourd (Lau), and different other varieties of gourd are planted in March-April and harvested throughout the monsoon months till October-November. Ginger and garlic also follow this calendar.

Area Under Cultivation

The people are mostly poor and their main concern is food. Therefore they grow food crops in all the available land. The food crops are rice, maize, millet, taro and some vegetables, mostly beans and pumpkins. In olden days, no doubt there was need of money but there was no scope for easily marketing the agricultural produce and therefore the scope of earning by selling some crops was very meagre and hence though they used to produce cotton it was not for sale but for individual consumption to make into cloth. Earlier, probably upto the first quarter of this century, they used to grow indigo to dye the home made yarn but since ready-made blue colour was available in the market in cheap rate they gave up the cultivation of indigo plants, but continued growing cotton. Even up to middle of this century they have grown cotton for their home consumption, and still they grow a bit in the remote villages more as a sentimental tradition than for actual need, because ready made yarn is available in cheap rate in the market. Since yarn both dyed and undyed are available in the market at cheaper rate, growing of indigo has become obsolete and growing of cotton has

become a thing of the past. Therefore all the cultivable area is under food crops.

No statistics are available regarding the area under food crops or any other crops. Supposing the total area of the district is 3,600 sq km (see Area and Population in Chapter I), it is 3,60,000 hectares in area. Out of this, 53580 acres are in different kinds of forest¹. Therefore the remaining is 306420 hectares or say 300 thousand hectares. Due to shifting of cultivation, that is Jhum, about 20% of the land comes under cultivation in a particular year and remaining 80% lie in waiting to be cultivated in subsequent years. Therefore, we can say that approximately 60,000 hectares of land is under cultivation in a given year. Break up of crop area or tonnage in respects of present Tuensang district is not available. Therefore we are giving below the Statistic of the former Tuensang district which has been divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon, in December 1973. Mon is about one-third of the former Tuensang and therefore the present Tuensang is about two-thirds of the former Tuensang.

Production of fruits/crops in former Tuensang District ²

Name of crops	Area in hectare		Production in metric tonnes	
	1970-71	1971-72	1970-71	1971-72
Fruits				
1. Citrus	200	250	40	42
2. Pineapple	32	35	12	20
3. Temperate	16	31	3	3
4. Papaya	3	5	1	2
5. Litchi	5	5	NR	—
6. Mangoes	—	—	—	—
7. Sapata	—	—	—	—
8. Others	10	12	5	7
Total	266	338	61	74

1. Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1974.

2. Source: Statistical Hand book of Nagaland, 1974 P-78.

Vegetables

1. Cole crops	29	25	22	30
2. Root crops	26	33	30	36
3. Bulbs	—	—	—	—
4. Beany etc	14	16	4	7
5. Fruits Vegetables	16	20	10	22
6. Others	2	4	5	—
Total	87	98	71	95

Agricultural Implements

In this district agriculture is still primitive. Even at the beginning of this century iron implements were rare, but then with the advent of civilisation things have improved and there are many iron implements now.

We have already mentioned that the main form of cultivation is Jhum on the slopes of the hills. And since it is a slope, sometimes as steep as 60°, plough can not be used there and so it is not used. It is not used in terrace also because the plots are small. There are power tillers in Ao and other areas where there are undulated valleys, but for want of such land in this district, it is not used here. However, the tilling of jhum field is done with the help of spade and hoe and that of terrace is done with spade only. But it may be noted that terrace is few and far between.

At present most of the agricultural implements are made of iron and some are made of bamboo. A list of agricultural implements and their uses are given below.

1. Dao
2. Axe
3. Spade
4. Hoe

5. pick
6. Scraper
7. Sickle
8. Rake
9. Mat
10. Winnowing fan
11. Basket (*khang*)
12. Pounding table
etc etc

DAO. It is the most important of all the agricultural implements. In fact a dao is a life long companion for an ordinary villager, because wherever he goes, either to the field or forest or to a friend, he carries his dao. Of course modern educated people do not carry dao always or at all. However, dao is an all purpose implement, because with it are cleared the jungles, slashed the branches of jhum trees, felled the medium-size trees, etc, and lots of other works are done by it, including killing and cutting animals for meat as well as cutting vegetables for cooking. Dao is of various shapes and sizes and are made locally, but nowadays it is available in markets also.

AXE. It is used mainly for felling bigger trees and making fire wood from heavy logs. It is also used in shaping decorative works made from log wood, and making pounding tables. Axe is a modern introduction, and formerly, all the works now done by axe were done by dao. Several types of axe are in use, and some of them are made locally and some purchased from outside.

SPADE. It is also not an ancient implement in this area. However it has come to stay and has been found very useful in tilling the jhum field as well as the terrace. Wherever earth cutting is required it is done by spade. Mainly two types of spade are in use—one is locally made and the other is machine made and purchased from outside.

HOE. It is helpful in tilling the jhum field and in fact it is more used in jhum tilling rather than anywhere else. Also it is more used than spade in jhum, because the land there is generally loose, and so spade is unnecessary. It is also used for weeding.

PICK. It has come in the recent decades and is mainly used in breaking stones or hard soil.

SCRAPER. After sowing, when the plants have grown, scraper is used to weed out the unwanted grass etc. This weeding is done two to three times in jhum field and every time it is done by scraper or by hoe.

SICKLE. When the paddy is ripe, sickle is used to reap it. Here the sickle is of Assam variety, that is, almost straight with curved end.

RAKE. It is made of bamboo with five to six teeth at the end, and is used almost for the same purpose as scraper.

MAT. It is made of plaited bamboo slit and is used in the field to thrash or winnow the paddy. It is also used at home for drying any other thing particularly the beaten taro leaves which they store and use in curry when needed.

WINNOWER FAN. It is also made of plaited bamboo slit, and is used to winnow the paddy and rice. It is generally round in shape or rectangular with rounded corners, and as such it differs from most of other varieties which are found all over India.

BASKET. Its common name is khang which is an Assamese word. Khang is also, like dao, an all purpose basket, because it is used for carrying paddy, vegetables, fire wood, water cans etc. etc. Of course there are different kinds of khang for different uses. The khang is hung from head with a plaited cane strap and it rests on the back. Thus the whole weight is sustained by the head and the back acts as a support only.

POUNDING TABLE. Unlike in the plains the paddy is husked here on pounding tables. A pounding table is made of a single log of a big tree. The table may have one to five pounding wholes depending on the size which is dependent on the social status of the owner—the higher the status, the bigger the size. Generally big pounding tables are found in the houses of the chiefs or some other rich men. On the pounding table paddy is put in the hole or holes and is pounded by pounding pestle generally by women.

In connection with agricultural implements we may mention scare crow though it does not directly come under implements. In every field, paddy, millet or maize there come many small birds or some animals who eat the crop or otherwise destroy it. It is necessary to ward them off. For this purpose the people use various devices. One is a human figure made of grass etc. Another is twig of a tree, the leaves of which are whitish on one side. It is hung from a pole and in wind it moves, and the birds get frightened and fly away.

Cleft bamboo is also used to make loud report like guns and it scares the animals away. Of course, its string has to be manually operated. Of the animals, apart from the birds, which cause damage to the crops, mention may be made of wild pig, deer, squirrel, field mouse etc.

Famine, Flood and Drought

Famine may occur for different reasons such as flood, drought, hailstorm, cyclone or pests etc. But the district being hill and having no valley, there is no place where water can accumulate, and therefore there has never occurred any flood in this district. Whatever and however heavy the rainfall may be it swiftly rolls down the hills and ultimately joins the river which may rise but can not cause any damage to crops because the banks are high and the fields are not on the bank itself. If there is any field on the bank in suitable place, and water rises up to that, it hardly remains for a few hours and therefore can not cause any serious damage to the crop. And so famine due to flood has never been heard of in this district.

The district lies in monsoon area of good rainfall. Not only that, the rain starts from March-April and continues upto September-October. So if there is less rain in any particular month, it may be adequate in the next. Anyway for want of timely rain, sowing in the jhum may be delayed, but never there has been a serious failure of crops due to drought, in living memory.

And total crop failure leading to famine condition, due to cyclone or insects etc has not occurred in living memory.

Attack of insects and pests of course used to be there but at present there is the State Agriculture Department to fight any attack of insects and so the crops are practically assured a safe harvesting.

It has to be noted here that the productivity of land of this district is not very good in comparison to some other districts. It is said that the soil is not good for paddy and that is why the people do not grow it. Of course nowadays they are giving more attention to rice. However the production of paddy is not at all sufficient and hence their main food is not only rice but millet, maize and taro also.

Animal Husbandry

Meat being the most important item of curry and beef being the cheapest, every Naga house keeps a few cattle, both cows and bulls. Formerly milking was not known and even now in the villages cows are not milked—only in the administrative outposts milking is popular. So cows are kept for breeding and when it is no longer productive it is slaughtered for its beef. Bulls are kept entirely for beef.—it has got no other use in this district since there is no plough or cart. Of course, it goes without saying that it is useful for breeding. Anyway, cattle is the biggest source of meat. Bulls are not castrated in this district or in the whole State.

Next come pigs. Nagas are fond of pork and therefore every house keeps a few pigs—the richer the more, the poorer the less. Pigs are also kept for the same purpose, that is, meat. Males are castrated to grow big and taste better and when it is grown up to the desired bigness it is killed for meat. The she-pigs are mainly kept for breeding, and killed when it is no longer productive. A mother pig is fertilised by its own off-springs when they are a few days or weeks old. It is said that they are most effective when they are very young. The mother-pig gives birth to a litter of two to three at the beginning and as she grows old she bears bigger litter—even upto fifteen at a time. Thus it is profitable to keep pigs if they can be fed properly.

Next to pigs there are fowls and ducks of which every house has got a few of the former and fewer of the latter.

Unlike other places, in Nagaland the cocks are not castrated and so they do not grow very big or do not get fat. Probably the Nagas do not know the art of castration of cocks. As a result of subsidised sale by the Government of better variety of fowls, in many houses particularly in the administrative outposts, those high breeding fowls are found.

Both fowls and ducks are reared for its eggs and meat.

Also there are a few goats and even some sheep in some houses.

It may be mentioned here that for cattle and goats and sheep, no fodder is generally used, but they graze wildly and come back home in the evening. For cows no shed is there, neither for pigs but for goats it is made.

Details of live-stock for present Tuensang district are not available and so below are given the statistics pertaining to the former Tuensang district which includes the present Mon district also. It may be noted that Mon is about one-third of the form Tuensang.

**Number of livestock and poultry of former
Tuensang District, 1972¹**

1. Cattle

A. Male over 3 Years

(i) Used for breeding only	4291
(ii) Used for breeding and work both	126
(iii) Used for work only	967
(iv) Others	669

Total—A	6053
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(1) Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1974, P-87-89. Statistics before or after 1972 are not available.

B. Females over 3 Years

(i) Breeding	
(a) In milk	4985
(b) Dry	3565
(c) Not calved even once	1082
(ii) Working	47
(iii) Others	643

Total—B	10322
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C. Young Stock	6455
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Total Cattle	22830
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2. Buffaloes**A. Males over 3 Years**

(i) Used for breeding only	718
(ii) Used for breeding and work both	—
(iii) Used for work only	279
(iv) Others	157

Total—A	1154
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B. Females over 3 Years

(i) Breeding	
(a) In milk	986
(b) Dry	665
(c) Not calved even once	227
(ii) Working	2
(iii) Others	281

Total—B	2161
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C. Young Stock	1105
Total Buffaloes	4420
3. Sheep	67
Goats	80170
5. Pigs	88817
6. Horses and ponies	239
7. Mithuns (Gayals)	4969
8. Other livestock	—
Total livestock	129441
9. Poultry	189255
10. Agri. Machinery	—
11. Ghans	—

Number of Veterinary Farms and Dispensaries in former Tuensang District¹

Type of Farm/Dispensary	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
1. Poultry Farm	1	1	1
2. Feed Manufacture Centre	1	1	1
3. Cattle Breeding Farms	1	1	1
4. Rural Dairy Centre	—	—	—
5. Pig Breeding Farm	1	2	2
6. Bull Calf Rearing Farm	—	—	—
7. Sheep Breeding Farm	—	—	—
8. Duck Farm	—	—	—
9. Key Village Block	—	—	—
10. Key Village (Artificial Insemination centre)	1	1	1
11. Stockman Centre	1	1	2

1. Sources : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1974, P-90-91

12 Fodder Production Centre	—	—	—
13. Veterinary Dispensary	7	11	11
14. Veterinary Outpost	6	6	6

Forest And Forest Products

In Tuensang district there is no Reserve or Protected forests, but only un-classified village forests and its area is 53580 hectares¹. This is in exclusion of Jhum lands which are also covered by small trees, undergrowth and bushes etc. Jhum lands occupy the entire area of the district except the forest area mentioned above (53580 hectares) and the villages. On the other hand not more than 20% of Jhumland is cultivated in a given year. That means 80% of the land remains unused and naturally it is covered by light forests.

The people get all their building materials such as thatch and leaves for roofing, posts and battons etc timber, cane, bamboo etc from unclassified forests and Jhumland-forests. They also collect fire-wood, honey, fodder etc from those forests.

It may be mentioned here that the forests of Nagaland used to be managed by the Forest Department according to Assam Forest Regulation, 1891. After the State of Nagaland was formed, Nagaland Forest Act, 1968, was passed in the Nagaland Assembly and so now the forests of Nagaland, including this district, are managed according to that Act. Under this Act the State Government has been empowered to constitute Reserved, Protected and Village forests and demarcate them. The Act has also laid down the procedure as how to constitute those forests, and has empowered the Government to control and regulate the forest products, their collection and transport etc.

There is a Divisional Forest Officer in Tuensang and under him there are Rangers and forest guards who together look into the management of forests of this district.

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974. P-95

Separate statistics regarding areas under different kinds of Forests for present Tuensang district are not available prior to 1973-74, so below we are giving statistic of the former Tuensang which includes the present Mon district also, for 1969-70 to 1972-73. And, again for present Tuensang district for 1973-74.

Area under forests of former Tuensang district (Area in hectare)¹

Year	Reserve forests	Protected forests	Unclassified village forests	Total forests
1969-70	2357 (this falls	—	69250	71607
1970-71	2357 under pre-	—	69250	71607
1971-72	2357 sent Mon	—	69250	71607
1972-73	2357 district)	—	69250	71607

Area under forests of the present Tuensang district (in hectare) for the year 1973-74²

Year	Reserve forests	Protected forests	Unclassified village forests	Total forests
1973-74	—	—	53580	53580

1. Source Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974., P-90

2. Source Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974., P-95

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

The major part of the district of Tuensang has come under administration onward 1948, and the district is far away from the nearest plains of Assam (about 200 km). On the other hand it is a hilly area having hills on all sides and the roads have not yet improved much. For all these reasons, the district has not yet developed industrially. After all, it is only 30 years that the area has been exposed to modern civilisation and the need of the people is still in primitive stage and therefore we cannot expect industrialisation of the district at this moment. Regarding their needs we can say that only comparatively recently, hardly a century or two, the people have crossed the food-gathering stage to food-producing stage of the civilisation. And even before 1950, the people were not cultivating rice but millet, because it is easier to grow — just sow and reap, and it was their staple food. Now also rice is not the staple food in many areas of the district. Under such circumstances we cannot yet expect industrialisation of the district.

But, however, the people are self sufficient in their needs. According to Techno-Economic Survey of Nagaland “The bulk of the Nagaland’s population lives in semi-closed village economies — the demand for manufacture, other than traditional is, therefore, limited. Familiarity with these manufactures, is, however increasing among the village folk through contact with urban settlement”, This is true about Nagaland as a whole, and it is more so about this district. Therefore no great need about modern industry has been felt here, neither the people have come forward to set up any.

Therefore the only industry we can speak of is cottage industry. Among different cottage industries the most important

ones are weaving, carpentry, blacksmithy, bamboo and cane crafts, wood-carving and decorative works. We shall discuss them here one by one.

WEAVING. By far this is the most important industry because all the people, except the modern educated few, use home-spun clothes. The skirts women use is made at home, the loin cloth used by men is also spun at home. Of course the urban people or those who have come to a close contact with them are using mill-made clothes, but among them also most of the women still use home made clothes, particularly the skirt or mekhala, if not the chadar and other upper garments. So, for all these things, weaving is found in every house. Not only in every house, but every woman knows it and it is a tradition that the women should weave the clothes of their household. As a result of this traditional aspect of weaving, not only the rural women but the urban women, even the wives and daughters of high officers and businessmen weave cloth at home at leisure time.

Every Naga tribe has got its distinctive design for the clothes, particularly the clothes for women. Men's loin cloth does not have much variation in pattern and design, but there is a great variation in women's cloth. The designs are different, the colour-combinations are different, the spacing and border are also different, and in short the patterns are different. It is so much so that any accustomed eye can differentiate one from the other. It has been already mentioned in Chapter I and Chapter II that this district is inhabited by some ten tribes, and again there are some residents of other tribes, notably the Aos. As a result of the conglomeration of so many tribes within a population of little more than a lakh, the women are found to using skirts of various designs. Of all the tribes, the clothes of Chang and Sangtam are very much colourful, and of course, the Ao cloths surpass all others in respect of design and beauty.

Though every tribe has got its own design, nowadays there is a tendency, not tendency but a rule as a matter of fact, to mix up the designs and make and develop new designs. As a result of such admixture and invention of designs, the clothes

are more colourful and beautiful, and at the same time every tribe is gradually losing its individuality of design and pattern. It will not be out of place to mention here that the Aos are pioneer in developing new and beautiful designs. Also it will not be out of place to mention that Mokokchung, the district of the Aos, being contiguous to this district, many Aos have settled within the boundary of this district. Not only that, but for many other reasons, the Aos, though only about two thousand in this district (1971 census) have got much greater influence on the people of this district that their number justifies.

Thus all told, the individual tribes, are losing their separate identity very fast in respect of dress, and the designs are becoming more and more beautiful.

The loom they use for weaving is a handloom and is technically known as Indonesian Tension Loom. It is so named because this kind of tension loom is found all over Indonesia. This is a factor which goes to say that these people were once closely connected with Indonesian culture. This loom is a simple back strap one with continuous horizontal warp consisting of six stick serving the function of warp beam, lease rod, heald stick, beating sword and extra-warp beam.¹

As a result of acculturation, the people are more and more using mill-made clothes and so the weaving industry of late has suffered some set back. Since this is the most important industry of the common people, the Government wanted to encourage it. Since the local demand of hand woven clothes is decreasing, the Government is trying to find out other markets for such products, and distributing yarn to the weaving societies as well as individual weavers at the rate of subsidy of 25% to 50% as detailed below.²

(a) For weavers in urban (town) area at the cost price, excluding transportation and handling charges within the State.

(b) For rural areas at the rate of 25%

(c) For interior areas at the rate of 50%

1. M. Alemchiba, Arts and Crafts of Nagaland - p-10.

2. Official Report of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, October 1966, p-89.

CARPENTRY. Carpentry was a compulsory subject in the Middle Schools, even in Assam time, and there was an M. E. School in Tuensang before 1957, that is, before the formation of NHTA. Therefore the students who have read in that School or any other School of the then Naga Hills or in Assam, have learnt carpentry. Not only that, but the same process is still continuing. And therefore all the modern educated people know carpentry to some extent. Apart from them there are some self trained people also who are expert in this work. All of them together do a lot of carpentry work, such as house building (note that most of the modern buildings are made of timber and planks), and furniture making etc. In every area a few carpenters are available. But it is not their profession but a source of side income. Their works are not very fine but utilitarian.

BLACK SMITHY. Iron was introduced in this area probably in the second decade of this century when the district came in contact with the administered area. It might have been known to the people earlier, but its use and shaping into implements are not likely to be older than the area coming in contact with administered areas. Therefore blacksmithy is not a very old knowledge in this district. Nevertheless some of the tribes, notably Konyak, used to make muzzle-loading guns even before Second World War. However, the people have learnt to make different iron implements and were more or less self sufficient in this respect. But after the Second World War and more particularly after the formation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957, the area has opened up greatly and they are purchasing iron implements from market rather than producing it. Sickle, scraper, and hoe are generally locally made, but some mill-made spades are purchased from market. Dao, which is the all-time companion of a villager, is mostly locally made or sometimes purchased. Dao of this district is very famous, particularly of some tribes.

BASKET MAKING. Various types of basket are in use in this district. Those are mainly used for carrying paddy and other crops as well as other house hold articles from one place to another. This group also includes the baskets used for carrying water containers (bamboo chungas) and firewood. This small baskets are commonly known as khang, an Assamese word. They are different in shape and size as well as make, according to the purpose for which it is

meant. These baskets are carried hanging from head with the help of a cane strap, and so its weight rests on the head mainly, but a part also rests on the back. There are several varieties of basket some are fine and some are coarse, as required. The finer quality is sometimes decorated also. The finest quality of such a Khang now (1978) fetches as much as three hundred rupees if it finds a buyer at all though it seems not to cost more than Rs.30/-or Rs. 50/-.

This basket-making is common to every house and it is made for individual house-hold use, and not for sale, because every body makes it and there is practically no market for it. Therefore this is a home industry, and nobody depends on it as source of income.

There is a bigger kind of basket also which we may call container and it is used for storing paddy. This is also made of cleft bamboo, but of course type. Also, it is made for domestic use and not for sale since it does not have market.

This basket making is generally a pastime work and sometimes finer workmanship is displayed in it.

WOOD CARVING. The people do a lot of wood carving on the pillars of the morungs and sometimes of the dwelling houses. The carvings are generally figurines of wild animals, birds and crocodiles. It has to be noted that traditions among the different tribes are different and therefore every tribe does not do the same thing though the carvings are similar.

Some of the tribes also make a wooden platter with four legs or a single combined leg, for taking food there on. For holding dao, a dao case is also made of wood and often it is decorated.

DECORATIVE WORKS. There are some other works also which may be placed under home industry. Under this come making of head gear, decorated spear, decoration of the handle of dao, dao holder, parts of ceremonial dress other than weaving, war-shield, ivory armllet, decorative tail (hung on the back like a tail from the waist—Konyaks are fondof it) etc various things. These decorative works vary from tribe to tribe.

POTTERY. A large number of the people, particularly in the villages, still use earthen pots for cooking, and the earthen pots are made locally. Everybody does not make pottery, but there are a few in every village who can make it, and therefore they make and sell or barter it to the others. The pots are rough and coarse and thick, but useful. The pots are not made with the potters wheel but simply with hand and stick.

The pots are of different shapes and sizes and are used for cooking, storing rice-beer etc.

MISCELLANEOUS. Besides those mentioned above there are some minor industries. They have developed on the basis of local needs and are growing along with the growing demand of the people. The most important ones of them are discussed below.

Motor Repair. In recent years there has been a great increase in the number of motor vehicles, — jeep, car, truck etc, and naturally they occasionally require repair. There is no major repairing shop near at hand, not even in Mokokchung (110 km from Tuensang) but at Jorhat (248 km from Tuensang). Therefore it is necessary to have at least some minor repair works at Tuensang. As a result of this need there have grown a few minor motor repair shops in the district headquarter.

Tailoring. Since the people are increasingly using modern dresses, such as trousers, shirts, blouses, petticoats etc, there have grown up a number of tailoring shops not only in the district headquarter but also in other administrative out posts or even in some big villages. But very few local people have yet come forward for this industry.

Shoe Repair. Similarly, on the need of the people there have come up a number of cobblers in the headquarter, but not in other places yet. This business is not in the hands of the local people because they have not yet come forward for it but in the hands of people from Bihar and other States.

Organised Industry.

No organised industry has yet been set up in this district, but a proposal has been through to set up a mini cement factory

in Kiphire sub-division of this district. It is said that it will be able to cater to the needs of this State.

Training Facilities

There is no particular facility of training for industry in this district. However, the weavers, potters, basket makers, tailors, motor repairers etc are all self-trained. But for carpentry, the boys get training in the Middle Schools. However, for higher and other training, the students may go to Atoizu in Zunheboto district where there is a Polytechnic School. But there are still very few people desirous of getting such a training.

Power Consumption

There is no factory or mill in this district and therefore the question of consumption of electricity by them does not arise. However, there is private and official consumption of power.

Details of electricity consumed in different places of this district in 1973-74 are given in Appendix.

APPENDIX

CONSUMPTION OF ELECTRICITY IN TUENSANG DISTRICT IN 1973-74
SALE OF ELECTRICITY BY CLASS OF CONSUMERS (Town-wise)¹

(in KWH)

INDUSTRIES

Class of consumers	Tuensang		Longleng		Longkhim		Shamator		Kiphire		Toba		3rd NAP	
	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption	No. of consumers	Consumption
1. Domestic light and fan	642	2,06,200	68	6306	125	29676	36	2135	40	1188	38	4738	150	9596
2. Domestic power	10	2,506	...	..	2	155	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1506
3. Industrial power at low and high voltage	2	652	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4. Bulk	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Public lighting	...	26,181	...	3175	...	6879	...	894	...	648	...	2475	...	3636
6. Electric traction	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Irrigation	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Public Water Works	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9. Power House Auxiliaries	...	1,008	...	553	...	...	...	145	...	89	...	178	...	...
Total	654	2,36,547	68	10034	127	36710	36	3174	40	1925	38	7391	154	14738

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, p-100 to 143.

CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

BANKING AND FINANCE

Historical Background

Most of the people of this district, the majority of the ten tribes, came under the influence of modern administration only in the first quarter of this century. The western part of the district is adjacent to Zunheboto and Mokokchung districts. That means the tribes near the borders of those two districts, such as Konyak, Phom, Sema, Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger etc, came under the influence of modern civilisation earlier than other tribes though not formally under modern administration. It was mainly from the Aos and then Semas. It has to be mentioned here that the Aos accepted Christianity first and became the harbinger of civilisation in Nagaland. It is through them that other tribes got light of the modern days.

Since they were poor and did not develop the needs, all the tribes were self sufficient in their daily needs such as food and clothing, but except brine. They also needed some iron pieces to shape into dao, spear and even agricultural implements. All these things they used to get from the tribes under administration, mainly Aos and Semas. This position continued till the area came under nominal administration in 1914.

Barter System

Barter is a system of convenience¹ and so it was here, and it is still there to some extent. When there was no monetary economy in

1. Barter is still found not only in the rural areas of India, but all over the rural world, in the sense that articles are purchased in exchange of articles, particularly crops. The vendors come with their wares, particularly utensils, and sell it to the housewives in exchange of paddy, wheat etc, as the case may be. They refuse to sell on cash.

this area, the people used to sell and purchase things on exchange basis, and often the rate of exchange was fixed by the mutual needs. The people needed mostly salt which they used to get from neighbouring tribes if they had the brine sources. The rate of exchange varied from place to place depending on the nearness of the salt-source and the quantity available. However, it used to be had in exchange of crop—mainly millet and then maize and rice.¹ Their other item of purchase was iron pieces. It was also bartered with crops.

Though they did not have money that time, sometimes they used iron pieces such as worn out daos or *chabili*² as among the Aos. Salt was also a means of barter with those who had it. Hereunder we are quoting a para from *The Sema Nagas* to show the position of the Semas in the second decade to the century: "The salt from Tukomi country was used, in small flat cakes, to serve the purpose of currency to some extent, as it still does in the Yachumi country, while the same purpose was also served by the narrow blades of worn-out daos, one of which was recorded to be the value of a cock, i.e. about 1 anna. String of broken conch shell, beads and bits of bamboo, such as are still used in Tukomi villages, are said to have been also current in the Sema country. Where they are now current they represent the value of about 4 annas. The "Chabili" current in the Ao country were also known in the Sema country, but it is not known what value they had. Among the Aos one "chabili" represented a day's work, or 4 annas. The Sema equivalent was a brass bead, and a string about a foot long of such beads is still occasionally given. A great, perhaps the greater part of the trade done by the Semas is still carried on by barter".³ Though it is about the Semas, it is more or less true about other tribes of this district.

So it is obvious that the people of this district, particularly of the eastern side, depended on barter not only in early part of this century, but much later, and even now to some extent.

Even by the middle of this century many people of this district, particularly of the east, used to sell and purchase paddy,

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1. Rice was not much produced in this district that time and not even now.
 2. Chabili is also an iron piece varying from 15 to 25 cm in length and about one cm in breadth.
 3. J.H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p 58, published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co, Ltd, London, in 1921.

cows, pigs, fowls, dao, spear, spade, axe etc through barter. It is still continuing in a marginal way.

General Credit-Facilities

The people are poor and do not produce food for the whole year — but generally for nine to ten months. And even that also not rice but millet and maize — rice in some cases is for only two to three months. However, since they are poor and do not produce food for the whole year, they need borrowing food crops in time of scarcity. There are of course some rich people who do have more food crops than they require for consumption. Therefore they can lend it to others. This lending is on the basis of interest which generally is 100%. That means if one borrows one tin or khang of millet, maize or rice, he will have to pay two tins or khangs, as the case may be, when harvest is over. This is irrespective of the time gap between borrowing and repaying. It means one is to pay double in course of a few months — from the time of scarcity which generally occurs at the end of agricultural year, to the harvest. This rate of interest is similar throughout Nagaland and therefore it will not be out of place to quote Hutton, in respect of the Semas. He says “If the principal is repaid then the interest remains as it is and does not increase however much delayed payment may be, but if the principal is left unpaid or only paid in part, the whole sum outstanding redoubles itself during the following year and so goes on at 100 percent compound interest till the whole of the principal is paid off, at which point the outstanding sum becomes stationary. Under this system a small debt repaidly assumes impossible proportions, and while the Semas were unadministered large claims, consisting mostly of interest, were probably compounded for, the creditor gladly forgoing part of his rights in order to get remainder. When, however, administration came, the owners of bad debts took them all to the courts and wanted their full pound of customary flesh. The trouble that was in this led to the institution of a new law of debt among the northern Semas for which Inato, chief of Lumit-sami, and Sema interpreter of Mokokchung, was mainly responsible. This new custom forbade any increase by interest after the second year, so that the principal is doubled the first, the whole sum outstanding redoubles the next year (provided the principal

has not been paid in full), and there it stops. This system which applies to both cash and grains, was probably taken from the Lotha system, in which increase likewise stops at the end of second year".¹

This is not thoroughly or equally applicable to all tribes of this district, but gives a general idea. Among the Doyang valley Semas the debt doubles in the first year and stops there. Among some tribes the interest stops multiplying if interest is paid, if not, the interest will go on increasing every year by the same quantity. This is more or less the prevailing system all over Nagaland, and so in this district. It is mainly due to the influence of Christianity which has led some people to forego the interest altogether.

Indigenous Banking System

As it happens in rural areas, as most part of Tuensang district is, there is no banking system except in Tuensang town. There is no place in the rural areas where people can deposit their money and get interest on it, or borrow from it. Though there is no such institution, there were and there are people who lend money to others. It also goes without saying that sometimes some people keep their money in deposit with some respectable persons in the village.

The interest charged by the indigenous money lenders is very high—as high as 5% per month. Borrowers at this high rate of interest are generally contractors who need money sometimes very urgently to execute the works and for that they don't mind even paying 10% interest per month for a few months. Sometimes the borrowers get loan from Co-operative Society at 3% interest per month. Even sometimes money is borrowed from Church fund without any interest, but this is not a general case and is extended only to the very needy persons.

So far deposit is concerned, there was no place before where the people could keep their money in deposit and get interest thereon. But people used to keep it, in rare cases, with

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema, Nagas* p161 Published by Oxford University Press, London in 1968. First Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd, London, in 1921.

the village elders or some other responsible persons of the village, but it won't bring any interest to the depositor.

Modern Banking Facilities

As stated above, there was no modern banking facilities in this district before. But a branch of State Bank of India, a nationalised bank, has been opened in the district headquarter in 1970—and it is functioning well. There is a district Treasury at Tuensang and all its receipts and payments are carried through this bank. Though its main function is to work for the Treasury, it also does all other normal works of a bank, that is it extends credit and deposit facilities. Deposit is easy but getting credit is a difficult thing since bank has got its own rules and regulations for advancing credits. However, the businessmen are coming forward to avail the banking facilities extended by the SBI, the only bank in this district.

Trade And Commerce

The district being situated in the heart of the hills, on the extreme east of the State of Nagaland beyond which lie the hills of Burma, and the people being poor, it is at a disadvantageous position so far trade and commerce is concerned. Its earlier trade, whatever it was, when the area was not opened up, was with the neighbouring tribes, particularly the Aos who had trade relations with the plains of Assam, particularly Amguri.

The road from Mokokchung to Tuensang was made Jeepable during the Second World War and since then the people of Tuensang could come to Mokokchung and thence to Amguri and sell and purchase the things. At present (December 1977) the road is a good one and buses ply on it. So the people can easily go to the plains.

Supply Line

On the east of the district lies Burma and moreover it is hilly and there is no trade centre there. Therefore all the trade connections of this district are with or through Mokokchung. There is a fine metalled road from Tuensang to Mokokchung and buses and trucks etc ply on this road and it is 110 kilometre. The road goes upto Amguri, in the plains of Assam, which is 70 km. from Mokokchung. The big businessmen go upto Amguri or even upto Jorhat for bulk purchases. Mok-

Mokokchung-Jorhat is 103 km and so from Tuensang to Jorhat it is 213 km. So all told, the supply head of Tuensang is Mokokchung for all practical purposes, but Aungmye and Jorhat are also its supply heads.

Export-Import

The export of this district had always been very poor because in olden time, even today also, the people were poor and they produced very little surplus of anything. However, in olden days their exports were cotton, mustard seeds and ginger. Nowadays practically they do not have anything to export except a few handicrafts and shawls locally sold to the outsiders. This unfavourable balance of trade in the past as well as present is made up by the money they earn as labourer, and through contract works, business, Government service etc.

Articles of Import

Since the people do not produce sufficient quantity of food stuff, and on the other hand many of them have been used to the modern way of life, they import all sorts of things such as food stuff (rice, dal etc), utensils, shoes, umbrellas, electrical fittings, heater pressure cooker, wrist watch, clock, table clock, torch light, transistor, record player, tape-recorder, mill-made clothes including synthetic textiles, all sorts of building materials such as cement, sand, nails, glass etc, agricultural implements, furniture etc etc everything that a modern house requires. They also import cattle, buffaloes, pigs, fowls etc for meat.

Trade Centre

Tuensang, the district headquarter, is situated almost in the middle of the district and so it could serve as the centre for the whole district but it is not so, because some parts of the district are closer to Mokokchung town (Mokokchung district) which is a bigger business centre than Tuensang, and therefore though Tuensang is a trade centre, Mokokchung is more important for that purpose. Apart from these two, all the Administrative outposts are also business centres in its own capacity for the villages it serves. Some of these centres are Kiphire, Samatone, Longkhim, Tobu etc. But it has to be noted here that volume of business in these places is very small because there are only a few shops. Of course Kiphire is a bit bigger because it is a Sub-Divisional Headquarter.

Business Organisation

As in some other districts of this State, the business organisation of this district may be broadly divided into four categories. They are contract works under PWD; Supply work of PWD and other departments; Supply of building materials, and others articles; and Shopkeeping. Of all these four categories the contract works are more in the hands of the local people, but still then sometimes the local contractors sell the work-order to the non-locals in lieu of some cash money generally on the basis of percentage. All other categories of work are generally in the hands of the non-locals because the local people have not yet come forward for business. It is so because still now not to speak of a graduate but even a school-drop out get a good job under the Government.

Market

In Tuensang town there is a daily market where food stuff, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables as well as other necessities of a house are available. The market sits in the morning and continues the whole day. Most of the articles available in this market are brought from Amguri or Jorhat in Assam. But local producers also bring their produce to this market.

There is no other daily market in this district, but in all the administrative out posts the people from nearby villages come to sell their produce, particularly vegetables, and purchase their needs from the shops. The shopkeepers sometimes bring vegetables and fish from outside and sell it. Of all these administrative centres Kiphire is bigger and has a bigger market though not an organised daily market.

Weights And Measures

Until recently the people had their own way of measuring things and it used to vary from tribe to tribe or even village to village. During NEFA time the weights of Assam such as maund, seer, poa, chhatak etc as well as foot and yard etc were introduced in the Tuensang town, but in the villages it had little impact. People used to sell millet or paddy etc in terms of kerosene oil tin.

After this district formed a part of NHTA in 1957 there has been a tremendous development in all respects and so the metric weights and measures have been introduced. The State department of Weights and Measures¹ has got its district office in Tuensang and it looks into accuracy of weights and measures of the shopkeepers. But still then the terms seer as aquivalent of a kilogram and yard as equivalent of a metre are freely used.

Co-Operative Movement

The Department of Co-operative was set up in this State in 1960 when it was still named NHTA. Thereafter it has gradually gathered momentum and has covered all the district headquarters as well as many administrative centres. Tuensang district also came under it in 1962 and the movement is steadily gaining grounds. A chart given next page will show the details of the Co-operative societies functioning in this district.

1. Nagaland Weights and Measures (Enforcement) Act introduced metric system in this State from October 1968, vide Official Report of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, March 1969, p-136.

DETAILS OF CO-OPERATIVES IN TUENSANG DISTRICT¹

Sl. No.	Name of the Society	Place of location	Type of Society	Date of Inception	Capital investment by the Society (Share)	Capital investment by the Govt.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Longkhim Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Longkhim P. O. Longkhim.	Longkhim	Consumers	NL/0134 dt. 25-11-66	2,825/-	4,000/-	
2.	Tuensang Dist. Wholesales Consumers Coop. Store Ltd. Tuensang.	Tuensang	Consumers	NL/0196 dt. 16-12-67	9,100/-	1,68,000/-	
3.	Alisopur Cow. Coop. Society Ltd. Alisopur Village B. P. O. Chare, Tuensang	Alisopur	Consumers	NL/0218 dt. 11-7-68	1,250/-	4,000/-	
4.	Noksen Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Noksen P. O. Tuensang.	Noksen	Consumers	NL/0245 dt. 25-6-69	250/-	4,000/-	
5.	Tuensang Town Dairy Coop. Society Ltd. Tuensang	Tuensang	Dairy	NL/0250 dt. 7-10-69	2,540/-	—	
6.	Noksen Town Consumers Coops. Society Ltd. Noksen Town, P. O. Tuensang.	Noksen	Consumers	NL/0269 dt. 8-8-70	860/-	4,000/-	

1. Source : Registerer, Cooperatives, Nagaland, Kohima.

7.	Phomching Multipurpos Coop. Consumers Society Ltd. Phomching, P. O. Longleng	Phomching	M.Q. Coop. Society	NL/0285 dt. 12-12-70	520/-	4,000/-	
8.	Tuensang Village Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Tuensang P. O. Tuensang.	Tuensang	Consumers	NL/0300 dt. 1-9-71	3020/-	4,000/-	
9.	Trongrer Village Consumers Coop. Society, B.P.O. Chare	Trongrer	Consumers	NL/0429 dt. 13-3-72	625/-	—	
10.	Star Consumers Coop. Society Ltd Kiphire, B.P.O. Kiphire P. O. Tuensang.	Kiphire	Consumers	NL/0429 dt. 9-5-74	450/-	—	Cancelled
11.	Phire-Ahire Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Phire-Ahire Village, P. O. Longkhim.	Phire-Ahire	Consumers	NL/0436 dt. 19-7-74	440/-	—	
12.	Yimrup Village consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Yimrup Village P. O. Longkhim.	Yimrup	Consumers	NL/0440 dt. 27-8-74	350/-	—	
13.	Chingmai M C. Coop Society Ltd. Chingmai, P.O. Tuensang.	Chingmai	M. Q. Cs.	NL/0453 dt. 22-1-75	2,200/-	—	
14.	Longkhim M. P. C.S. Ltd. Longkhim Town P.O. Longkhim	Longkhim	,,	NL/0477 dt. 15-3-75	680/-	4,000/-	
15.	Chungtor consumers Coop. Society Ltd Chungtor Village P. O. Longkhim.	Chungtor	Consumers	NL/0504 dt. 4-8-75	7,775/-	—	
16.	Longra Village Farming Coop. Society Ltd. Longre Village B. P. O. Longra Nokhan P. O. Tuensang.	Longra	Farming	NL/0505 dt. 4-8-77	2,360/-	—	

17.	Samagtor Staff. Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Tuensang P. O. Tuensang.	Tuensang	Consumers	NL/0119 dt. 27-9-66	20,000/-	8,000/-	
18.	Chare Primary Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Chare B. P. O. Chare.	Chare	Consumers	NL/0198 dt. 31-1-68	500/-	4000/-	
19.	Sotokur Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Sotokur P. O. Tuensang.	Sotokur	Cousumers	NL/0208 dt. 12-2-68	3,200/-	8000/-	
20.	Old Mangakhi Village Consu mers. Coop. Society Ltd. Old Mangakhi Village, B.O.P. Chare.	Old Mangakhi	Consumers	NL/0309 dt. 25-11-71	200/-	4000/-	
21.	Tuensang Coop. Bus & Transport Ltd., P. O. Tuensang	Tuensang	Consumers	NL/034 dt. 27-11-62	—	—	Can- celled
22.	Tuensang Staff. Coop. Store Ltd., Tuensang, P.O. Tuensang.	Tuensang	Consumers	NL/072 dt. 29-1-65	3,200/-	—	Can- celled
23.	Phom Coop. Consumers Society Ltd. Longleng, B.P.O. Longleng	Longleng	Consumers	NL/0115 dt. 5-9-66	1,180/-	4000/-	Can- celled
24.	Noklak Consumers Coop Society Ltd., Noklak, B.P.O. Noklak.	Noklak	Consumers	NL/025 dt. 3-3-70	700/-	1,000/-	Can- celled
25.	Chimonger Village Consumers Coop. Society Ltd. Chimonger Village P. O. Longkhim.	Chimonger	Consumers	NL/0338 dt 26-6-72	640/-	1,000/-	Can- celled

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Old Time Rontes

The district came under the influence of modern administration only in 1948, though officially it was brought under Control Area in 1914. Naturally before that, the people were not developed, and so their trade and commerce was also did not develop. Moreover the district is mountainous. For these two reasons they did not have, in olden time, any road communication. But, however, they had a number of footpaths to negotiate the different villages of the same tribe or even for inter-tribal communication. These foot-paths were no better than single-file paths and often used to traverse the ups and downs of the hills. Sometimes it used to go down several hundred feet and then rise the similar hight again and vice versa. Moreover, during monsoon it used to be covered by undergrowth. It seems difficult for a person to use such a road without much fatigue and hardship, but to those who are used to it, it is not so difficult a thing. The people were used to it so much that they could cover 15 to 20 km in a day with normal load of half a maund in those days (approximately 19 kg). The early British expeditions as well as the early Indian administrators, in and onward of the second decade of this century, used to get their luggage transported by the porters (local people) over these roads for days together for journeys of distance as high as even a hundred kilometre. Of course, at every stage, after a distance of 15 to 20 km, they used to halt the night and change the porters for new ones, sending back the old ones to their place of origin.

It has to be mentioned here that all the roads that administrators used were not always foot-paths, but some of them were bridle paths also. But anyway the inter-village communication was dependant on the rugged foot-paths only.

Over and above these inter-tribal and inter-village roads, bridle or foot-path, there were foot-paths around the village and to

the fields of the village. These were meant for the villagers only to whose jurisdiction it fell, and so they used to keep it passable all through the year by keeping it clear of the undergrowth and repairing it where necessary.

Along with the introduction of administration attention was paid towards construction of roads, and naturally at the first stage some of the inter-village and inter-tribal foot-paths were re-aligned and broadened to make it bridle path for use of mule and horses as well as human being.

Present Position

After Independence of India in 1947, more attention was paid for the development of the NEFA which included this district also. In such a rugged area any kind of development has to be preceded by improvement of road communication. Therefore due attention was paid for widening of existing roads and constructing new ones. The effort continued and by December 1957, this district formed a part of the new administrative unit known as Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short. This is a land-mark in the history of development of this area, and consequently in road communication. From that time onward the Mokokchung-Tuensang bridle path has been widened and it has now become an all-weather fine road (110km). Road also has been constructed from Tuensang to Kiphire (118km) and thence to Kohima via Meluri in Phek district. These two roads, Tuensang-Mokokchung and Tuensang-Kohima via Kiphire and Meluri, are under the Boarder Road Organisation. They have made it nice and are maintaining it fine. It may be noted here that these roads were handed over to the Border Road Organisation because Public Works Department of the State could not handle it properly. These roads have mostly connected administrative out-posts with the district headquarter. Distances of those are given in Appendix-I.

Over and above these roads there are many short-distance routes linking important villages with the nearby administrative centre.

Transport

For long Tuensang district was outside the pale of modern means of communication. When the area was first opened up in 1948 construction of roads started, and the first road was from

Mokokchung to Tuensang. Of course it was then only a bridle path. Later this road was broadened and was made jeepable, but it still remained Kachcha. Only in October 1968, the Border Road Organisation took it up and widened and metalled it. The work was completed in March, 1973. The distance between Mokokchung and Tuensang is 110 km according to PWD but only 99 km according to Border Road Organisation.¹ State Transport buses are plying on this road since 18th February 1966, when the Tuensang Bus Station has been opened. After the road has been metalled the number of buses has been increased and nowadays daily several buses are plying from Tuensang to Mokokchung and from Tuensang to Mariani direct. It may be mentioned that Mariani is in Assam but is the convenient nearest plains-town from Tuensang and is near Jorhat, the most important town of upper Assam.

Also from Tuensang buses are plying to Samatore (56km) as well as to Kiphire (122km) from 1974.

At present Tuensang Bus Station has got five buses, all 40 seaters.

Category-wise lengths of roads under Public Works Department are given in Appendix-II.

Goods Services

Over and above the bus services for carrying passengers, the State Transport Department has also introduced goods services on various routes such as Amguri to Tuensang, Tuensang to Samatore, Tuensang to Kiphire etc. It may be noted here that unlike bus services, goods services have not been nationalised and as such private trucks also carry goods on all these routes. In fact most of the goods of the business men are carried by private trucks, but only the Government goods are carried by State Transport trucks.

Work Shop

Condition of all the roads in this district is not very good. Moreover in the hills the longevity of the buses and trucks is not very high and as such often it requires repairs. So for repairs of buses and trucks the Department has got a central Workshop at

1. Vide letter No, 2685/120/E2 dated 9-1-78 of the Headquarter, 15 Border Road Task Force, Kohima.

Dimapur, apart from small workshops in other places; and one such thing is there in Tuensang also. Tuensang workshop does not carry out major repairs but minor repairs only.

Railways

There is no rail-line or rail station in this district. In fact Tuensang town is little less than two hundred kilometre from the nearest rail station. Assam is served by Northeast Frontier Railway or NFR which has main line running from New Bongaigaon to Dibrugarh, all metre gauge.¹ This line has passed over Nagaland at Dimapur and has sent out a branch from Simulguri to Nagimora in Nagaland. The nearest Rail Station from Tuensang is Amguri but the most convenient Rail Station is Mariani near Jorhat, and so most of the people of this district proposing to go anywhere by train take to it from Mariani which is in Assam.

Airways

The State of Nagaland does not have a civil aerodrome.

Post and Telegraph

The present Tuensang district was formerly a part of North-East Frontier Agency and was separated from it in December 1957 to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area. Originally by a Notification in 1914, the Foreign and Political Department of Government of India created North East Frontier Tract of which Tuensang was a part.² Thus Tuensang area was officially opened up in 1914. But until 1948 no administration was set up there. Therefore before 1948 there was no postal communication in this area. Only from 1948 the postal system was opened but still then it was in its infancy—dak used to be carried by the porter of the administration from Mokokchung to Tuensang in several days time—110 km—and very irregularly, sometimes once in a month. Later it was regular but still carried by runner which was of course paid by the postal department. Still later when bus service was opened in 1966, mails used to be carried in bus, and that is the beginning of regular postal system in this district.

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1. New Bongaigaon to Gauhati is going to have broad gauge by 1981— the work has already started. It is also likely that in near future the metre gauge upto Dibrugarh will be converted into broad gauge.
 2. P.N. Luthra : Constitutional and Administrative Growth of the North-East Frontier Agency, p. 9.

At present (February 1978), the mails for Tuensang are carried from Amguri to Tuensang by bus and from Tuensang it is sent to other places such as Kiphire, Samatore, Noklak etc. Tuensang is a Sub-Post Officer with Telegraph facilities and this is the only post office in this district which has got telegraph lines. Of course, all the districts of Nagaland except Kohima, has got only one telegraph office each that is at the district headquarters. Kohima has got two—Kohima and Dimapur.

The mails from Tuensang go to Amguri RMS where it is sorted out for different places, as well as Tuensang receives its mails from Amguri RMS. Of course, mails for distant places are flown from Jorhat.

Except Tuensang there is no other departmental post office in this district yet. Of course, there are eleven Extra Departmental Branch Offices in this district and their mails are channeled through Tuensang.

A list of post offices of this district is given in Appendix III.

Many Post Offices of Nagaland, and so of this district too, are not making up the cost of running. On the other hand the postal department is not ready to bear the loss. Therefore the State Government of Nagaland are paying Non Returnable Contribution (NRC) to the postal authority to make up the loss.

The postal set up of former Naga Hills district during Assam time was under Jorhat Division. Later it was placed under Manipur-Nagaland Postal Division when it was created in 1956. Still later it came under Nagaland Division when it was created in October 1969, with its headquarter at Kohima, and so all the post offices of Nagaland, and so of this district, are under the control of Nagaland Division.

Tele-Communication

Prior to 1946 the Tele-communication of the then Naga Hills district was under Jorhat Sub-Division and the SDO (T) of Jorhat was looking after it. Jorhat Sub-Division was then under the Dibrugarh Division. Later the Tele-Communication of Naga Hills

was bifurcated and one section, the nearer one, was looked after by SDO (T) Jorhat and other one was looked after by SDO (T) Imphal. Later on, the Nagaland Telegraph Sub-Division was created in 1969, under Dibrugarh Division. Later, Jorhat Sub-Division became a Division on 1st September 1970 and Nagaland continued to be a Sub-Division under it. In 1973 Nagaland Sub-Division was made a Division with its headquarter at Dimapur. That time it had only one Sub-Division, namely Nagaland. Later, it has been divided into two Sub-Divisions such a Kohima and Dimapur, and Tuensang district comes under Dimapur Sub-Division of Tele-Communication, under Nagaland Division.

There is a Telephone exchange in Tuensang town. It is an Automatic Exchange and technically known as SAX (Small Automatic Exchange) or MAX (Main Automatic Exchange) and is of 100- line capacity. That means it can install 94 telephones keeping 6 lines as reserve. Of this installation capacity of 94, at present (February 1978) there are little more than 90 Telephones. This Telephone Exchange is under Dimapur Sub-Division of Tele-Communication of Nagaland Division.

Radios

Transistor radio receiver set has become a common household article in the town, and even in the villages. In Tuensang town almost every house has got a radio but it has not yet been able to penetrate the village life so much, mainly due to poverty. But still then we can reasonably expect that about 5% of the houses have got radio receiver sets.

Number of broad-cast receiver licence issued in the former Tuensang district which has been bifurcated into Tuensang and Mon, is given below.¹

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Licence issued	308	427	N.A	261	1762

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, P-171. It is not understood how the figures came down so much in 1973 and shot up so tremendously in 1974.

It may be mentioned that both Tuensang and Mon (Mon has been carved out of former Tuensang) are at the same level of development and therefore the percentage of houses having radio-licence will be same. Present Tuensang district has got 22,899 houses and present Mon has got 10,395. It is as per 1971 census.¹

Tourist Facilities

For all practical purposes Tuensang district including present Mon (excluding Tamlu of Tuensang and Wakching-Naginimora of Mon) came under administration only in 1948, that is about a year after Independence of India. For this no notification was issued because North East Frontier Tract of which Tuensang was a part, was brought under formal administration in 1914 by a Notification of the Foreign and Political Department of Government of India. So, though the area was Officially brought under administration in 1914, administration in its modern sense of the term began only in 1948. That time there was no tourist facilities, but the first thing the administrators did, was to set up a Dak-bungalow at Tuensang. Gradually a Circuit House has been constructed there and it has got now about six rooms. There are Dak-Bungalows or Rest Houses in Kiphire, Samatore, Longkhim, Tobu, Longleng etc.

The Circuit House at Tuensang is provided with good furniture, water taps and electricity. There are a Chowkidar and a Cook.

Dak-Bungalows are provided with ordinary furniture, water taps and electricity as well as a Chowkidar and a Cook.

1. Source No. SCO-3/14/71-Vol-III Dt. 5th October 1977 of the Deputy Director of Census Operations, Nagaland, Kohima.

APPENDIX I

DISTANCE FROM TUENSANG¹

1.	Tuensang-Kohima via Mariani	...	469 km
2.	„ Mokokchung	...	110 km
3.	„ Kiphire	.	118 km
4.	„ Chingtung saddle	..	30 km
5.	„ Longleng	...	80 km
6.	„ Noksan Via Longkhim	...	72 km
7.	„ Tobu	...	40 km
8.	„ Chessor	...	42 km
9.	„ Changlangshu via Tobu	..	72 km
10.	„ Suruhuto	...	56 km
11.	„ Tuli via Mokokchung	...	180 km
12.	„ Supongsang	...	30 km
13.	„ Mon via Mokokchung	...	320 km

1. Source : Statistical Hand-Book of Nagaland, 1974, p-27.

APPENDIX II

LENGTH OF ROAD UNDER PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT IN
TUENSANG DISTRICT (in Kilometres)

Year	State highways		Major District Road		Other Dist. Road		Classified Village road		Total road Length	Mule/Bridle Path Length
	Surfaced	Unsurfaced	Surfaced	Unsurfaced	Surfaced	Unsurfaced	Surfaced	Unsurfaced		
1973-74	148	64	...	...	2	50	...	609	873	...
1974-75	170	42	...	...	4	51	...	627	894	...

APPENDIX III

POST OFFICES IN TUENSANG DISTRICT
AS IN MARCH 1978¹

Name	Type		Staff
1. Tuensang	Sub-Post-Office	1) S.P.M. ...	1
		2) Clerk ...	4
		3) Postman ...	2
		4) Overseer Mail ...	1
		5) Packerman ..	1
2. Longkhim	Sub-Office	1) S.P.M. ...	1
		2) Postman ...	1
		3) Packerman ...	1
		4) EDDA ...	1
3. Chessore	Branch Office	1) EDA ...	1
		2) EDDA ...	1
		3) EDMC ...	1
4. Kiphire	Branch Office	1) EDA ...	1
5. Noklak	Branch Office	1) BPM ...	1
		2) EDDA ...	2
6. Pungro	Branch Office	1) EDA ...	1
		2) EDDB ...	1
		3) EDMC ...	1
7. Shamatore	Branch Office	1) EDA ...	1
		2) EDDA ...	1
8. Sitemi	Branch Office	1) EDA ..	1
		2) EDDA ...	1
		3) EDMC ...	2
9. Soichang	Branch Office	1) EDA ...	1
		2) EDMC ...	2

(1) Source : Superintendent of Post Officers, Nagaland, Kohima.

10. Thonoknyu	Branch Office	1) EDA	...	1
		2) EDMC	...	2
11. Tobu	Branch Office	1) EDA	...	1
		2) EDDA	...	2
		3) EDMC	...	2
12. Panso	Branch Office	1) EDA	...	1
		2) MDMC-cum EDDA	...	1

Note :

- 1) EDA : Extra Departmental Agent
- 2) EDDA : Extra Departmental Delivery Agent
- 3) EDMC : Extra Departmental Mail Carrier
- 4) SPM : Sub-Postmaster

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

Occupation in General

For all practical purposes the district of Tuensang came under administration in 1948. But till 1st December 1957 when this district (including Mon district) was joined with the then Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short, the administration was in infancy. From 1957 onward till to date, ie, 1978, the administration has spread all over the district. Along with administration has come in many schools, Primary, Middle and High, and as such the people have been exposed to civilisation very quickly, rather unimaginably quickly. In some cases where there was not even a hurricane lamp or even an ordinary lamp (*debri or kupi*) there now has appeared electric light. People are getting water taps in the houses, where even a decade before the women used to go down many hundred feet to carry water in bamboo chungas. Such is the speed of development and thus is the march of civilisation in this district.

As a result of this quick development there has been a rapid change in the thinking of occupational pattern— not so much in the actual occupation. Nowadays every educated youth wants to get a white-collar job instead of going back to the village for the age old occupation of tilling the land and minor other trades.

But still now the general occupation or the most important occupation of the people is tilling the land. We do not say it agriculture, but tilling, because cultivation has not developed so much. In many places the people till the land only to grow millet, maize or taro, and only in a few places the people cultivate the land to grow rice.

Whether tilling or cultivation, the people are primarily or rather absolutely peasants and depend on the land. It will be

proved by the fact that all the 108,863 people of this district are rural people, since there is no town in this district. Tuensang headquarter is commonly called a town but according to the Census department it is not a town, because it does not fulfill the requirements of being a town. Even then if we consider it to be a town which has got a population of 6,978 (4662 male and 2316 female) and call them urban people, the percentage of rural people comes to 94.

So all told, the people are land-based and they almost wholly depend on tilling the land.

As we have already mentioned in Agriculture Chapter, Jhum is the predominant form of cultivation. In a jhum, the people are busy going to their field for the major part of the year. Early in the morning, about two hours before sunrise the people get up, cook their food, eat it and pack some, and then taking the agricultural implements in the basket on the back, and the mothers taking the babies on their back, march towards the field as the first ray of the sun dawns on the village. In the field they work the whole day, taking rest and food in the field-house at noon, come back home in the evening as the sun downs on the western horizon. They go to the field and come back in a single file. While coming back they are laden with various things such as fire-wood, feed for pigs, taro or some vegetables etc. They take the food in the evening before sunset and go to bed early, and get up early.

Though the people are primarily tillers some of them engage themselves in other side occupations also such as weaving, basket making, blacksmithy, carpentry, pottery etc. Masonry is not much known here, at least among the indigenous people. But the people, at least some of the tribes, are expert in making muzzle-loading guns.

Hunting and fishing constitute other side occupations .

But all these side occupations such as weaving, basketry, carpentry, blacksmithy etc are for domestic consumption only and not for sale. Of course, nowadays some of the articles are sold in Tuensang, Kiphire and other administrative centres and it brings a good profit to the people.

Category of Occupation

The occupation of the people of this district may be broadly divided into four categories such as agriculture which has been discussed above, Government service, contract works and business, and miscellaneous. We discuss them below.

Agriculture has been discussed above. Next to it comes Government service. Among all the Government services the most important one is teaching. In this district, as well as all over Nagaland all the Primary School teachers are paid by the Government and almost all the Middle Schools as well as almost all the High Schools are purely run by the Government. According to 1971 Census, there were 239 Primary Schools, 37 Middle Schools and 6 High Schools in the former Tuensang district which now consists of Tuensang and Mon districts. Mon is about one-third of the original Tuensang district and at the same level of development and therefore we can say that one-third of the above schools have gone to Mon district and two-thirds are in the present Tuensang district. Only a few of the Primary School teachers are the people of this district and the rest are outsiders—mostly Aos. Most of the teachers of Middle Schools are outsiders—Aos and some Non-Nagas, and practically there is no teacher in the High Schools who is an indigenous inhabitant of this district. It is so because the people are educationally backward and whoever is a bit educated, goes for white collar job.

Next to teaching, come other Government jobs such as, in general administration (Clerks etc), Medical Department (nurse etc) and Public Works Department (labourer and Muhurer etc). But in all these government jobs there are very few local people. Only recently a few educated people have come up and they are mostly absorbed in administrative posts or ministerial works in the Secretariat or different Directorates.

Then come contract works under the Public Works Department. This is a very lucrative job and many people have come forward for this work. But still then some of the contractors themselves do not do the work but give sub-contracts to other people some of them being non-Nagas.

Other business such as shop-keeping, supply works, motor-repairing, tailoring etc etc are entirely in the hands of people not belonging to this district and most of them are non-Nagas.

Of the miscellaneous occupations, mention may be made of basketry, carpentry, weaving, pottery etc. But all these are side works and nobody depends on any of them for his livelihood. But still then it augments the family income and tends to give a better living.

Working Population

In this district, all the people of working age are workers. All the local people irrespective of age, old and urchins, men and women, work in the field. In fact a boy or girl of five years of age who can just pull out a grass or collect a few dry branches for fire-wood are workers, though not full but partial. Even a septuagenarian or octogenarian, man or woman, goes to the field instead of sitting idle at the home.

And the office goers, whether from this district or outside, are of course workers in their own right, but many of them, particularly the Nagas, do some cultivation either in the field or in the kitchen garden. The total population of this district is 108,863, of which 103,647 are tribals including some from other districts notably from Mokokchung. Of the total tribal population of 103,674, the number of male is 52,816 and female is 50,811. Total working population is 56,378 of which female is 23,665.

Details of workers, circle-wise and category-wise, are given in Appendix.

APPENDIX

CATEGORY-WISE AND CIRCLE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS OF TUENSANG DISTRICT AS PER 1971 CENSUS.

Sl. No.	Name of Circle	Occupied Residential Houses	No. of Household	Population (including Institutional and Houseless Persons)			Scheduled Castes			Scheduled Tribe		
				P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1.	Tuensang Sardar	3147	3147	15491	8968	6523	—	—	—	11920	6339	5581
2.	Longkhim	1047	1047	5756	3028	2728	—	—	—	5519	2836	2683
3.	Noksan	915	915	5251	2592	2659	—	—	—	5163	2515	2648
4.	Chare	898	898	4862	2519	2343	—	—	—	4785	2462	2323
5.	Tamlu	728	728	3844	2059	1785	—	—	—	3215	1689	1526
6.	Longleng	3053	3053	15579	8108	7471	—	—	—	15422	7995	7427
7.	Tobu	2940	2940	14021	7009	7012	—	—	—	13961	6962	6999
8.	Shamator	1152	1152	5096	2591	2505	—	—	—	5005	2519	2486
9.	Chessor	824	824	3606	1778	1828	—	—	—	3584	1757	1827
10.	Noklak	2890	2890	12272	6432	5840	—	—	—	12180	6356	5824
11.	Thonoknyu	1118	1118	4687	2440	2247	—	—	—	4676	2431	2245
12.	Kiphire	1665	1665	6802	3401	3401	—	—	—	6658	3286	3372
13.	Pungro	1382	1382	6161	3086	3075	—	—	—	6143	3071	3072
14.	Sitimi	367	367	1812	860	952	—	—	—	1803	852	951
15.	Seyochung	773	773	3623	1775	1848	—	—	—	3613	1766	1847
Total		22899	22899	108863	56646	52217	—	—	—	105347	52836	50811

Note P = Person, M = Male, F = Female.

Sl. No.	Name of the Circle	Literate and educated Persons			Total Works (I — IX)			WORKERS					
								I Cultivators			II Agricultural Labourers		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1.	Tuensang Saddar	4670	3635	1035	6508	5597	911	2935	2138	797	5	3	2
2.	Longkhim	1371	921	450	2747	1510	1237	2370	1156	1214	20	19	1
3.	Noksan	1200	729	471	1574	1209	365	1391	1037	354	—	—	—
4.	Chare	1347	754	593	1216	1051	165	1000	844	156	8	5	3
5.	Tamlu	1040	621	419	1407	883	524	1280	773	507	23	15	8
6.	Longleng	2384	1505	879	7172	4134	3038	6796	3797	2999	29	20	9
7.	Tobu	1018	914	104	8296	4655	3641	8049	4413	3636	10	6	4
8.	Shamator	461	400	61	3706	1865	1841	3514	1687	1827	1	1	—
9.	Chessor	338	280	58	2170	1038	1132	2011	914	1097	42	9	33
10.	Noklak	1019	728	291	7656	4007	3639	7426	3788	3638	12	9	3
11.	Thonoknyu	157	144	13	3228	1676	1552	3041	1494	1547	—	—	—
12.	Kiphire	767	620	147	4130	1993	2137	3707	1612	2095	28	4	24
13.	Pungro	611	513	98	3736	1780	1956	3334	1383	1951	3	1	2
14.	Sitimi	433	269	164	906	394	512	819	332	487	26	7	19
15.	Seyochung	568	403	165	1926	921	1005	1838	838	1000	—	—	—
	Total	17384	12436	4949	56378	32713	23665	49511	36000	23305	207	99	108

WORKERS

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Sl No.	Name of the Circle	III			IV			V					
		Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting & Plantation, Orchards and Allied activities.			Mining And Quarrying			Manufacturing, Processing Servicing & Repairs.					
		P	M	F	P	M	F	(a) Household Industry			(b) Other than Household Industry		
							P	M	F	P	M	F	
1.	Tuensang Sardar	20	20	—	—	—	—	30	29	1	93	91	2
2.	Longkhim	1	1	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	5	5	—
3.	Noksen	3	3	—	—	—	—	7	7	—	—	—	—
4.	Chare	6	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	9	—
5.	Tamlu	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6.	Longlen	10	10	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	4	4	—
7.	Tobu	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	—	2	2	—
8.	Shamator	1	1	—	—	—	—	9	9	—	3	3	—
9.	Chessore	3	3	—	—	—	—	7	7	—	1	1	—
10.	Noklak	3	3	—	—	—	—	6	6	—	6	6	—
11.	Thonok nyu	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—
12.	Kiphire	8	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6	—
13.	Pungro	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14.	Sitimi	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15.	Seyochung	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
TOTAL		66	66	—	—	—	—	77	76	1	127	129	2

TUENSANG DISTRICT, NAGALAND

WORKS

Sl. No.	Name of the Circle	VI			VII			VIII		
		Construction			Trade and Commerce			Transport, Storage and Communications		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1.	Tuensang Sardar	119	119	—	257	256	1	72	72	—
2.	Longkhim	18	18	—	75	75	—	1	1	—
3.	Noksen	4	4	—	6	6	—	3	3	—
4.	Chare	14	14	—	13	13	—	7	7	—
5.	Tamlu	6	6	—	1	1	—	1	1	—
6.	Longlen	23	23	—	35	35	—	5	5	—
7.	Tobu	15	15	—	8	8	—	—	—	—
8.	Shamator	18	18	—	17	17	—	—	—	—
9.	Chessore	5	5	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
10.	Noklak	20	20	—	25	25	—	—	—	—
11.	Thonok Nyu	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
12.	Kiphire	42	42	—	29	29	—	6	6	—
13.	Pungro	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
14.	Sitimi	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15.	Seyochung	2	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
TOTAL		287	287	—	472	471	1	95	95	—

WORKS

IX

X

Sl. No.	Name of the Circle	Other Services			Non-Workers			
		P	M	F	P	M	F	
1.	Tuensang Sadder	2977	2869	108	8983	3371	5612	
2.	Longkhim	252	230	22	3009	1518	1491	
3.	Noksen	160	149	11	3677	1383	2294	
4.	Chare	159	153	6	3646	1468	2178	
5.	Tamlu	93	84	9	2437	1176	1261	
6.	Longlen	266	236	30	8407	3974	4433	
7.	Tobu	205	204	1	5725	2354	3371	
8.	Shamator	143	129	14	1390	726	664	
9.	Chessore	98	96	2	1436	740	696	
10.	Noklak	158	150	8	4616	2425	2191	
11.	Thonok Nyu	181	176	5	1459	764	695	
12.	Kiphire	304	286	18	2672	1408	1264	
13.	Pungro	393	390	3	2425	1306	1119	
14.	Sitimi	59	53	6	906	466	440	
15.	Seyochung	83	78	5	1697	854	843	
TOTAL		5531	5283	248	52485	23933	28552	
						P	M	F
					TOTAL WORKERS	56378	32718	23665
					TOTAL NON-WORKERS	52485	23933	28552

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC TREND

The very fact that Tuensang district came under administration only in 1948 is sufficient to indicate the economic conditions of the people prior to that. Coupled with this the other fact, that is, substantial percentage of the people of the district still do not cultivate rice but live on millet, goes to say a lot of their economic conditions both present as well as past. Everywhere in the world the tribal and so primitive people are away from the main stream of the country and as such economically backward. The same thing applies to the North-East India which is inhabited by the tribals, and Tuensang is one of them. Prior to administration, the people were self contained in the sense that whether food production was sufficient or not they had to satisfy themselves with that. In fact they were not self sufficient because the food production was meagre and the people used to live in semi-starvation. One of the most important reasons of this people's insufficiency of food is probably their lack of knowledge of rice cultivation or unwillingness to cultivate it. Anyway, food production being insufficient they used to take recourse to all sorts of eatable things—such as maize, millet and taro (Kachu—colocasia) etc.

They used to grow some quantity of cotton for making their own garments but neither quality nor quantity of the cotton was good. Also their need for garments was very small because the men used to go with loin cloth only, and women used a narrow strip of cloth round the waist, and that's all. Of course, both men and women used chadar during winter.

They used to rear cattle and pigs and chicken for meat and used to supplement their protein food by hunting some wild animals and birds from the nearby forests which used to abound in wild life. They also used to get a few fishes from the rivers, but it was possible only for those villages who were near the rivers.

Thus though they were not self sufficient but they were self contained or rather were forced, by reality of life, to contain themselves to the semi-privation condition. But one thing they had to depend for, on others, was salt. They did not grow salt, neither they had brine well in required number. But since they had already learnt to use salt, they used to go for it to the neighbouring Aos and Semas who intervene between the plains of Assam and this district. It used to be purchased by bartering their own products such as rice, cotton, fowls and pigs etc, and the price was high.

Thus we see that prior to 1948 the people were practically away from the main stream of the country both physically and mentally as well as economically. These conditions continued to some extent prior to December 1957 after which there were vigorous efforts to bring this area under the main stream of the then Naga Hills Tuensang Area and also with the rest of the country.

Livelihood Pattern

According to 1971 census, cent per cent of the people of this district live in rural area since there is no Town in this district. Even if we accept Tuensang HQ (6978 people) as a town still $108,863 \text{ minus } 6978 = 101,885$ people live in the villages. This gives the percentage of rural population as 94, and since all the people living in the villages are cultivators, we can say that all the 94% of the population is cultivators. But here, in this district and to some extent in the rest of the State, cultivation is coupled with food gathering also. The people of this district cultivate the land not so intensively, rather sparingly, and grow deficit food crop and augment it up by getting fruits, roots, and leaves from the jungle. Thus it is though a primarily agricultural economy it is also mixed with food gathering economy to some extent.

Practically no industry has grown up in this district and so all the workers are land-based. It means they are either cultivators producing for themselves or land-labourers. Since land is not in wanting, there is practically no land-less people and every body has got land for his cultivation. Yet there are some people who can afford to work on other's land, besides their own. It is mostly on reciprocal basis and generally without any payment but by return labour. Of course, there are some people who

have got more land than their family alone can cultivate and can not hire labour on the basis of return labour, and these people engage labourers on payment.

Next to cultivation comes government service and then come contract works and business. Of all the government services the highest employment is provided by the Education Department in the form of Primary and Middle School teachers. Though numerically government servants come first, economically the contractors are above them. Then comes business which counts for lesser economic activities.

Regarding teacher, it may be mentioned here that most of the Primary Teachers, by no means all, are local people with a substantial number of the Aos who are inhabitants of Mokokchung district. In the Middle School some local people are found but none of them is found in the High School. Because any person capable of teaching in High School is capable of getting a white collar job under the State Government.

Prices

The district of Tuensang is in eastern side of the State and is surrounded by hills on all sides, and on its east is the wilderness of Burma. Since it is surrounded by hills, and it was not developed, there was no means of communication in the early days. As a result, the people were outside the influence of economic activity of Assam which was its closest developed State. So the people were self-contained and whatever articles they used to sell or buy were on barter system.

No recorded price list of articles of this district prior to 1948 is available. However, Dr. J. H. Hutton¹ has stated that among the Aos the price of a cock was about 8 annas and the wage of a man for a day was 4 annas. It was in the first decade of this century, and also not in this district. But since this district was outside the influence of administration that time, and they did not develop business, we can reasonably expect that the prices were lower than this. But prices of certain articles such as a match box or salt were much higher than in the plains of Assam or in Ao area. It is said that in the early days of

1. Dr. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* p-58.

administration, in the interior places, one cock was available in exchange of a match box. And probably a kilogram of salt could be exchanged for two or three cocks.

From 1948, when this district was opened up for administration, the prices started rationalising. From 1957 it came closer to the price level of Mokokchung and by now (1978) it is almost same with that of Mokokchung, plus the incidental charges. It has to be noted here that Tuensang gets its supply from Jorhat, Mariani on Amguri, all in Assam, being carried over a distance of about 200 km by road. This gives a price-rise. Moreover, the rate of profit is high as the business men want to make quick money. These two things together count for higher price level of this district.

After formation of the State, the Government of Nagaland, in its efforts to check the price-rise, have passed several Acts. The important ones of them are given below :

- 1) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Declaration of Stocks) order, 1965.
- 2) The Nagaland Sugar (Licencing) Order 1966.
- 3) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Proccurement and Distribution) Order, 1966.
- 4) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Dealers Licencing) Order, 1966.
- 5) The Nagaland Oil seeds and Oil (Price Control and Licencing) Order, 1966.
- 6) The Nagaland Essential Articles (Fixation of Marginal Profits) Order, 1966.
- 7) The Nagaland Petroleum, Diesel and Kerosene Oil (Reserved Stocks) Order, 1966.

As a result of all these regulations, the prices of essential commodities did not go up inspite of the tendency of the businessmen to raise it. However, the prices of essential commodities, as found in Tuensang H. Q., in February 1978, are given below.

- 1) Rice, per kg — Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- and occasionally it goes up

- 2) Atta, per kg — Rs. 1.60 to Rs. 2/-
- 3) Ms Dal, per kg — Rs. 5/-
- 4) Mustard Oil, per litre — Rs. 11/- to Rs. 12/- (It was Rs. 14 to Rs. 15 in November-December 1977)
- 5) Salt, per kg — Rs. 2/- to Rs. 4/- (It was only 50 paisa in 1977, and suddenly rose to the high and has started coming down again. It was unprecedented rise due to shortage in supply and it was all over the eastern region)
- 6) Sugar, per kg — Rs. 5/- to Rs. 6/-
- 7) Tea leaf, loose, per kg — Rs. 20/- to Rs. 25/-
- 8) Egg, per pair — Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 1.60
- 9) Kerosene Oil, per litre — Rs. 1.40 to Rs. 1.60
- 10) Fish,
 - Rohu, Katla, per kg — Rs. 14/- to Rs. 16/-
 - Rohu, Katla, cut, per kg — Rs. 16/- to Rs. 18/-
 - Magur, live, per kg — Rs. 16/- to Rs. 18/-
 - Singi, live, per kg — Rs. 14/- to Rs. 16/-
 - Others, per kg — Rs. 12/- to Rs. 15/-
- 11) Meat
 - Fowl, live weight, per kg — Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/-
 - Pork, per kg — Rs. 10/- to Rs. 12/-
 - Beef, per kg — Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/-
 - Mutton (generally not available) per kg — Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/-
 - Deer's flesh, per kg — Rs. 12/- to Rs. 14/-

The above rates may not tally with the Government's fixed rates, but it is the average market rates. In this connection, we are giving hereunder the yearly average retail prices of this State for 1970 to 1974, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Nagaland, in their Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1976, pp-211-12.

YEARLY AVERAGE RETAIL PRICE OF ESSENTIAL
COMMODITIES IN THE STATE

		Yearly average for					
Commodities	Unit	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1. Rice	...	Kg	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.98	3.16
2. Atta	...	,,	1.35	1.53	1.48	1.81	2.43
3. Aarahar dal	...	,,	2.05	2.12	2.48	2.77	3.38
4. Masur dal	...	,,	1.90	2.06	2.50	2.53	3.08
5. Naga dal	...	,,	1.70	1.84	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
6. Salt	...	,,	0.50	0.58	1.04	0.58	0.88
7. Chillies	...	,,	7.20	7.23	6.79	6.83	9.79
8. Haldi	...	,,	7.38	6.97	5.89	5.99	7.30
9. Jira	...	,,	7.50	7.17	6.80	7.88	13.11
10. Potato	...	,,	1.35	1.39	1.37	1.42	1.88
11. Onion	...	,,	1.30	1.26	1.37	1.47	1.93
12. Cabbage	...	,,	1.35	1.26	1.67	1.48	1.95
13. M. Oil	...	Litre	5.85	6.41	6.23	7.62	11.35
14. Vanaspati	...	Kg	7.45	7.64	7.92	9.37	12.55
15. Fish	...	,,	7.20	6.89	7.54	8.43	10.07
16. Pork	...	,,	5.90	6.03	6.23	6.52	7.91
17. Beef	...	,,	2.55	2.31	2.48	2.63	3.04
18. Mutton	...	,,	7.45	7.65	7.78	7.42	8.30
19. Eggs	...	Pair	0.75	0.72	0.75	0.86	0.98
20. Milk	...	Litre	1.80	1.51	1.73	1.81	2.17
21. Sugar	...	Kg	2.35	2.73	3.62	3.98	4.47
22. Gur	...	,,	1.70	1.72	2.12	2.51	2.84
23. Tea leaf	...	,,	7.80	8.59	8.90	8.57	11.07
24. Kerosene	...	Litre	1.05	1.02	1.01	1.09	1.67
25. Match	...	Box	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.15

Wage

In the first decade of this century the wage of a day-labourer in this area was probably only four annas, as it was among the Aos. Since then, along with rise of price and wage all over the country, particularly after the Second world War (1939-45), the wage of a day-labourer in this district has steadily gone up and now (1978) it is Rs. 10/- for an unskilled labourer. The wage of an agricultural labourer varies from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- depending on the demand and availability. But when work is done under a contractor on contract basis, for breaking stone-chips or cutting earth etc, a labourer earns as much as Rs. 20/- a day, provided he or she can work hard. It may be noted here that in all such cases, agricultural and non-agricultural, women are equally employed. Except in the case of work on contract basis, where every person gets according to work performed, the wage of a woman is little less than that of a man.

In case of skilled labourer, such as carpentry, masonry etc, one gets Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- a day.

There is no factory or mill in this district and so the question of wage of industrial labourers does not arise.

Standard Of Living

Of all the districts of Nagaland, Tuensang and Mon are less developed. Of these two districts Tuensang is probably worse because it has got many inaccessible villages on the Burma border.¹ Though many of them have recently been connected by jeepable roads, still it is far cry for development. The people are so poor or underdeveloped that in the last 30 years, since 1948, the Tuensang headquarter has not been classified as a town. Had the people been well to do or connected with service and business, they would have come and settled in the district headquarters as others have done in Mokokchung, Kohima and Dimapur towns. This shows that the people are primarily village based and do not have the necessary conditions for living in town.

1. Many of the people are on the Burma border and they have got their relatives or kinsmen on the other side of the border and often they marry with them. They also carry on trade with them.

Elsewhere we have mentioned that the percentage of people living in the villages is 94. But that does not indicate the standard of living though it suggests that they are tied to the land. The overwhelming majority of this people are tillers and many of them poor also. Though everybody has got land and there is no landless labourer, yet many of them are below poverty line because the food production is not sufficient. Of course, beggars are not there but that does not imply particularly any thing, because begging is not known in this society and whom to beg from? However, for the purpose of standard of living we can divide the people in three categories such as (a) Tillers (b) Tillers who combine some crafts with it, and (c) Businessmen and service holders.

Most of the tillers are poor because they do not grow sufficient food stuff. They live in thatched houses materials for which are collected from the jhum land or nearby forests by the members of the family or with the help of others. Practically no money is spent for construction of such a house. They eat rice, if they are lucky enough to grow it, or millet, maize and taro. They cook in earthen pot and bring their water in bamboo cans. They sleep on bamboo machang or the like or even sometimes the children are huddled together on the floor near the fire place. Some wealthy tillers may have a log-table, hewn out of tree, to sleep on. All these people dress very poorly — men use only loin cloth and the women use narrow strip of cloth round the waist. Of course, they may have chadars during the winter. Children upto the age of even ten go naked and very few of them go to School. Rice beer is the only recreation which they indulge in quite often. They are busy from morning till evening in their fields and sundry other domestic works, and go to bed early and enjoy sound sleep.

The second group of the people who are also tillers but combine some crafts such as smithy, basketry, carpentry etc are better off than the first group though they still are poor. They cultivate the land just like others but only during their spare time do some other jobs to augment the income. They also live in thatched house and lead the same life as the other cultivators do with only difference that some times they can manage better food and some times some of them can live in tin houses. Generally their children go to school and get some education. Gene-

rally men-folk of this group use short pants and shirts and their women-folk use skirts. They sleep on wooden cots and sometimes can afford blanket or quilt to sleep under.

Business men and service holders constitute the third group. They also cultivate, but the salary or the profit from business help them to live much better than the other two groups. Generally they live in tin roofed buildings which are their own or Government quarters. They can afford much better food and their children go to schools and colleges. Their men-folk use trousers, shirts, sweaters and shoes etc like Western people. Their women-folk use skirt, petticoat, blouse, bra etc modern garments. They also use shoes. They cook in aluminium pots. They use moderate furniture and bedstead. Most of them stay in different administrative centres. The wealthier sections of this group live still better and enjoy all comforts of life. In fact, they live much better than their counterparts in the rest of the country of India. It may be mentioned that all the Government servants get free quarters and so for them living in good houses is axiomatic. This is all about local people.

There are some people from outside the State who have come here on service or business. The job holders stay in Government quarters and lead a moderate life as their salaries and pecuniary conditions permit. But on the whole they live better than their counterparts in the rest of the country. The businessmen who have come from outside, generally stay in not-so-comfortable houses, neither lead so well-to-do-life but earn money and roll it and save it for their future.

Average Monthly Expenditure

Nagas have unitary family system in difference with major part of the rest of the country where joint family system prevails. After marriage not only the daughter goes away with her husband, but the son also goes away to live separately with his wife and to have his own family, This in no way means no-relation, far too ill relation. In fact it is meant for better relation. However, since it is unitary family system, a family consists of husband and wife and children and occasionally a widow mother or a widower father. Though a couple normally produce five to six children, a family may be considered to consist of five including husband and wife as is the

custom, because some of them do not produce many children or even at all and there is a factor of child mortality. Anyway, we can accept that on the average a family consists of five members. The monthly expenditure of a family in terms of money, of the poorer section of the people, is about Rs. 250/- per month at present (March 1978). The entire amount goes for food and the little clothing they use. Very little is spent for education because tuition is free, and text books also are free. And they use earthen pots for cooking and the houses are made of the materials from the jungle.

The second income group that is, those who engage themselves in some crafts along with cultivation, spends about Rs. 400/- per month per family. Major part of this amount goes for food and the rest for school education of the children. But if there is college education for any child, the expenditure goes up by another Rs. 300/-.

The third income group which consists of businessmen and Government servants spends on the average of Rs. 1000/- per family per month. The substantial part of this amount goes for food and clothing, and this together come to about Rs. 700/- and the remaining amount goes for the children's education. In case more than one child reading in college, the expenditure increases by Rs. 300/- per month per child. Some of the people of this group spend even Rs. 2000/- per month, though their salary is only half of it. They can do so because they have got other sources of income, and they are not required to pay any income tax.

Employment

The State of Nagaland was created in 1963. Soon after that the State Government decided that 80% of the jobs should go to the sons of the soil excluding non-tribals.¹ Later in 1975 it has been decided that cent percent of the jobs, excluding technical ones, should go to the locals. So at present (1978) all the non-technical jobs are reserved for locals. Again, many local young men are coming up in the technical lines and therefore locals have got a greater job opportunities in this State, and so also in this district.

1. There are many non-tribals permanently living in the plains area such as Dimapur, Naginimora etc, but they are not considered sons of the soil. Even the Nepalis who are staying in this State for several generations, are also not considered sons of the soil.

But this district came up for education rather very late. Also the people being poor cannot afford higher education. As a result of this two factors, the people of this district are not yet well-represented in the State Government services. Because of this position, recently, in 1977, reservation of jobs to the tune of 20% has been made for the backward tribes¹ and five out of the seven such tribes belong to this district. As a result of this reservation practically there is no unemployment problem in this district. Of course, with spread of education and better economic condition to give the children higher education, the unemployment problem is sure to raise its head in near future.

Still now almost all the graduates of this district are employed and some of them are gazetted officers, Class II or I, working as Circle Officer, Extra Assistant Commissioner or the like. And of course, there are a few who are politicians and have not entered into Government service.

Most of the Matriculates and undergraduates have got jobs in different Directorates, State Secretariat, or in the local administrative centres.

Under-Matrices or those who have even read up to class V or VI have been employed in Primary or Middle Schools.

So all told, there is no unemployment problem yet in this district but it is coming up soon.

There is no Employment Exchange in this district, but if anybody wants to get himself enrolled in the Employment Exchange, he is to do so in Mokokchung where there is one.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

As all over India, so also in this district, Community or Rural Development Blocks have been established for speedy and all-round development of the rural areas. The rural developmental activities in this district first started when the Sangsangnyu Community

1. The backward tribes who come under this reservation are Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Kheimungan, Phom and Chakhesang, and except the last two all belong to this district. Of course Konyak's district is Mon but they are living in this district also in a good number.

Development Block was started in early 1960s with its headquarter in Tuensang town. This Sangsangnyu Block covers thirty seven villages and serves the Chang and Upper Konyak tribes.

Gradually other Blocks also started and by now (March 1978) there are six Blocks in this district. They are the following.¹

(1) Sangsangnyu Block with headquarter at Tuensang. It covers 37 villages and serves the Chang and Upper Konyak tribes having a total of 5571 houses.

(2) Longleng Block with headquarter in Longleng. It covers twentyfive villages of Phom tribe with 3884 houses.

(3) Longkhim Block with headquarter at Longkhim. It serves thirtytwo villages of Sangtam and Chang tribes having a total of 2870 houses.

(4) Noklak Block has its headquarter at Noklak. It serves thirty villages of Kheimungan and Tikhir tribes having a total of 4008 houses.

(5) Samatore Block has got its headquarter at Samatore. It serves twenty-one villages of Yimchunger tribe having 2560 houses.

(6) Kiphire Block has got its headquarter in Kiphire which is a Sub-Division. It serves sixty villages of Sangtam and Sema tribes with 4187 houses.

All the above six Development Blocks are doing works for upliftment of the rural areas under its respective jurisdiction. At the beginning, their works were limited to the development of agriculture. It has to be noted that many of the tribes of this district subsist on crops other than rice² and so the main

1. The details have been collected from the concerned section of the State Secretariat.

2. According to Census report of 1971, the staple food of different areas of this district are the following. Longkhim — rice, maize and jobstear. Longleng — rice, maize and millet. Tobu — maize, millet and rice. Samatore — rice, millet and maize. Chessore — maize, millet, jobstear and rice. Thonoknyu — rice and millet. In other places rice is the staple food but often it is subsidised by millet, maize, taro etc.

job of the Blocks was to introduce rice cultivation. Gradually or rather side by side, it has taken up manifold development activities. The activities of the Blocks are various and whatever may be considered a step towards development of the area and the people, physical or mental, collective or individual, comes under their sphere of activity. And as such the Blocks are engaged in constructing water tanks in the villages, making village roads or approach roads to the School or village, construction of community Hall where the people can gather and discuss their problems, arranging games and sports, helping organising clubs and such other village organisations, extending help to the cultivators for making new terrace fields or inducing to grow rice instead of millet etc, extending help for constructing fishery, organising exhibitions, running Night Schools for adult illiterates etc etc all sorts of developmental works.

The Blocks also distribute fertilizers and agricultural implements to the villagers at 50% subsidy. They also distribute improved varieties of seeds of cereals and vegetables. Their activities also include animal husbandry, poultry, tree planting etc. Thus whatever may be considered a developmental activity comes under the Block

Blocks do not have their own technical men but the services of the technical hands of Agriculture and other departments are placed at the disposal of the Block Development Officer who gets the works done by them.

The Block's way of helping the people to the development work is on the principle of involvement of the people in the work and for that the system is to get 50% of the total outlay by the people themselves, and the remaining 50% is Government responsibility. The people may give it in cash or kind. Often the village as a whole works for the project and thereby contributes 50% of the expenditure. And if it is road cutting, the village also earn something as labourer. This system works well because the villagers contribute their share (50% of the total cost) in the form of labour and thereby are saved from paying cash money which they do not have much.

Another thing. Land which is required for execution of any project, such as construction of Community Hall, road, water tank etc, the villagers are required to donate it, free of cost.

Everywhere in developing countries, cent-per-cent regularity in the execution of any project can not be expected, and this district is no exception. As a result, though on paper it looks 50:50 by the people and Government, in fact, in most cases the greater, burden as much as 100%, falls on the Government unofficially.

However, though the Blocks carry out so many projects and works, their most important works, are construction of water tanks, approach roads and helping the people in cultivating rice.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

Historical Background

The present Tuensang district is one of the seven districts of Nagaland. Formerly, since 1957, the then Naga Hills Tuensang Area and later Nagaland from 1961 as a defacto State, and Nagaland as a de-jure State from December 1963, had only three districts, such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. In December, 1973, the districts of Nagaland were reorganised and the number of districts came to be seven. In the process of reorganisation, Kohima was divided into two, such as Kohima and Phek ; Mokokchung was divided into three, such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto ; and Tuensang was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon. Thus what is now Mon district was formerly upto December, 1973, was a part of Tuensang district. That is why in old writings, particularly in *Nagaland* by Verrier Elwin, place names like Wanching, Wakching etc which are now in Mon district have been referred to as of Tuensang district. In fact Wakching area (now under Mon), a part of former Tuensang district, was under Mokokchung Sub-Division and an administrative out-post was opened there in 1920. The hospital constructed that time and established in 1920 still stands there and testifies to the earliest British administration of that area. But Mon (the district headquarter of Mon district) area came under administration much later, and the rest of Tuensang district still much later.

Officially Tuensang group of villages were declared to be under the control of British Indian administration in 1902. Verrier Elwin has written "From 1902, under the provisions of a special Order-in-Council, the Tuensang villages were administered by the Governor-General of India through the Governor of Assam as his Agent and he was authorised to apply any British Indian Law to them. The Government of India Act of 1935 continued this arrangement, and Tuensang was defined as a "tribal area" within India. There was no change in its status at Independence; the Indian Independence Act

of 1947 and the Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act of the same year authorised the Government of India to continue its administration.”¹

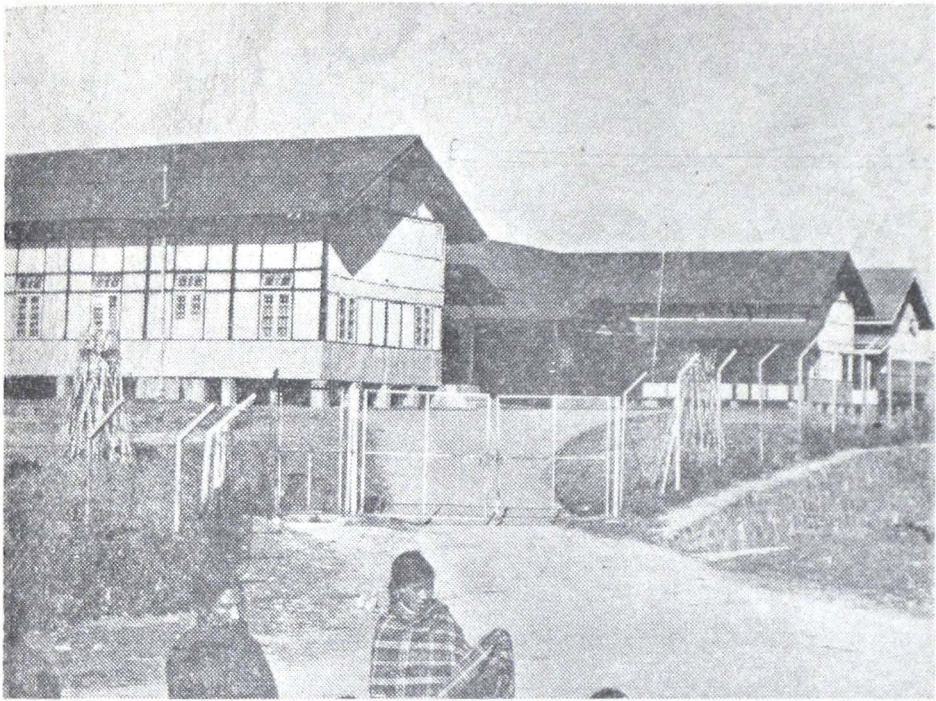
So it appears that though the administration was officially extended to Tuensang villages, it did not extend to other parts of the district, neither the administration was any effective one, but only in name. Even in 1914, the position was not different, and it will be clear from the writing of Luthra, who says “the beginning of administration of the territory, which has come to be known as the North East Frontier Agency² may be traced back to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Notification of 1914, which promulgated that the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 would extend to the hills inhabited or frequented by Abors, Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas,³ Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Daflas”⁴

Practically the same position continued till 1948, that is, one year after Indian Independence, during which period the administration was confined in carrying out occasional expeditions, from outside the district, to take cognisance and punish the villagers who indulged in head-hunting, not only in the semi-unadministered area of their habitat, but also inside the administered area.

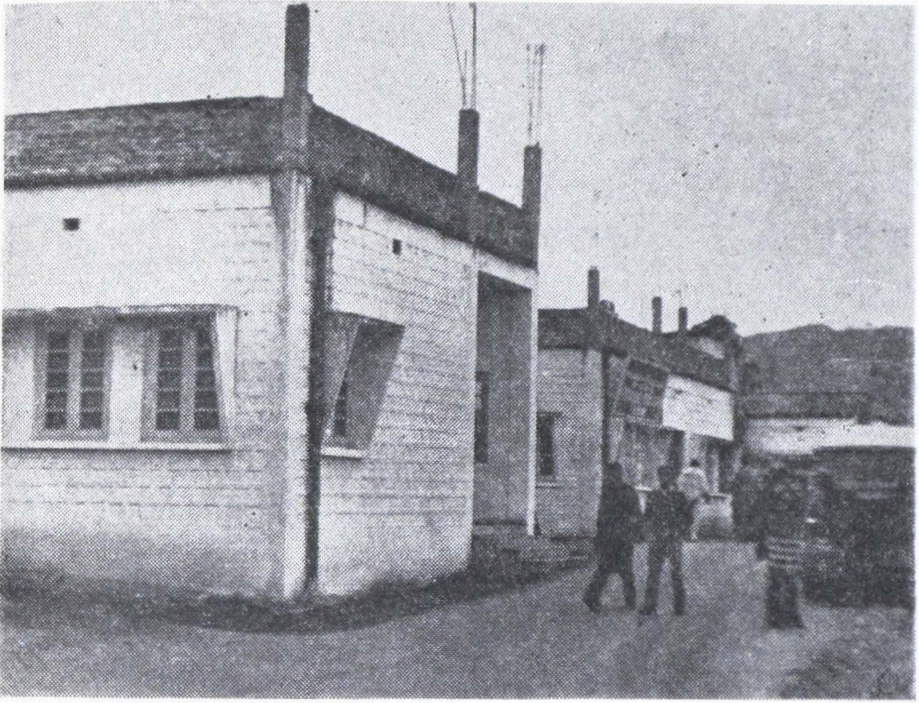
Verrier Elwin says that gradually the Tuensang group of villages were brought under the blessings of administration in 1948 when the headquarter of the area was founded near the Tuensang village in that year, as an out-post of Mokokchung sub-division⁵ and in 1951 the first Political Officer was appointed.⁶

It may be mentioned that even in 1947, one year before establishing the headquarters at Tuensang, a substantial part of the present district of Tuensang was unadministered. To substantiate, below is quoted a para from *Nagaland* of Verrier Elwin, p-28.

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1. Verrier Elwin, Nagaland, p-27 (published by Government from Shillong in 1961).
 2. Tuensang was a part of North East Frontier Agency till December, 1957, when it was separated from it and joined with Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short.
 3. Tuensang is inhabited by Nagas-Ed.
 4. P.N. Luthra, Constitutional and Administrative Growth of the North-East Frontier Agency, p-9.
 5. The first administrative Officer in Tuensang was Mr.H. Zopianga who is now (April 1978) is the Chief Secretary of the State. He says that he was posted there in January, 1948, as Assistant to Deputy Commissioner and it was not under the Sub Division of Mokokchung but under direct control of the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills.
 6. Verrier Elwin, Nagaland, p-29.



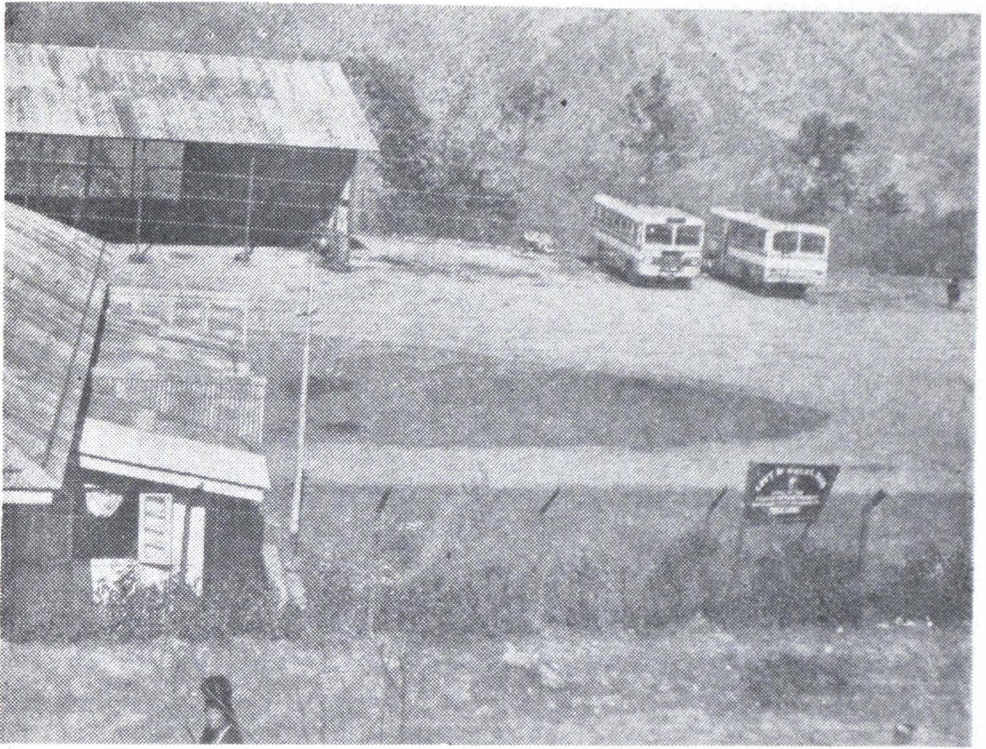
Government High School, Tuensang



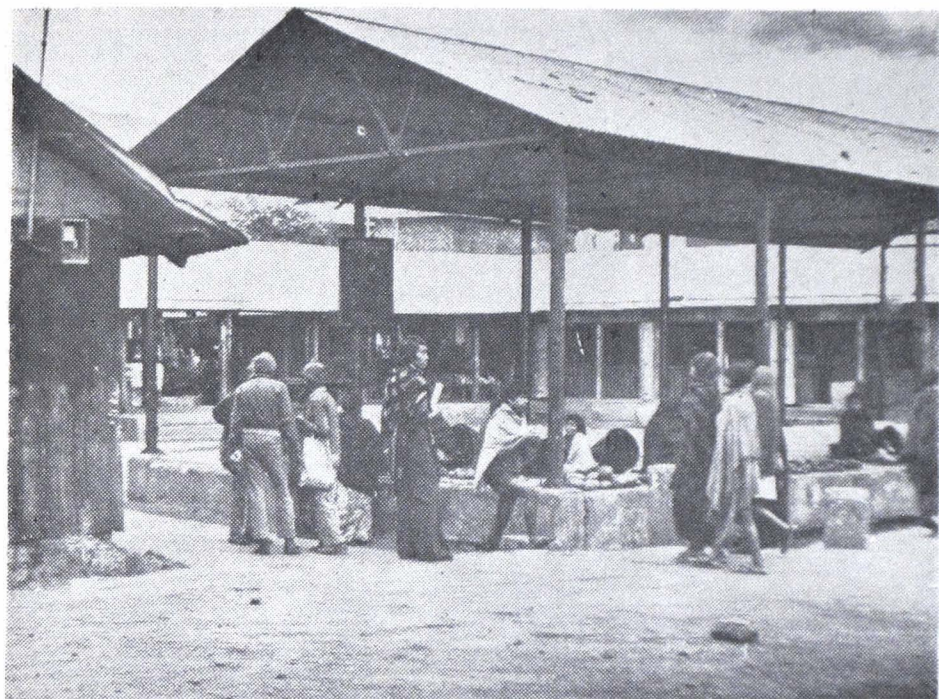
Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Tuensang



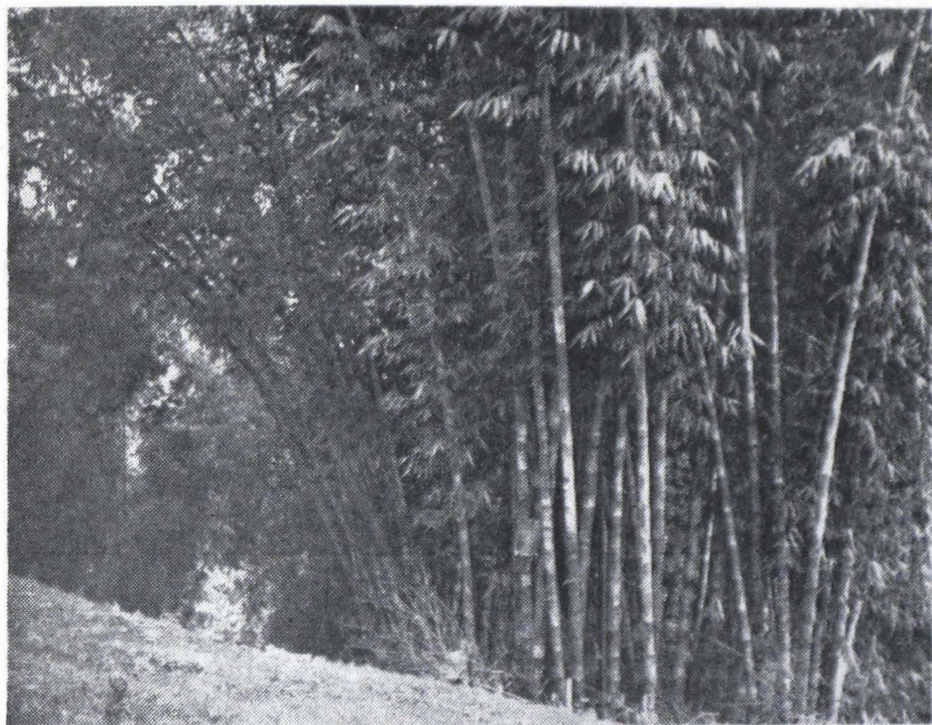
Shop-line, Tuensang town



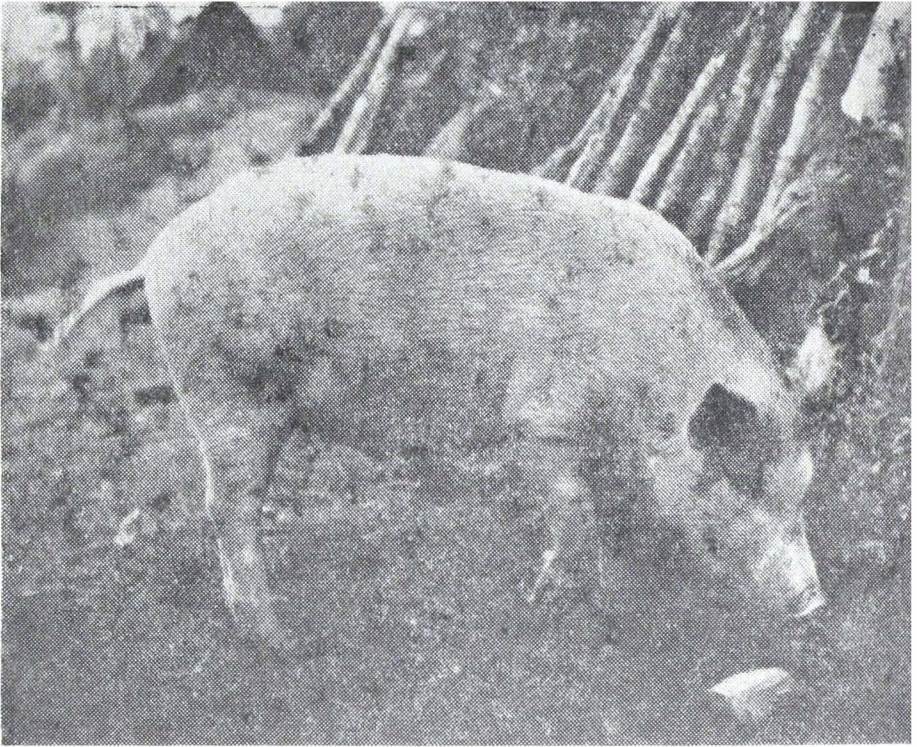
Nagaland State Transport (NST) Bus Station, Tuensang



Market place, Tuensang town



Bamboo is an indispensable part of the village life



Pig is an important domestic animal for its meat

“In June 1947 I toured for over a month in this part of the hills in the company of Mr W. G. Archer, a member of the I.C.S., who was in charge of Mokokchung. I saw how Tuensang was then divided into what were called ‘controlled’ and ‘unadministered’ areas, but how his writ did, in practice, extend over the whole area. Local Chief and headmen, who were called Command Dobashis and paid by Government, acted on his behalf and reported major incidents which required attention. From time to time punitive expeditions had to be taken out in serious cases of head-hunting. While I was in Wakching,¹ many Chiefs in their gorgeous attire came from the most distant villages to have their difficulties and quarrel settled. During the last War it was possible to establish a wireless station here in a very remote village on the Burma border”.

In the north-eastern India, covering an area of thirty thousand square miles or eighty thousand square kilometres, there are many tribals, besides the Nagas. The areas were not developed and the people were isolated and their condition was far from satisfactory. So from the stand point of humanitarian ground, the Government of India, soon after Independence, paid attention towards this area for its development.

“On the frontier additional high-level officers were appointed, the administration was reorganised, and in 1950 the North-East Frontier Tract, comprising the Balipara Frontier Tract, the Tirap Frontier Tract, the Abor Hills district and the Mikir Hills District, along with the Naga Tribal Area, was included in Part B of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution”². So it is seen that Tuensang area was known that time by the general name Naga Tribal Area, and it formed a part of North East Frontier Tract. Four years later, the North-East Frontier Area (Administration) Regulation 1954 made some changes and the Naga Tribal Area came to be known as Tuensang Frontier Division, and the North East Frontier Tract came to be known as North East Frontier Agency³. This position continued till December, 1957, when Tuensang Frontier Division was separated from North-East Frontier Agency and

1. Wakching is now under Mon district—Ed.

2. Verrier Elwin, Nagaland, p-29

3. Ibid, p 29.

added to Naga Hills district to form a new administrative unit known as Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short.

Naga Hills became Nagaland in 1961 and started functioning as a de-facto State. In 1963, on 1st Decemder, it was inaugurated by Dr Radhaknishnan, the then President, as the 16th State of Indian Union, and Tuensang continued to remain a district of it.

Ten years later, in December 1973 the districts of Nagaland were reorganised and Tuensang was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon.

To sum up, the area of the present Tuensang district was brought under the pall of British administration by a notification in 1902. But it was only in paper and there was no administration in this area. In 1914, the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 was extended to this area. In 1948 the out-post at Tuensang was opened and it was directly under the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills that time. In 1950, when the Constitution came into being the area was brought under Part B of the sixth Schedule of the Constitution, and was separated from Naga Hills and brought under North East Frontier Tract. In 1951 the first Political Officer was posted. In 1954 the North East Frontier Tract was renamed as North East Frontier Agency and Tuensang area came to be known as Tuensang Frontier Division. In 1957 it was separated from NEFA and joined with Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA), and it became a district thereof. In 1963 Nagaland became a State and Tuensang continued to remain a district. In December 1973 the district was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon.

Early Administration System

At the beginning, in 1948, Tuensang was an out-post of Naga Hills district, and the administrative Officer was designated as Assistant to Deputy Commissioner ¹ whose rank was equivalent to the the present Extra Assistant Commissioner, but with more powers. His main duty was to prevent inter-village feud and head-hunting. He used to carry out his duty with the help of village elders who were called Command Dobhashis,² Except

1. The first Assistant to Deputy Commissioner posted in Tuensang was Mr. H. Zopianga, now the Chief Secretary of the State (April 1978).

2. Varrier Elwin, Nagaland, p-28.

inter village quarrels and head-hunting, there was no serious law and order problem. Minor cases of the villages used to be settled by the village elders themselves. Everything was according to customary law and even murder used to be arbitrated without bringing it to the session court.

In 1951 Tuensang was created a Frontier Division of North East Frontier Agency and a Political Officer was appointed. He was equivalent to the present Deputy Commissioner in rank but had wider powers. He used to carry out his administration with the help of one Assistant Political Officer in the headquarters and another at Kiphire, and a number of village elders called Dobhasis (D. Bs) in the headquarters as well as in other administrative out-posts. During this time administration was mainly confined to developmental works. Law and order problem was negligible and used to be settled by the D. Bs and G. Bs (Gaon Buras). All serious cases of quarrel including murder were arbitrated by the Political Officer or the Assistant Political Officer as the case may be.

Present Administration

In December 1957, Tuensang became a part of Naga Hills Tuensang Area and soon after this a Deputy Commissioner was appointed in place of the Political Officer. He was like any other Deputy Commissioner in rank but had more powers and responsibility and was answerable to the Governor of Assam who was also the Governor of Naga Hills Tuensang Area. Deputy Commissioner of other two districts of Naga Hills Tuensang Area, such as Kohima and Mokokchung, were not directly responsible to the Governor but to the Executive Council which was something like a Ministry. That the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang was directly responsible to the Governor was because the district was a special charge of the Governor in view of its backwardness and consequently touchy problems.

Even when Nagaland became a fullfledged State in 1963, Tuensang continued to remain a special charge of the Governor and there was specially a Minister for Tuensang Affairs in the Nagaland Cabinet. So the Deputy Commissioner was no longer responsible

to the Governor directly, but to the Minister of Tuensang Affairs and thereby helping the Governor discharging his special responsibility. This position continued till December 1973, when the ten-year term of special charge of the Governor, after the Statehood from 1st December 1963, expired. So the prerogative of the Deputy Commissioner for special powers also expired from that date, and the district came at par with other districts.

Till December 1973, the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang was in overall charge of not only the general administration but of all the Departments. Though most of the State Departments had its district officers in Tuensang they were required to route their proposals to their higher authority through the Deputy Commissioner. Not only this but even the district officers of all the departments were directly under the control of the Deputy Commissioner and he used to write their Annual Confidential Reports. This was called single chain administration and it worked well.

It will be worth while to mention two incidents to show how the administration was running in those days, before December 1973, and how straight forward are the people.

Towards the end of 1962 three girls belonging to Kheimungan tribe of Noklak area were murdered and heads of two were taken away while the hair of the third was taken away, probably for decoration purpose. The Kheimungans suspected that the murder was committed by the Yimchungers of the Yimchunger khel¹ of Chiliso village of Thonoknyu area. Out of the suspicion that the Yimchungers have killed their girls, which could not be proved beyond doubt later, the Kheimungans raided the Yimchunger khel of Chiliso village and took away thirty heads. This is a case of head hunting in Nagaland as late as 1962. Mr. S. C. Dev² the Sub-Divisional Officer, Kiphire, rushed to the area on instruction from Kohima, the Deputy Commissioner being on tour to Burma, though the area does not come to the jurisdiction of that Sub-Division. When he reached Noklak, some seventy two persons voluntarily confessed that

1. Khel is a part or Mahalla of a village. It is generally based on clan. Sometimes people of other tribe may also have a khel in another village. Anyway a khel is a small bustee in a bustee.

2. Padmasree S.C.Dev IAS is the Commissioner of Nagaland now (April 1978).

they had taken part in that raids of hunting thirty human heads. The S.D.O. asked them to go to Tuensang, several days march, and to report to the Jailor, and they did it without being arrested. During the jail-term one of them wanted parole because his wife was in advanced stage of pregnancy. The parole was granted and he came back after it.

The other incident took place in the middle of 1961, about one year before the previous one. It was in Tuensang town itself, and also during the time of Mr. S.C.Dev who was holding the fort during the absence of the Deputy Commissioner. One Yimchunger fellow was trying to steal a goat from the pen of an Ao. The Ao fellow found him in the act of stealing and struck him with a cudgel and he died on the spot. Since this was a case of killing involving persons of two different tribes, it created a great tension in the headquarters particularly among the people of those two tribes¹. Situation became tense and the acting Deputy Commissioner gathered forces, and sent the killer to Assam Rifles lock-up. The aggrieved party demanded that the Ao fellow be handed over to them because it is the custom, in such cases, to bury the killer, or any body of his family in his absence, along with the killed in the same grave. Naturally the acting Deputy Commissioner could not agree to it and stubbornly resisted. Later the case was settled by payment of two thousand rupees.

Up to November 1973, the Deputy Commissioner was supervising all the departments and after that he was relieved of this overall responsibility and started functioning like the Deputy Commissioners of other districts. But in this capacity also he wields a great influence on other departments by virtue of his being the head of the district. He carries out his duties through the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Sub-Divisional Officers, Extra Assistant Commissioners and Circle Officers.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

Like Assam and unlike many other States, the head of the district administration in Nagaland is designated as Deputy Commissioner, and he works under the direct control and guidance of the Commissioner of which there is only one for whole of Nagaland². Though the head of the district administration is called Deputy

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1. The killer was Shilu, one Ao, and the killed was an Yimchunger by birth but reared up by his god-father Chaba, a Sangtam.
 2. At present (March 1978) the Commissioner is Padmasree S.C. Dev, I.A.S,

Commissioner, he combines in himself the powers and functions of District Magistrate and Collector of other places. He is responsible for maintenance of law and order and therefore has effective control over the police administration of the district, though the Police Department is directly under the control of Inspector General of Police of the State. Besides law and order, the Deputy Commissioner controls the rural development works through the Block Development Officers of whom he is the controlling authority. Also the Deputy Commissioner is the appointing authority and controlling officer of all his staff at the headquarters and other administrative centres. Of course Gazetted Officers are appointed by the Government in the name of the Governor. These gazetted officers (Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sub-Divisional Officer and Additional Deputy Commissioner) are also under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner. He can transfer the non-gazetted officials anywhere within his district and of course can get transferred the gazetted officers by the Government. The Deputy Commissioner also acts as the District Treasury Officer and in that capacity supervises and controls all the Government transactions within the district, on behalf of the Government. He discharges his duties of District Treasury Officer through the Treasury Officer at Tuensang who works under the control and guidance of the Deputy Commissioner and is expected to observe the Treasury Rules and maintain strict attention to all the details of treasury works. There is one Treasury at Tuensang and a Sub-Treasury at Kiphire. The Sub-Treasury comes under the Treasury at Tuensang.

Apart from the above mentioned duties the Deputy Commissioner has to look after the works which do not come under any other department, as well as other works which may arise as a result of natural calamity such as earthquake, cyclone, fire etc. In all these cases it is the relief and rehabilitation which the Deputy Commissioner is to look into. His other duties include normal relief measures (to poor and destitute), supply of essential commodities, registration of deeds, running the elections etc etc various works. He is also the authority to issue licences for various kinds of gun (not rifle for which Commissioner is the authority) under the Arms Act and Explosives Act, etc. He is also the custodian of the Government land in the district which the Government has acquired from the villages on payment of compensation. In this capacity he safeguards the interest of the Government and the people, and

distributes the Government land to the public for residential, institutional or commercial purposes. No land in the district as well as in the State can be sold to any Non-Naga without the specific permission of the Deputy Commissioner.

The Deputy Commissioner is the Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of all the district level officers of the district and in that capacity he coordinates the developmental activities and planning etc, and certainly exerts considerable influence on all the departments.

Also the Deputy Commissioner is vested with the powers of a sessions judge and is competent to pass sentence of life imprisonment as well as death sentence. Of course the death sentence has to be confirmed by the High Court¹ before it is executed.

All told, to sum up, the powers and functions of the Deputy Commissioner of Tuensang district are the following.

- 1) Overall supervision of the administration in all the facets in the district.
- 2) Coordinating and even influencing development activities and planning in the district.
- 3) Supervision of matters relating to all sorts of loan granted by the Government.
- 4) Giving sanction of different proposals of purchases or small construction etc of his establishment either in the headquarter or outpost.
- 5) Appointment and transfer of Grade IV and III staff of his establishment and exercise of other statutory powers in that respect.
- 6) Allotment and detailing of vehicles placed at his disposal.
- 7) Relief and Rehabilitation.
- 8) Civil Supply.
- 9) Allotment of quarters of his pool.

1. Nagaland is under the Gauhati High Court which has got a bench in Kohima

- 10) Allotment of Government land to public or other Government department for residential, official or other purposes.
- 11) Issue of Innerline Permit to outsiders to enter and stay in this district. (This serves the purpose to enter Nagaland at any point and the rate now, August 1981, is Rs. 5/- per fifteen days.)
- 12) Control of prices and markets etc.
- 13) Any other thing which is not covered by other departments.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF ADDITIONAL DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, SUB - DIVISIONAL OFFICER, EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, CIRCLE OFFICER, AND DOBHASIS IN THE HEADQUARTERS AND THE GAON BURAS IN THE VILLAGES.

Additional Deputy Commissioner

His powers and functions are similar with those of the D. C., and he works in behalf of the Deputy Commissioner.

Sub Divisional Officer (SDO) In The Sadar

- 1) Supervision of administrative circles
- 2) Control of prices in the local market
- 3) Issue of shop permit
- 4) Issue of Innerline permit
- 5) Presiding over Area Council in the Sadar area
- 6) Dealing with judicial matters for Sadar area
- 7) General supervision of various branches in the absence of the Deputy Commissioner. He is vested with class one magisterial powers.

Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC)

- 1) He is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer in the Deputy Commissioner's Office
- 2) He tries cases according to his powers which are class one magisterial
- 3) He maintains office security and looks into welfare of the staff.

- 4) He supervises arms and ammunitions
- 5) He renews the Innerline permits
- 6) He supervises loans
- 7) He looks into land records and settlement.

Circle Officer (CO)

He is responsible for maintaining rules and procedures during the visit of any high official as well to look into his tour and other facilities. He also looks after the general arrangement of the office and the staff.

Do-Bhasi (DB)

The DBs have got a Court and they deal with customary laws and cases relating to that. They also interpret the language of the local people to the administrative officers in broken Assamese (now called Nagamese) and vice-versa.

Gaon-Bura (GB)

The GBs are responsible for the overall village administration. They are assisted in their works by Barricks (Village elders). Any administrator going to the village will first meet the GBs and then get the works done through them.

The Deputy Commissioner's Office is run by a number of other staff such as Head Assistant, Peshkar, several Upper Division Assistants and Lower Division Assistants and some class IV staff. Apart from this, the Deputy Commissioner is provided with one Stenographer.

Administration of Different Areas

For the purpose of administration, the district of Tuensang is at present (April 1978) divided into fifteen units, but only two Sub-Divisions, Sadar and Kiphire. Kiphire is under one Additional Deputy Commissioner. Each of these administrative Units or Circles is placed under one Additional Deputy Commissioner (Kiphire), or Sub-Divisional Officer or Extra Assistant Commi-

ssioner or Circle Officer. They all administer their respective areas on behalf of the Deputy Commissioner, and are under his control. Of course, EACs and COs work under the respective ADC or SDO as the case may be for day to day guidance.

It may be noted that all these administrators have got the same duties and functions in respect of his area as the Deputy Commissioner has got for the whole district. Following are the administrative Circles and the Officers in charge thereof¹.

1. Tuensang	:	Sub-Divisional Officer
2. Longleng	:	Extra Assistant Commissioner
3. Tamlu	:	Circle Officer
4. Longkhim	:	Extra Assistant Commissioner
5. Noklak	:	Extra Assistant Commissioner
6. Shamator	:	Extra Assistant Commissioner
7. Noksen	:	Circle Officer
8. Chare	:	Circle Officer
9. Thonoknyu	:	Circle Officer
10. Chessore	:	Circle Officer
11. Tobu	:	Circle Officer
12. Kiphire	:	Additional Deputy Commissioner
13. Siyochung	:	Circle Officer
14. Sitimi	:	Circle Officer
15. Pungro	:	Circle Officer

DISTRICT OFFICERS

There are district level officers of different departments to look after their respective works. Following is the list of District Officers who are looking after Tuensang district at present (April 1978).

1. Police	:	Superintendent of Police
2. Public Works Department	:	Superintending Engineer
3. Public Health Engineering	:	Executive Engineer, PHE
4. Forest	:	Divisional Forest Officer

1. Source : Basic Facts, Nagaland, 1979 (Published by the Directorate of Information, Publicity and Tourism, Government of Nagaland) page---24.

5. Agriculture	:	District Agriculture Officer
6. Industries	:	District Industries Officer
7. Small Marginal Farmers Development Agency	:	Deputy Project Officer
8. Publicity	:	District Publicity Officer
9. Fishery	:	Superintendent of Fisheries
10. State Transport	:	Station Superintendent
11. Workshop Organisation	:	One small mechanical unit attached with the Deputy Commissioner.
12. Education	:	Inspector of Schools
13. Medical	:	Civil Surgeon
14. Town Planning	:	Assistant Town Planner
15. Statistics	:	District Statistical Officer
16. Taxes	:	Superintendent of Taxes
17. Co-operative	:	Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives
18. Animal Husbandry and Veterinary	:	District Veterinary Officer
19. Sports	:	District Sports Officer
20. Electricity	:	Executive Engineer, Electricity
21. Soil Conservation	:	Inspector, Soil Conservation
22. Excise	:	Deputy Superintendent of Excise.
23. Jait	:	Deputy Superintendent of Jails
24. Supply	:	Assistant Director of Supply
25. Weights and Measures	:	Inspector.

CENTRAL OFFICES IN TUENSANG

1. Subsidiary Intelligence Branch (SIB)	:	Joint Assistant Director
2. Publicity	:	Field Publicity Officer
3. Post and Telegraph	:	Postmaster, Sub-Post Office,
4. Tele Communication	:	Junior Engineer, Telegraphs, Dimapur (for telephone Ex- change, Tuensang).

APPENDIX**Villages Under Tuensang District**

Below are given the villages of Tuensang district, Circle-wise. Here the Circle means Census Circle of 1971 Census. Since the last Census there have been some changes in the spelling of names or nomenclature itself.

Circle : TUENSANG

1. Chentang
2. Chingmelen
3. Hak
4. Kakchung
5. Hilipong
6. Kejok
7. Khudeh
8. Konya
9. Kuthur
10. Logkong
11. Longtokur
12. Maksha
13. Momching
14. Naksha
15. Ngangbong
16. Nyinyem
17. Phnmpak
18. Sangsangnyu
19. Sauchu
20. Sibongsang
21. Sotokur

22. Tuensang H.Q.
23. Tuensang village.

Circle : LONGKHIM

1. Angaba
2. Chimonger
3. Chungtore
4. Holongba
5. Lirise
6. Longkhim
7. Phire Ahire
8. Sangsomong
9. Yangli Mission Compound.

Circle : NOKSEN

1. Kampong
2. Kongsang
3. Litem
4. Longra
5. Longtang
6. Noksen village
7. Noksen H.Q.
8. Sargtak
9. Yali
10. Yimrup
11. Yukumsang
12. Yunyu

Circle : CHARE

1. Alisopur
2. Chare
3. Chare H.Q.
4. Chungliyimti

5. Longkhipek
6. New Mongakhi
7. Old Mongakhi
8. New Tsatanger
9. Old Tsatanger
10. Tronger
11. Tonglongsore

Circle : TAMLU

1. Bashola (Ladaigarh)
2. B/Namsang
3. C/Kangching
4. Ngetchungching
5. Shemungching
6. Tamlu village
7. Tamlu H.Q.

Circle : LONGLENG

1. Aoching
2. Hukpang
3. Kamahu
4. Longleng H.Q.
5. Mongnyu
6. Mongtikang
7. Nian
8. Orangkong
9. Phomching
10. Pongu
11. Sakchi
12. Tangsa
13. Yachem
14. Yangching
15. Yongam

16. Yaong
17. Yongpang
18. Yongya

Circle : TOBU

1. Bumei School Compound
2. Changlangshu
3. Chungnyu
4. Kenchangshu
5. Monakshu
6. Mopong
7. Pesao
8. Shamnyu
9. Tamkong
10. Tobu H. Q. (Post)
11. Tobu Village
12. Ukha
13. Yakshu
14. Yangkhao
15. Yei
16. Yonghong

Circle : SHAMATORR

1. Chassir
2. Lasikiur
3. Leanghonger
4. Melenchung
5. Rurur
6. Sikiur
7. Shamatorr H. Q.
8. Shamatorr Village
9. Sangphur

- 10 Waphur
11. Yahor

Circle : CHESSORE

1. Aiponger
2. Chessore Station
3. Chessore
4. Huker
5. Kephore
6. Kiutsukiur
7. Shiponger
8. Y. Aunner

Circle : NOKLAK

1. Aniakshu
2. Chentang Saddle
3. Chingmei
4. Chokla
5. Kenyu
6. Langnyok
7. Lengnyu
8. Noklak
9. Noklak Station
10. Nokhu
11. Nokyan
12. Pangsha
13. Panso
14. Taknyu
15. Tsawao
16. Wansoi
17. Waochu
18. Yakao
19. Yimpang

Circle : THONOKNYU

1. Cheephur
2. Chiliso
3. Kensung
4. Pang
5. Pessu
6. Sanglao
7. Thoksor
8. Thongsonyu
9. Thonoknyu Station
10. Thonoknyu village
11. Wue

Circle : KIPHIRE

1. Amahatore
2. Anatongre
3. Angkokre
4. Horongre
5. Hutami
6. Insikur
7. Keor
8. Kiphire
9. Kiphire H. Q.
10. Kisetong
11. Longmatare
12. Longthongre
13. Ngoromi
14. Phelungre
15. Purrur
16. Resethse
17. Sanchore
18. Shampore
19. Sirire

Circle : PUNGRO

1. Chikiponger
2. Chomi
3. Dethozu
4. Iponger
5. Longtsunger
6. Luthur
7. Manik
8. Metonger
9. Mimi
10. Moya
11. Penkhim
12. Pokphur
13. Pungren
14. Pungro village
15. Pungro H.Q.
16. Salumi
17. Sangkumti
18. Thanamir
19. Yimyor
20. Zaonger.

Circle : SITIMI

1. Honito
2. Kitangre
3. Langzangre
4. Natchami
5. Nikiya (Yangseki)
6. Nitoi
7. Shishiomi
8. Sitimi Village
9. Sitimi Station
10. Thazuvi

Circle : SEYOCHUNG

1. Lukhami
2. New Mungre
3. Old Mungre
4. Phisami
5. Seyochung Post
6. Seyochung Village
7. Shathomi
8. Thangthore
9. Yangitong
10. Yingphire

TOTAL VILLAGES

1.	Tuensang Circle	23
2.	Longkhim Circle	9
3.	Noksen Circle	12
4.	Chare Circle	11
5.	Tamlu Circle	7
6.	Longlen Circle	18
7.	Tobu Circle	16
8.	Shamator Circle	11
9.	Chessore Circle	8
10.	Noklak Circle	19
11.	Thonoknyu Circle	11
12.	Kiphire Circle	19
13.	Pungro Circle	20
14.	Sitimi Circle	10
15.	Seyochung Circle	10

CHAPTER XI

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Background of Revenue Administration

The system of revenue as we understand nowadays was quite unknown to the people of this district not only in ancient times but till the middle of twentieth century. It is true not only about this district but about other districts of Nagaland with the difference in year, that is, instead of 1950s it is 1870s backward in respect of other districts. It means that no revenue system was known to the people of this district till the Government imposed some taxes. It was so because except village administration no administration was known to the people, and for village administration no money was needed because there was no paid official. In fact before the introduction of administration in this district in 1948 there was not much circulation of money either. The villages used to be administered by the village chiefs with the help of his trusted lieutenants. This did not require any kind of revenue. Of course, occasionally fines used to be imposed and collected from the recalcitrant people, but it was in kind such as rice-beer, pig, cow etc and those used to be feasted upon by the village elders, and not for payment of any service.

Thus we find that there was no revenue system of any kind in this district prior to formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963. Though this district was brought under administration in January 1948, there was no tax that time, of any kind, except that only seven Sangtam villages of the present Tuensang district were paying House Tax at Rs.2/-per house. It was so because those seven villages were originally under Mokokchung district and came under administration much earlier.

That some villages were paying house tax and others were not paying, needs to be explained. Originally when the then Naga

Hills came under administration in 1870s, British Government imposed some taxes on the people as token of imposition of administration, not as source of revenue. It was a token of exacting obedience and nothing else. Originally in some parts of Naga Hills the rate of tax was one rupee cash and one maund of rice per house, but the entire amount could be paid in way of free labour.¹ But it was found that this arrangement was too heavy for the common people and particularly in view of the fact that they did not have enough paddy even for their own consumption. So, Major Michell, the Political Officer, took up the case with the Chief Commissioner of Assam who consented to a flat rate of Rs. 2/- per house as per the usual rate of house tax levied from other wild tribes of Assam. Since then whenever any village or group of villages came under administration it used to pay a house tax of Rs.2/- per house. It was more a political measure than fiscal. However when in 1948 the Tuensang district came under administration, the Independent Government of India did not impose any tax, what so ever, on the poor people, in consideration of their poverty as well as their socioeconomic background. So, ever since that time the people are exempt from paying any tax. (Not only that, but the people are given free books, free ration etc for the students and many other financial facilities). And even those villages which came under administration prior to Indian Independence has no longer to pay the house tax and are not paying any house tax now.

Land Tenure

Since time immemorial when the people came from beyond Patkai range and settled in this area, the land belonged to the villages. Originally when the villages were established, the people could lay claim to the land around the village as far as they could manage, provided it did not clash with the land of other villages. Once it is claimed and not disputed it came under the ownership of that villages. That time it was all wilderness and it was possible to have almost as much land as any village wanted. But gradually the number of villages increased. As a result nowadays every village has got its own land more or less well identified.

1. The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, edited with an introduction by Verrier Elwin and published by Oxford University Press in 1949, p-192.

Originally the land belonged to village as a whole apportioning areas to the different khels¹ facing that area. It was so because it is easier for the people of a particular khel to cultivate the land facing it. It has to be mentioned here that the form of cultivation is jhum or shifting in which a fairly big area is needed for shifting the cultivation year to year.

Gradually individual ownership on land developed within overall ownership of the village. So, though individual ownership has come to stay, yet an individual can not sell his land outside the village without the permission of his village. On the other hand since inheritance follows male line only, the land does not go to any other khel or village even if the daughters are married out there.

It has also to be mentioned here that each tribe² has got its own area more or less well demarcated from others. Thus land belongs to a tribe, then to a village, then to a khel and thence to a family and lastly to an individual. The land is a compact one and there is no patta or any kind of deed for ownership, except some sale deeds of very recent time.

Land Revenue

Land revenue is conspicuous by its absence in this district. The land belongs to the people and the Government has got nothing to do with it. Government does not get any tax from land.

There is house tax in other districts, at the rate of two rupees per house, but it is also absent in this districts.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

Originally when this district came under administration in 1948 it was much more bigger and included major portion of the present Mon district and had some villages paying house tax. This position continued till late 1960s when the Government of Nagaland introduced some other taxes such as Sales tax, Excise tax,

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1. Khel is a part of a village belonging to a distinct clan of the tribe. It is more or less a small village within the village.
 2. Tuensang district is inhabited by some ten tribes.

Amusement tax, Professional tax, etc. But income from those taxes is very small. However details of them are discussed below.

SALESTAX. The State Government of Nagaland has imposed a sale tax on all the articles sold in Nagaland, (and so it comes in force in this district also) according to Nagaland Finance (Sales Tax) Act 1967. The rate of this tax varies from 3 percent to 11 percent. On common consumable articles the rate is 3 percent and in case of motor parts it is 11 percent. In between these two there are other rates which apply to textiles, cosmetics and luxury goods. The tax is paid by the sellers, that is the shop keepers, but they charge it to the purchasers. The tax is collected from the shopkeepers by the Superintendent of Taxes at Tuensang. Since there are not many shops in this district the income from sales tax is not much.

PROFESSIONAL TAX. The Government of Nagaland has started collecting taxes on income from profession, calling, business or service etc from the year 1969-70 assessed in 1970-71. This is a good source of revenue to the State Government since almost every earner has to pay it. The Government servants generally deduct the due tax from their pay once in the year, out of pay bill of February. Others deposit it into the treasury by Challan and submit the copy of the Challan to the authority. The Professional Tax of this district is collected by the Superintendent of Taxes, Tuensang.

The rates of Professional Tax as revised with effect from 1st April 1979, are given below.

Slab		Amount	
1) Upto	Rs. 3,500		Nil
2) Exceeding	Rs. 3,500	upto	Rs. 5,000
3) Exceeding	Rs. 5,000	upto	Rs. 10,000
4) Exceeding	Rs. 10,000	upto	Rs. 15,000
5) Exceeding	Rs. 15,000	upto	Rs. 20,000
6) Exceeding	Rs. 20,000	upto	Rs. 25,000
7) Exceeding	Rs. 25,000	upto	Rs. 30,000
8) Exceeding	Rs. 30,000	upto	Rs. 35,000
9) Exceeding	Rs. 35,000		Rs. 250

INNER-LINE PERMIT FEE. From the very beginning of formation of the then North East Frontier Agency or NEFA this area was kept outside the rest of the country by means of declaring it outside the 'Inner-Line'. It was according to Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873. Former Naga Hills, then NHTA and present Nagaland, all the times remained 'beyond' innerline and so this district is also outside the Innerline. Any body wanting to enter the hills of Nagaland is to obtain an Inner Line permit on payment of 50 paise. It is paid generally in Dimapur, but the Deputy Commissioner also issues such permits for people to stay in his district. This is a source of substantial income. The rate of fee for permission to stay in the district is 50 paise per head per month.¹

TRADE LICENCE. Another source of Income is trade licence. Shopkeepers are required to get permit from the Deputy Commissioner and for that a fee is charged varying from Rs.10/- to Rs.30/- per month with yearly renewal fee of Rs.10/-, according to the category of shop, and that is a good source of income to the Government.

OTHERS. Income from Amusement taxes is practically nil because no show houses have grown up yet in this district. So also Excise, because practically there is no local production on which excise duty is imposed. Some local *modhu* (rice beer) shops are there but they produce for their 'own' consumption and so do not come under the purview of this duty. There are shops for Indian made 'foreign' liquor but it comes under sales tax and not excise because these are not produced in this district rather in this State. (Of course there is a small brewery in Dimapur in Kohima district).

STAMP. Sale of stamps, both judicial and non-judicial, is a source of income to the State Government. Formerly practically no such stamps were used because it was not considered necessary. But after the creation of the State all these things have come into force gradually. But still then the income from these stamps in this district is very meagre. However since there is no stamp verdor

1. From 1st December 1979 the Innereline permit fee has been increased from 50 paisa per month to Rupees Five per fifteen days.

yet, the stamps are kept in the treasury and the people purchase it from there, if any body requires. People can also purchase it from Mokokchung or Kohima where there are stamp vendors, but then the income from that, in that case goes to that district from which it is purchased.

REGISTRATION. There is no separate Registration Office in this district, and therefore all the Registration, wherever it is needed, is done in the Deputy Commissioner's Court. The income from this source is also very meagre.

ROYALTY. A great source of income to the State Government is royalty on trees and stone quarry from river beds.

MISCELLANEOUS. Other sources of income of this District are receipts from Administration of Justice, Education, Medical, Public Health (water tax), Agriculture, Veterinary, Industries, Extra-Ordinary receipts (CPO), Electricity, Government interest etc etc.

CENTRAL TAXES

INCOME TAX. Income tax is the only Central tax collected from this district but then since the tribals serving in tribal area are not required to pay any income tax¹ the income from this source is small. However, there is no separate income tax office in this district, but it falls under the jurisdiction of Dimapur Circle which assesses and collects the tax.

1. Formerly tribals were also paying the income tax but they thought they need not pay it and so filed a case in the Assam High Court but lost it. Then they appealed to the Supreme Court and won there in a Division Bench by the casting vote of the Chief Justice. Since then the tribals serving in a tribal area are not required to pay income tax. The decision was given in mid-60s.

CHAPTER XII

LAW AND ORDER, AND JUSTICE

Background

In olden time, before the advent of administration, there were very few problems relating to law and order and whatever there was it used to be settled in the village itself by the village elders. After the introduction of administration the two institutions of Do-Bhasi (DB) and Gaon Bura (GB) were introduced. The Gaon Buras are village heads and it was through them that the administrative officers used to get certain works done by the villagers or certain orders carried out. They had no judicial powers but still then they used to settle petty cases of the villages amicably or even by imposing some fine which they used to appropriate themselves. But Do-Bhasis, though originally meant for translating the language of the villagers to the Officers in broken Assamese which is now called Nagamese and vice-versa, they were endowed with judicial as well as police power. (Probably it was de-facto power. Case is lying in Gauhati High Court challenging the judicial powers of the DBs).

At the beginning of administration (1948) there were problems of head-hunting, which is a sport, and inter-tribal feuds. Other than these and some land disputes and disputes on possession of Mithun (a semi wild animal between cow and buffalo) there was practically no problem, and sexual crime was practically non-existent. And whatever crime there was it used to be brought to the notice of the Administrator by the DBs and the criminals also were brought by them. And so there was very little need of Police Stations, at least in the out posts. That is why at the time of formation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in December 1957, there were Police Stations only in Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang in the whole NHTA, and that also mainly for the normal guard of the Deputy Commissioner and Sub-Divisional Officers. (The Police Station of Dimapur, a plains town, had its normal duties of course).

PRESENT POSITION

After the formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963 gradually police stations were opened in Mon, a Sub-Division of former Tuensang district. Gradually more Police out posts have been opened and now every administrative out post under an Extra Assistant Commissioner has got a Police out post, if not a Police Station. Since still now the incidence of crime such as pick-pocket, dacoity, robbery, homicide, murder etc or any kind of sexual crime is very low, the police has got very little work to do. The only problem of law and order which takes place more often than others, is theft and drunkardness. Misbehaviour after getting drunk or pretending so, is committed by younger group of people and is generally lightly treated if it does not involve any physical injury to any one. Theft is also mostly committed by younger people but the nature is not generally serious, that is, minor loss of property. Whatever the nature may be it is dealt with accordingly.

All told, the problem of law and order is not a serious one, rather it is mild.

POLICE ORGANISATION

At the beginning of administration the functions of police used to be performed by the DBs as has been discussed earlier in this Chapter. It was then under NEFA but with the formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963, police organisation came into being. In the earlier years of the State the Commissioner of Nagaland was the ex-officio Inspector General of Police for the State. Later, a separate I. G. P. was appointed and at present (July 1978) the entire police force of the State is under his control.

Under him there were three Superintendents of Police for the former three districts of the State, that is, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. After creation of four more districts in 1973, four more posts of Superintendent of Police have not yet been created, but the police organisation is looked after by the S.P. of the former district out of which the new districts have been created. But since Tuensang is the original district, there was an S. P. there before and he is still there and he looks after the district police administration.

At present (1978) there is only one Police Station in this district and it is in Tuensang town. And there is one Police outpost in Kiphire which is the seat of an Additional Deputy Commissioner.

Armed Police

The State of Nagaland has two sets of Police force, one is Nagaland Police and the other is Nagaland Armed Police, like other States. The unarmed Police force is stationed in different Police stations and out posts for the purpose of maintaining ordinary law and order. But the Armed Police is stationed in different places for grave cases of law and order which seldom occurs. Nagaland Armed Police force has got five battalions and the Third Battalion is placed in Tuensang and its headquarter is Tuensang. It has got several posts in this district.

Central Reserve Police force are also there in the State and so also in this district. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them as and if required.

Fire Brigade

Under State Police there is Police Fire Service Organisation but it does not have yet any unit in Tuensang.

Assam Rifles

From the very beginning of NEFA and setting up administration, Assam Rifles, a para-military organisation, have set up their camps in different places of the then NEFA and so in Tuensang. In course of time they have set up more camps and at present there are several in this district. It is so because it is a border district and they are to keep vigil. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them if and when required.

Village Guard

Apart from Police and Assam Rifles, there is a para-police organisation called Village Guard. It is under the control of the Deputy Commissioner but has got a Commandant of it to look in to its administration. It has got headquarter in Tuensang but its men, all armed, stay in villages and do not have any barracks.

Training

Formerly when this State was a district of Assam, its Police personnel used to get training from Dergaon, the Police Training Centre of Assam. Several years after the formation of the State, it has set up a Police Training Centre at Chumukedima, some 15 km inside from Dimapur. Now all the police personnel of the State get training there.

Jails and Lock-ups

There is no jail in this district yet but there is a Sub-jail with an Assistant Jailor and necessary staff. It functions independently like a Jail.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The law and other problem having never been serious there had not been any separate organisation for administration of justice. All the time the administrators, who are vested with different kinds of magistial powers, have been administrating justice.

At the village level the GBs are settling minor cases amicably or with minor fine which they themselves use up for modhu (rice beer) and or meat. However, though it is administration of justice it has got no statutory or legal force.

Then come the Do-Bhasis or DBs. They are generally vested with Class III magistrial powers and they have got their own courts attached with the administrators' courts. In all the administrative centres, beginning from Area Superintendent to the Circle Officer to Extra Assistant Commissioner to Deputy Commissioner, there are DBs attached with them, and the number of DBs attached to each administrator varies according to the hierarchy. Naturally the highest number of them are attached with the Deputy Commissioner and the lowest with an Area Superintendent. In the DC's Court at Tuensang there are about 20 of them.

The DBs generally settle the small cases according to customary law. Probably their power is de-facto because their judicial power has been challenged in Gauhati High Court and it is pending now.

Above the DBs there is Circle Officer or Extra Assistant Commissioner who are vested with either class II or Class I magisterial powers. They try the cases of more serious nature and award the punishment. It may be noted here that cases even though small, in which a non-Naga is involved and which can not be settled according to customary law, are decided by a magistrate of Class II or Class I powers, and not by the DBs.

More serious cases are taken up in the court of the Deputy Commissioner himself who works there as the District and Sessions Judge.

There is no separate court for Civil and Criminal cases, both the cases being taken up by the same court.

A post of Chief Judicial Officer for the whole of Nagaland with station at Kohima has been created but not yet filled up. When filled up, all the serious cases of the State will be coming to him.

The entire judicial system is under the Assam-Nagaland High Court which sits at Gauhati but has got a Bench in Kohima also.

Legal Profession

Since crime is less and civil cases are few, the legal profession has not yet developed in this district. However, pleaders are available in Mokokchung, Kohima and Dimapur, and if needed anybody can bring one from there. But generally the cases are argued by the party concerned himself and so practically the need of a pleader has not grown up yet.

1. At present (1978) one Chang Advocate (Sao Chang) is practising in Tuensang. He is the only advocate from this district.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER DEPARTMENTS

From the time of North East Frontier Agency several district level offices of different departments were working in this district for various development works. Later, along with the process of creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area (1957), De-facto State (1961) and formal State (1963), there arose many other departments for speedy and concerted action for developments of the State. All these State level departments have their field units in all the districts. Tuensang is one of the original three districts of the State. So all the district level officers placed there are still there, and most of them are not only working for this district, but also looking after Mon which has been created out of the original Tuensang district.

The name of most of the departments working in this district have been given in Chapter X, but no details about their working have been given there. Here we shall be giving some details of their working.

Agriculture

Before the creation of the State, during NEFA time, one District Agriculture Officer was functioning at Tuensang and a few demonstrators were working under him. The same arrangement continues after creation of NHTA, and the DAO looks after the needs of the peasants and recommends loan for opening of new terrace field and orchard etc and supplies improved seeds, fertilizers etc and of course free advice. He also helps the peasants taking necessary care against pests and insects. Agricultural implements are also supplied at 50% subsidy.

Animal Husbandry And Veterinary

There is one Animal Husbandry and Veterinary unit at Tuensang and another at Kiphire. Those are manned by one

Veterinary Assistant Surgeon and his staff each. They look after diseases of cattle, pigs, and poultry fowls etc. They also have a few bulls for breeding improved variety of cattle. Artificial insemination is also done there. Though the people are taking interest in improved breed of cows, most of the existing stock are either not producing milk or very little. It is so because cattle is kept generally for meat, not for milking.

Fishery

The department of Fishery which looks into pisciculture and grants loan for that is under Agriculture and is looked after by a Fishery Officer under the District Agriculture Officer.

Forest

Formerly, the forest of Nagaland formed a forest Division under Assam and in 1962-63 the Directorate of Forests was formed. And later in 1967-68 the designation of the Director was changed to Chief Conservator of Forests, Nagaland, and the Deputy Director was redesignated as Conservator of Forests. The forests of this district are looked after by a Divisional Forest Officer whose headquarter is at Tuensang. Through the Forest Guards the department checks felling of trees from its forests. It also collects royalties from trees and stone quarries, apart from doing its other duties.

There is no Reserve or Protected forest in this district but unclassed village forest. In 1974-75 and 1975-76 the total area under unclassed village forests was 53,580 hectares.¹

Industries

There is a Directorate of Industries in the State. It functions through its district officer. At present there is a District Industries Officer at Tuensang and he looks into various small industries of this district (there is no big industry yet), such as weaving, smithy, carpentry, motor repairing etc.

Co-operation

There is a Registrar of Co-operatives in the State and he works through Assistant Registrar in the districts. In Tuensang

¹ Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1976, p-115.

there is an Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives. He looks into Co-operative movement of this district and recommends investment. The details of Co-operatives have been given in Chapter VI.

Public Works Department

Before the creation of the State of Nagaland the Public works Department of this district was under the Deputy Commissioner.

Later, after the creation of the State in 1963, the Public Works Department was separated from the Deputy Commissioner's responsibility and was placed under the Public Works Department of the State which is headed now by a Chief Engineer. In this district the department is headed now by a Superintending Engineer. He has got two Executive Engineers under him and a number of Sub-Divisional Officers, of P.W.D, under them. One of the Executive Engineers is placed at Tuensang Town itself and the other at Kiphire which is the seat of an Additional Deputy Commissioner and is a Sub-Division of administration.

Electricity Department

There is a Chief Engineer of Electricity in the State. The Electricity Department of Tuensung district is headed by an Executive Engineer, Electricity. He has got one Sub-Divisional Officer, Electricity, under him and they together run the electricity department of the district. It may be noted that all the administrative outposts are electrified.

Transport

Nagaland State Transport is the State level Organisation and is headed by a General Manager with headquarter at Dimapur. The Organisation plies transport buses in various routes. Tuensang is under one Station Superintendent posted there. Buses ply from Tuensang to Kiphire.¹ And transport trucks carrying goods ply from Amguri, Jorhat, Mariani, Mokokchung etc places to Tuensang, and from Kohima to Kiphire.

Civil Supply

Under the Civil supply department there is an Assistant Director of Supply at Tuensang who looks into the supply of

1. Buses on Mokokchung-Tuensang route are under Mokokchung Station.

essential commodities such as rice, sugar, dal etc of this district. Of course, the Deputy Commissioner works as the ex-officio District Supply Officer for his district and looks into the supply position of his district, and the Assistant Director of Supply works under him for day to day matters.

Weights and Measures

The Department of Weights and Measures has an Inspector of Weights and Measures at Tuensang who looks after the activity of the department in the district.

Statistics

Department of Economics and Statistics, a State level Organisation, is headed by a Director and he collects the data from different districts through his Statistical Officer placed in each district. Tuensang has got a Statistical Officer who looks into the affairs of his department in respect of this district.

Police

The Inspector General of Police, Nagaland, is the head of the police organisation of the State. The police (unarmed) organisation of Tuensang district is headed by Superintendent of police (SP). The Armed Police organisation has got several posts in this district and its headquarter is Tuensang under one Commandant stationed there.

Town Planning

At the State level there is one Senior Town Planner and under him there are Assistant Town Planners for different districts and there is one such officer in Tuensang.

Taxation

There is a Department of Taxes in the State headed by a Commissioner of Taxes. It collects the dues in respect of Sales Tax Professional Tax and Amusement Tax etc. In this district there is one Superintendent of Taxes.

Excise

There is one Superintendent of Excise at Tuensang and he looks after the Department of this district.

Publicity

There is a District Publicity Officer at Tuensang. Under him there is one Sub-Divisional Information Officer also at Tuensang. They are under the Department of Information, Tourism and Publicity of the State Government.

Education

Education is a bit different from other departments. So far the Primary and Middle Schools are concerned, they are under the administrative control of Deputy Inspector of Schools, Tuensang; and the Primary Schools are inspected by the Sub-Inspector of Schools while the Middle Schools are inspected by the Deputy Inspector of Schools himself. Pay of the staff of both the categories of schools are drawn by the Deputy Inspector of Schools. On the other hand High Schools are inspected by the Inspector of Schools of which there are three in the whole State, including one in Tuensang, but the Headmaster of High School is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer for his establishment.

Appointmen of all the categories of staff, from teacher to Class IV (except gazetted Officer), is made by the Director of Education.

Public Health Engineering

There is Department of Public Health Engineering at the State. It looks into water supply and sanitation etc. In this district its work is looked after by the Executive Engineer, Public Health Engineering, placed at Tuensang.

Medical

There are hospitals at Tuensang, Longkhim, Chare, Longleng, Chessore, Chessore Station, Thonoknyu etc places and there are dispensaries in Tuensang village, Noksen, Chare village, Tamlu, Longleng, Yongyu, Tobu, Pangsa, Nokhu, Panso etc places. Of all the hospitals the hospital at Tuensang is the biggest. The Medical Department of this district is headed by the Civil Surgeon of this district.

All the above mentioned departments, have got their own organisational set up and they are controlled by their respective State Organisation. But, however, for better coordination of works there is a District Development Committee in which are represented all the district level officers and it is presided over by the Deputy Commissioner. It helps better co-ordination among all the departments.

CHAPTER XIV

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

According to all the authorities the Nagas have come to their present habitat from different parts of Indo-China and through Burma. So it goes without saying that the people of this district, the eastern Nagas, have also come through Burma. Only the thing that unlike the southern Nagas who have come through Manipur, the eastern Nagas might have come following the eastern side of Patkai Bum.

Whatever it may be, they have migrated and settled in this area. While settling they must have occupied as much area as they could, and claimed it as the land of that village. And thus the villages were settled.

The village was almost an autonomous State and used to wage warfare with neighbouring villages or tribes. Sometimes a big and important village used to have satellite villages around it whom it used to protect and for that used to collect tribute and fighting men from it.

But this was in olden time and things have changed since the inception of administration in this area.

The Nagaland Act (Act No. 73 of 1962) which was passed in the Parliament in 1962 and according to which the State of Nagaland was created and inaugurated by the then President Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan on 1st December 1963, provided that Tuensang district being backward and inhabited by simple tribals, shall remain a special charge of the Governor for ten years. Following this, there was no election of any type, neither for Assembly nor for local self Government, but all such persons deemed to be elected were selected by the Administration. The selection used to be done by consensus of the people.

Following this method, the members of Village Councils, the Area Councils and the Regional Council were all selected by the consensus of the people and approved by the Administration. These bodies worked more or less in the same way as their counterparts worked elsewhere. But their life was only up to December 1973 when the ten-year term was over. Since the local bodies were not elected and the era of election came into being in this district from December 1973, those local bodies of selected members were no more useful and so were disbanded in favour of elected bodies to be constituted later.

After the Assembly election of 1974, held in February, the United Democratic Front party came to power and the Government decided to reconstitute these local bodies through election. But before it could be done the Government failed in early 1975 and President's Rule was imposed. During President's Rule no initiative was taken to re-constitute those local bodies, and it was kept for the popular Government General election for Nagaland Legislative Assembly took place again in November 1977 and Ministry was formed that very month. But still now those local bodies have not been re-constituted. It is now under the process of Government decision.

So it stands that at present (July 1978) there is no local bodies in Tuensang district but likely to be formed soon.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Historical Background

As it has been mentioned in several places before that this area had been opened to administration and so to civilisation only in 1948 it goes without saying that there was no proper education system in the modern sense of the term long ago. Prior to coming to the light of modern civilisation the people were leading a primitive life and there was practically no iota of literacy or education in its ordinary sense of the term.

However, since it was an organised society, and head-hunting and warfare were common, it was necessary for the society to impart education in its wider sense of the term to its youngsters to make them fitting citizens of the community. And for that, training in warfare, archery, spearthrow etc were given to the young men. They were also taught to cultivate the land and do other works as a normal man is required to perform in a society.

Prior to the advent of administration no educational institution of any type was set up in this area, but people desiring to get literacy or primary education used to go to Mokokchung to study there.

Present Position

After Independence of India much attention was paid for spread of education and so more and more Lower Primary Schools, whenever possible, were opened and existing Lower Primary Schools and Middle Schools, wherever possible, were turned into Middle and High Schools, respectively. Unlike the plains of India, in Nagaland the villages are sparsely situated and the country being hilly it is difficult for young children to attend School if it is not situated within the village itself. In other places one Lower Primary School may serve two or more villages, but that system is not workable in

Nagaland. So it is felt that there should be one School for each village. Following that need, during NHTA and more particularly after attaining the Statehood, the Government of Nagaland have established many Primary Schools all over the State and so also in this district. There are 204 villages in this district, and according to 1971 census there were 116 Primary Schools, 25 Middle English Schools and 3 High Schools. But according to a compilation of the Directorate of Education, September 1977, there are 174 Primary Schools, all run by the Government, 35 Government Middle English Schools, 15 Private but recognised Middle English Schools, 8 Government High Schools and 3 Private but recognised High Schools¹.

Details of the educational institution are given in Appendix.

LITERACY AND STANDARD OF EDUCATION

As a result of opening up of many Primary Schools and thereby providing facilities for literacy, the percentage of literacy in this area has gone up considerably in the last two decades. No figure of literacy for this District is available but the figure of former Tuensang district in which was included Mon, may give an idea of this district. Percentage of literacy of former Tuensang district in 1961 census was 4.47 and that for 1971 census was 13.31. It shows 300% increase in literacy in a decade. The rate is increasing and so the percentage has gone up in the last 6-7 years since the census of 1971, and therefore the percentage of literacy of this district may be safely accepted as around 25, if not more, by 1978.

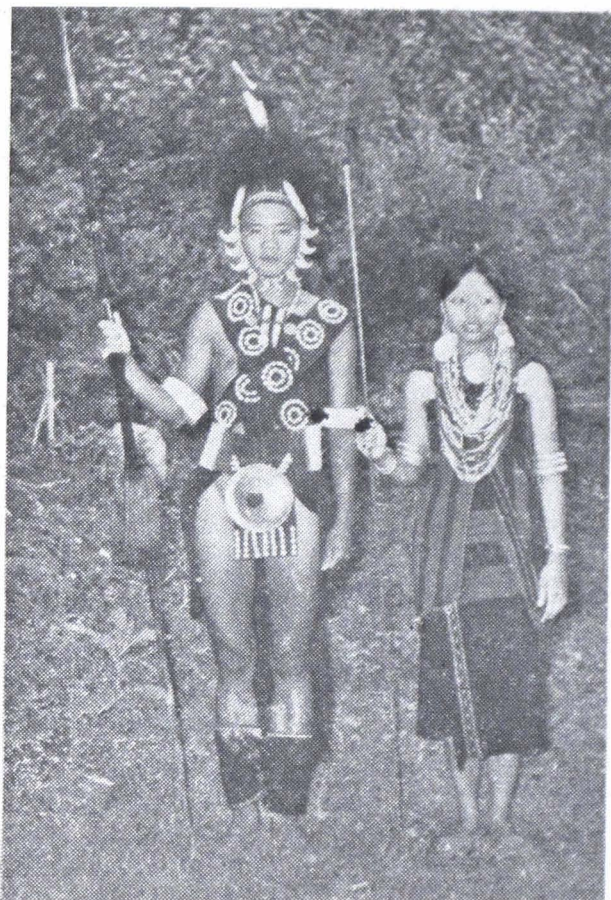
Adult Literacy Centre

Apart from regular School, there are several Adult Literacy Centres in this district and they train up adults, both male and female, for reading and writing. They hold Classes in the evening and are doing good works. Those centres are provided with necessary aids by the Government.

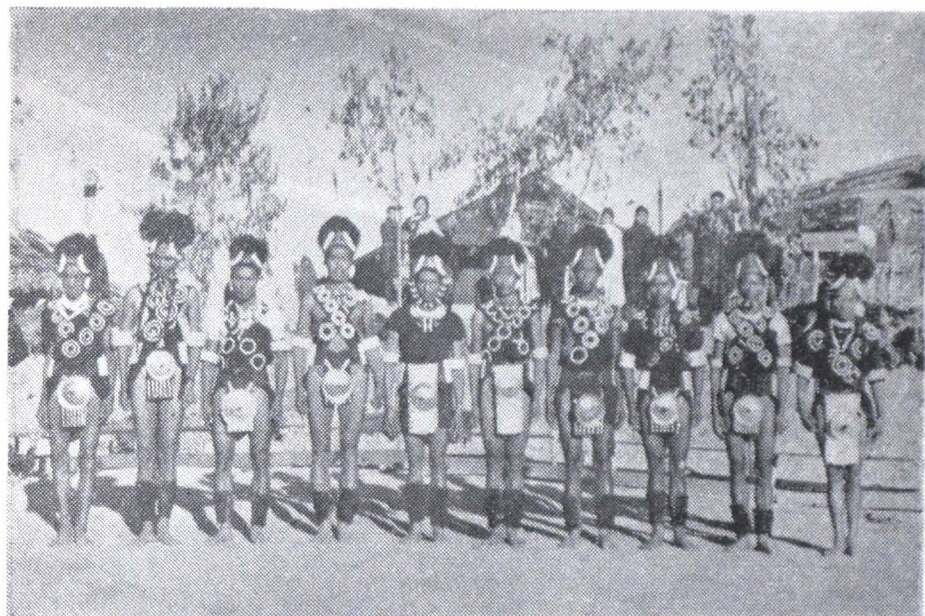
1. Until recently Lower Primary School contained class A,B, I & II; Upper Primary School contained Class A,B,I,II,III, & IV; Middle English School contained Classes III,IV,V & VI; and High School contained classes VII, VIII, IX & X, but often it includes Middle School section also.



One Sangtam woman helping another to dress ceremoniously



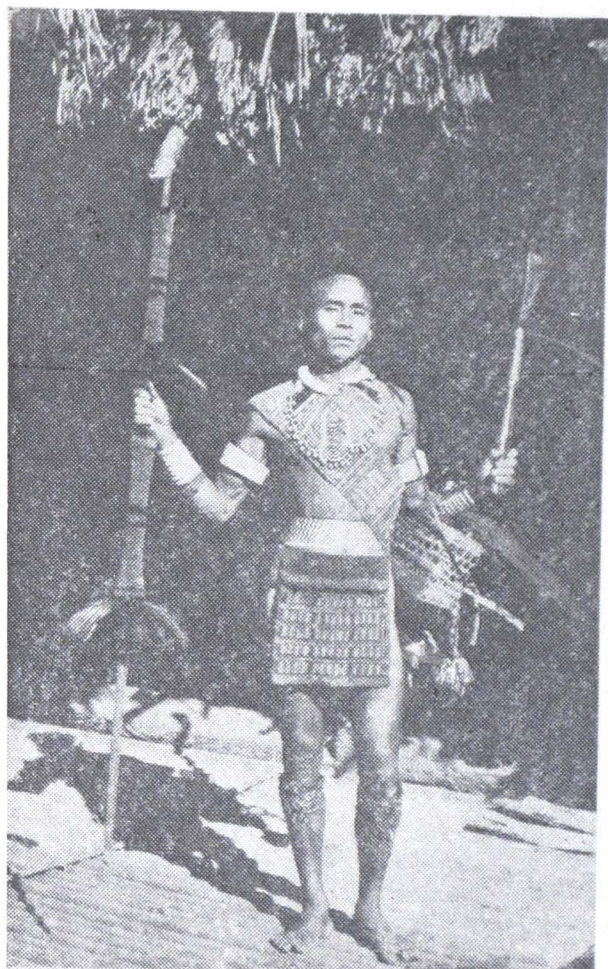
Yimchunger couple in ceremonial dress for camera



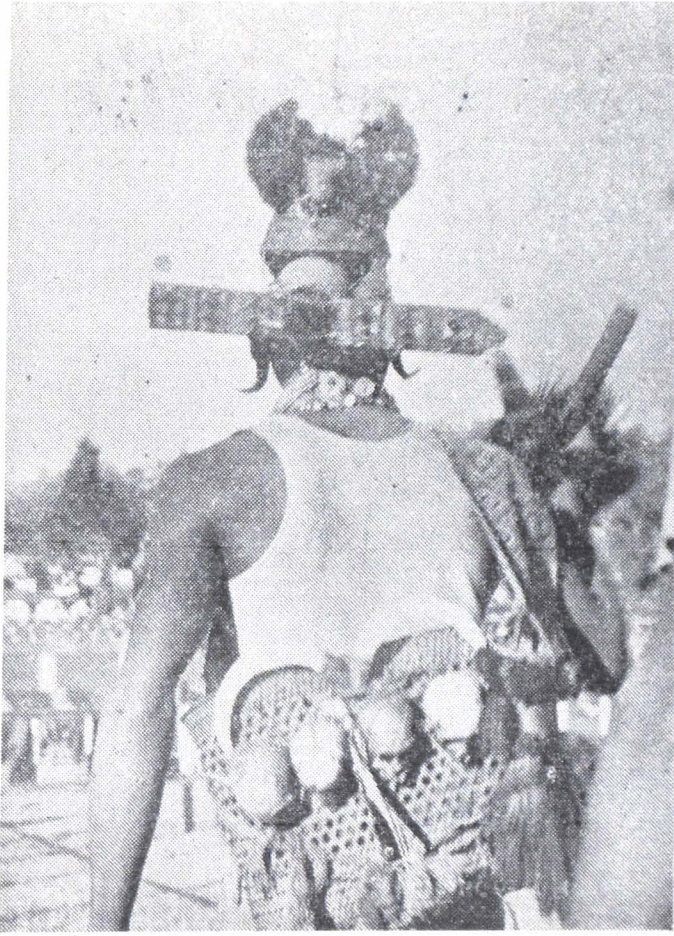
Yimchunger men in ceremonial dress



Two Phom women posing for camera in ceremonial dress



A phom man in ceremonial dress



A Konyak man in ceremonial dress
showing his human trophies



Two Chang men in ceremonial dress



A Chang man in full ceremonial dress

Female Education

Naga society stands for equality of man and woman and so do the people of this district. But girls are more helpful in field works. Moreover women are to look after the home and bear children whereas the boys are to go to the outside world or do such works which require education. Because of this idea, from early time, girls were not put to Schools for long or at all, as in the case of rest of the world of yore. So naturally the women are educationally comparatively backward than the men. And it is more so in this district. In 1961 census, in former Tuensang district, the percentage of literacy among males was 6.97 and that among females was 1.84. In 1971 census the figures for literacy are 13.42 and 7.68 for males and females respectively.¹ This shows that girls are lagging much behind the boys. Probably now (1978) the percentage of female literacy in this district will be around 10. The gap is decreasing day by day as a result of spread of education, civilisation and above all better financial position of parents.

Educational Pattern

In Nagaland the School education is divided into three stages, such as Primary, Middle and High. Then there is College education. We shall discuss these here one by one.

PRIMARY. In olden time there were Lower and Upper Primary Schools but of late the system of Upper Primary has been abolished. Thus at present there are Lower Primary Schools and it is called simply Primary School without the prefix of lower or upper. It has got Classes A, B, I & II. The medium of Primary Schools is local language, that is Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Kheimungan, Konyak, Phom, Sema etc. Though some text books for Primary Schools in different local (tribal) languages have been produced by the Text Book Production Branch of the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland, it does not cover all the tribal languages and probably none of this district except Konyak and Sema. It may be noted that three tribes are less than ten thousand each, and five tribes are less than twenty thousand each.

1. Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1976, p-59.

Formerly, there used to be public examination at the end of Class II, but with effect from 1976 the system of public examination at the end of Class II for getting admission into Class III has been abolished. Instead, there is Internal Examination for promotion to Class III.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOL. This is a school between Primary and High School and as such is 'middle', and its medium is English, and so it is called Middle English School. It has got classes III, IV, V and VI. Though its medium is English, in its lower classes local languages are freely used to explain matters. However, the examinations are taken in English. Formerly, there used to be a Public Examination at the end of Class VI for getting admission into Class VII but that system has been abolished with effect from 1976 and instead an examination halfway between internal and public has been arranged. In this system several M.E. Schools are grouped together and their students are required to sit for the examination at the end of Class VI in the High School of that locality which sets the questions and declares the result. Students passing this examination may get admission into Class VII. This system has come into force from 1976.

HIGH SCHOOL. It has got Classes VII, VIII, IX, and X, but often it combines M.E. section also, that is classes III to VI. Its medium of instruction is English and seldom any local language is used in the classes, because the teachers are seldom Nagas and often the students are mixed. At the end of Class X the students are required to appear in public examination called High School Leaving Certificate Examination or HSLC in short. After passing in that examination the students get admission into College.

COLLEGE. There is no College in this district now (August '78). So any body desiring to go for college-education has to go elsewhere—Kohima, Mokokchung, Dimapur, or outside the state.

Under the guidance of the Central Government, like many other States, Nagaland also has accepted School and College education as Class 10+2+2 for graduation. This system has come into force from 1976. But unlike some other places, here in Nagaland, School Education is upto Class X, instead of Class XII, and Class XI and XII are attached to College and it is called Pre-University or P. U. After

P.U. (Arts or Science) the students require another two years for graduation. It may be noted that it is according to North Eastern Hills University or NEHU, Shillong, under which comes Nagaland.

ENCOURAGEMENT. All the students (tribals of course) are getting stipend for post-matric studies at the rate of Rs.60/- p.m. and above for Pre-University Course Rs. 75/- p.m. and above for degree and post agraduate courses. Merit Scholarship for first ten is also there and it covers almost all the students passed in First Division. Then there are liberal stipends for selected students at the rate of Rs. 15/- p.m. for Middle Schools (Classes III to VI) and Rs.20/- p.m. for High School (Classes VII to X).

From NEFA time the students of Tuensang Division and then the Tuensang District of NHTA, and later of Nagaland, were getting free books, free ration, free blankets and free kerosene oil etc for encouragement of education. The same system continues still but with slight modification here and there, for example they do not get blankets nowadays.

Tribal students are not required to pay any tuition fee in the schools. In the Colleges they are required to pay different kinds of fee including tuition fee but they get it back all by means of various grants granted to them by the State Government. This applies to the whole State.

Co-curricular Activities

Along with the general education co-curricular activities are taken up in all the Schools. In Primary Schools, gardening, cleaning the compound or the village etc are done. In the Middle Schools, carpentry, smithy, agriculture etc for boys and weaving and knitting for girls are done. Physical training, gardening etc are common for both the sexes. Any particular school cannot take up carpentry, smithy, agriculture, weaving, knitting, physical training etc all together and so some of them are chosen by the school itself according to the need and facilities available.

Apart from those activities which are parts of the course, debating, singing, socials etc are also encouraged and done. Cleaning the compound and or the village is also occasionally done.

Further, National Cadet Corps (NCC), Nagaland Bharat Scouts and Guides have also been introduced in many High Schools.

Hindi Education

Hindi has been made a compulsory subject of reading in Classes V to VIII, but examination therein is optional.

Games and Sports

The State Government has paid much attention to the development of physique along with psyche and for that there is a Physical Education Department separate from the Directorate of Education of the State. This Department organises Annual Games and Sports of the State for the High Schools, and all the Schools take part in it compulsorily. Apart from this, every School holds its Annual Games and Sports. In some Schools there is an Instructor for Physical Fitness and he trains the students in different activities of physical fitness as well as guides them in games and sports.

Educational Setup

All the schools, Primary, Middle or High, are under the overall control of the Director of Education of the State and the appointment of all the staff, except gazetted officers, are made by the Director of Education (Appointment of Gazetted Officers is made, as in other States, by the State Government, in the name of the Governor).

Primary and Middle Schools are under the direct and day to day control of the Deputy Inspector of Schools of which there is one at Tuensang town. He draws and disburses the pay and allowances of the staff of both these categories of School. He inspects the Middle Schools but the Primary Schools are inspected by the Sub-Inspector of Schools of which there are a few (generally three) under the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

The Headmaster of High School is a Drawing and Disbursing Officer for his establishment and he is under the direct control of the Director of Education except for tours for which he is under control of the Inspector of Schools of which there is one for Tuensang and Mon districts, and he is under the control of the Director of Education. He is the inspecting authority of the High Schools but it is often visited by Director, Joint Director and Assistant Director of Education.

Colleges are under the control of the Director of Education but there is no college in this district.

Training

The Matriculate and under Matric teachers of Primary and Middle Schools of this district get training in the Junior Teachers Training Institute at Tuensang. For B. Ed. the teachers come to Nagaland College of Education, Kohima, which trains in that course.

Culture

Cultural Organisations like library, cultural societies, dramatics, club etc have not yet developed.

LITERATURE

The district is educationally backward. Moreover there are about ten tribes in this district and the number of languages spoken by them is more than the number of the tribes. This condition is not conducive to the growth of literature and so practically no secular literature has grown up in this district.

However every tribe has got its Literature Committee which works for development of language and literature of that tribe. Moreover it works for producing religious literature.

Details of literature are not available but however the following religious works are known to have been done.

The SANGTAMS have published New Testament of Bible in Sangtam language in 1964.

The CHANGS have translated the Gospel of Mark into Chang language and published it in 1946. They have published a Hymn book as early as 1949. Four Gospels were also translated and published in 1960. "Hanbu Nashan Lai" (Bible for small children) has also been published. Hymnal 415 Nos have been published in 1970.

The KONYAKS have translated and published Four Gospels in 1952. They have also translated New Testament and published it in 1973. These are all in Konyak language.

The PHOMS have translated Gospel of Mark in Phom language and published it in 1954. The New Testament has also been translated and published in 1972. Translation of the Holy Bible has also been taken up.

The YIMCHUNGERS have got Gospel of Mark translated and published in 1960, in Yimchunger language, by the generosity of the Sema Association who got the work done. Gospel of Mathew was also published in the same year. Translation of the Holy Bible has been taken up.

The KHEIMUNGANS have translated and published the New Testament in 1968. They have also published a song book, a collection of Hymns.

Apart from the above, the Directorate of Education has produced some text books for lower classes, such as classes I, II, III etc, in some of the above languages in varying degrees.

APPENDIX

List of educational institutions,¹ as per the LIST OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN NAGALAND (September 1977) prepared by the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland, is given below.

I. List of Primary Schools, all run by the Government.

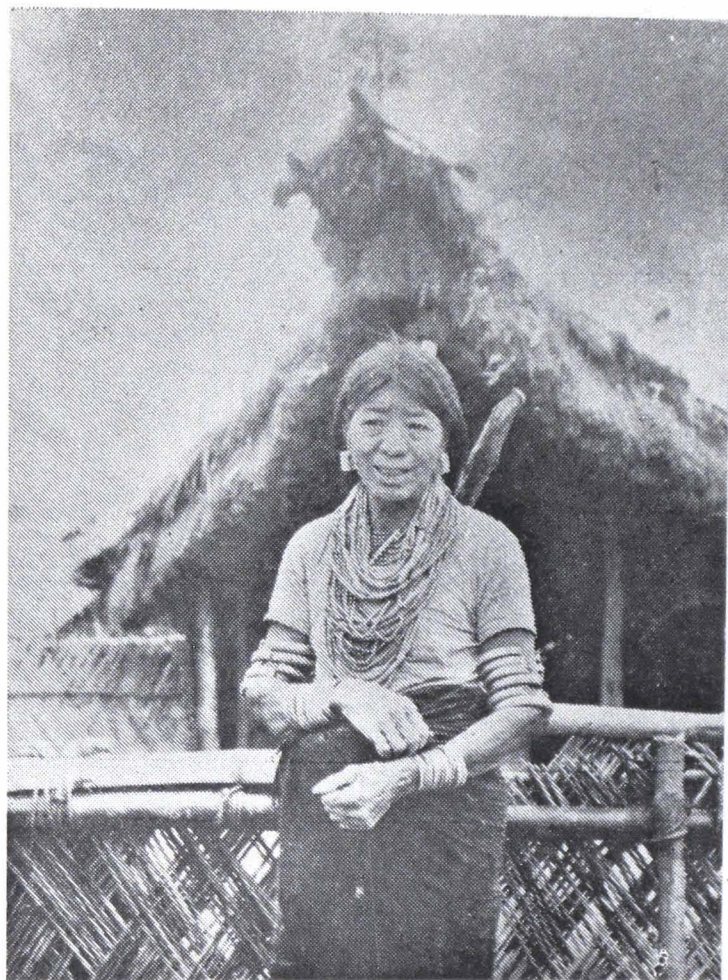
1.	Government	Primary	School,	Tuensang Station
2.	„	„	„	Medical Colony
3.	„	„	„	Post Office Sector
4.	„	„	„	Garrage Sector
5.	„	„	„	Mission Sector
6.	„	„	„	Kuthur A Khel (UPS)
7.	„	„	„	Kuthur B Khel
8.	„	„	„	Tuensang Vill. A.
9.	„	„	„	Tuensang Vill. B.
10.	„	„	„	Tuensang Vill. C.
11.	„	„	„	Ngongchung
12.	„	„	„	Helipong
13.	„	„	„	Nakohung
14.	„	„	„	Kejok
15.	„	„	„	Maksha
16.	„	„	„	Sipongsang
17.	„	„	„	Khudil
18.	„	„	„	Hak
19.	„	„	„	Sutukur A Khel
20.	„	„	„	Sutukur B Khel
21.	„	„	„	Longtokur
22.	„	„	„	Changdang Vill.

1. Primary school contains classes I, II, III & IV and it also includes pre-primary stages of A & B together for one year. Middle School includes classes III, IV, V & VI, and so there is an overlapping of classes II & III between primary and middle schools. High school contains classes VII, VIII, IX & X, and most High Schools include Middle school section also. Question of plus two, that is, classes XI & XII is not yet decided.

23.	Government	Primary	School.	Chingmelon
24-	„	„	„	Sangsangyu Station
25.	„	„	„	Saushor
26.	„	„	„	Monching
27.	„	„	„	Nakshon
28.	„	„	„	Phumpak
29.	„	„	„	Lokong
30.	„	„	„	Konya
31.	„	„	„	Nyimyem
32.	„	„	„	Shamator Station
33.	„	„	„	Shamator Vill.
34.	„	„	„	Melangchure
35.	„	„	„	Yakur
36.	„	„	„	Sangphur.
37.	„	„	„	Liangkenger
38.	„	„	„	Waphor
39.	„	„	„	Lisikiur
40.	„	„	„	Rurrur
41.	„	„	„	Shiponger
42.	„	„	„	Chessior
43.	„	„	„	Sangkure
44.	„	„	„	Yimchunganer
45.	„	„	„	Hukir A Khel
46.	„	„	„	Hukir B Khel
47.	„	„	„	Aiponger
48.	„	„	„	Kiutsukiur
49.	„	„	„	Chessore Vill. Sector A
50.	„	„	„	Sikiur
51.	„	„	„	Chessore Vill.
52.	„	„	„	Angangba A Khel
53.	„	„	„	Angangba B Khel
54.	„	„	„	Linaso
55.	„	„	„	Chungtur A Khel



A Chang woman in ornaments



An old Khemngan woman in her fineries



Folk dance of Sangtam women



Folk dance of Yimchunger women



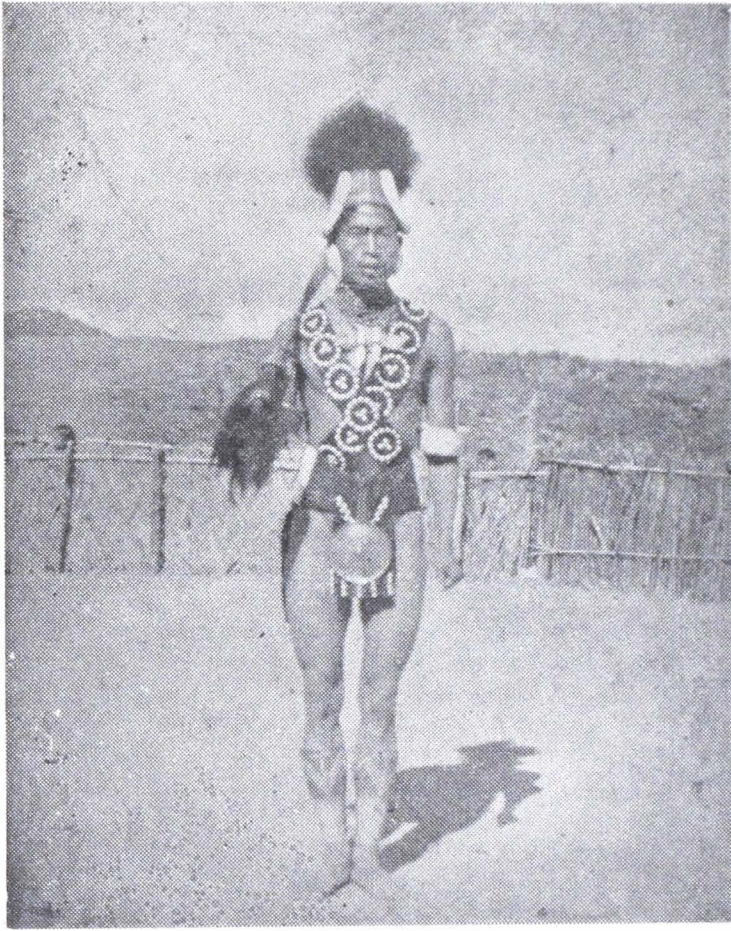
A Khemngan folk dance



Khemngan war dance



One Yimchunger woman admiring ornaments of the other



An Yimchunger in warrior's dress

56.	Government	Primary	School,	Chungtur B Khel
57.	„	„	„	Chimonger A Khel
58.	„	„	„	Chimonger B Khel
59.	„	„	„	Lonkhim Station
60.	„	„	„	Sangsumong
61.	„	„	„	Helengba
62.	„	„	„	Phire Ahiru
63.	„	„	„	Yangli
64.	„	„	„	Old Mangaki
65.	„	„	„	New Mangaki
66.	„	„	„	O/Tsadanger
67.	„	„	„	N/Tsadanger
68.	„	„	„	Chungliyimti
69.	„	„	„	Chare Vill.
70.	„	„	„	Chare New Khel
71.	„	„	„	Chare Station
72.	„	„	„	Threnger
73.	„	„	„	Longkiphek
74.	„	„	„	Alisepur
75.	„	„	„	Yali
76.	„	„	„	Yonyu
77.	„	„	„	Noksen Station
78.	„	„	„	Noksen Vill.
79.	„	„	„	Longra
80.	„	„	„	Kongsang
81.	„	„	„	Litam
82.	„	„	„	Kumpang
83.	„	„	„	Sangdak
84.	„	„	„	Longdang
85.	„	„	„	Yimrap
86.	„	„	„	Tamlu Station
87.	„	„	„	Tamlu Vill. K. Khel

88.	Government	Primary	School,	Tamlu Vill. P. Khel
89.	„	„	„	C/Kanching
90.	„	„	„	B/Namsang
91.	„	„	„	Shemyuching
92.	„	„	„	Laidigarh
93.	„	„	„	Netjungching
94.	„	„	„	Tobu Vill. A Kehl
95.	„	„	„	Tobu Vill. B. Khel
96.	„	„	„	Ukha
97.	„	„	„	Pesao
98.	„	„	„	Yonghong
99.	„	„	„	Changlangshu
100.	„	„	„	Monyakshu A.
101.	„	„	„	Monyakshu B.
102.	„	„	„	Shamayu
103.	„	„	„	Tamkong
104.	„	„	„	Yakshu
105.	„	„	„	Yongkhao
106.	„	„	„	Yei
107.	„	„	„	Changyao
108.	„	„	„	Kenjenshu
109.	„	„	„	Tobu Station
110.	„	„	„	New Yei
111.	„	„	„	Noklak Station
112.	„	„	„	Lengnyu
113.	„	„	„	Pansu L/Khel
114.	„	„	„	Pansu U/Khel
115.	„	„	„	Yokhao
116.	„	„	„	Tsawao
117.	„	„	„	Noklak Vill.
118.	„	„	„	Nokyan
119.	„	„	„	Chingmei
120.	„	„	„	Chendang saddle

121.	Government	Primary	School,	Kengnyu
122.	„	„	„	Taknyu
123.	„	„	„	Aniashu
124.	„	„	„	Langnok
125.	„	„	„	Waoshen
126.	„	„	„	Pangsha Old
127.	„	„	„	Pangsha New
128.	„	„	„	Chukiangan
129.	„	„	„	Monsoi
130.	„	„	„	Nokhu
131.	„	„	„	Yimpang
132.	„	„	„	Pang
133.	„	„	„	Thonoknyu Vill.
134.	„	„	„	Chilliso
135.	„	„	„	Thokchur
136.	„	„	„	Chipur
137.	„	„	„	Sanglao
138.	„	„	„	Konjung
139.	„	„	„	Wei
140.	„	„	„	Thongsungyu
141.	„	„	„	Pesha
142.	„	„	„	Thonoknyu Stn.
143.	„	„	„	Yachen A Khel
144.	„	„	„	Yachen B Khel
145.	„	„	„	Eaong
146.	„	„	„	Eukpang
147.	„	„	„	E.D.S. Longleng
148.	„	„	„	Orangkong
149.	„	„	„	Bonglong Stn.
150.	„	„	„	Mongtikang
151.	„	„	„	Mongnyu
152.	„	„	„	Phomching

153.	Government	Primary	School,	Auching
154.	„	„	„	Nangching
155.	„	„	„	Naogam
156.	„	„	„	Niam
157.	„	„	„	Sakchi
158.	„	„	„	Sakchiu
159.	„	„	„	Pungo
160.	„	„	„	Kongphang
161.	„	„	„	Namahur
162.	„	„	„	Kangha
163.	„	„	„	Yengha
164.	„	„	„	Sakchi Compound
165.	„	„	„	Kiphire Stn.
166.	„	„	„	Kiphire Vill.
167.	„	„	„	Samphur
168.	„	„	„	Ngoro
169.	„	„	„	Penkim
170.	„	„	„	Nutonger
171.	„	„	„	Sangkumti
172.	„	„	„	Longtsunger
173.	„	„	„	Zonger
174.	„	„	„	Chomi

There are 204 villages in Tuensang district and 174 Primary Schools. Therefore it comes to little less than one primary school for every village. Again the population of this district according to 1971 census is 108,863. Therefore it comes to one primary school for 626 people. It is much less than in other districts.

II. List of Middle Schools

(a) Government Middle Schools

1. Government Middle School, Tuensang village
2. „ „ „ Kuthur
3. „ „ „ Sangsangyu

4.	Government	Middle	School,	Ngongchung
5.	„	„	„	Tamlu
6.	„	„	„	B/Namsang
7.	„	„	„	Chessore
8.	„	„	„	Thurongto
9.	„	„	„	Thonglongsur
10.	„	„	„	Chimonger
11.	„	„	„	Chungtor
12.	„	„	„	Tobu
13.	„	„	„	Chingmei
14.	„	„	„	Thonoknyu
15.	„	„	„	Pansu
16.	„	„	„	Yongyachen
17.	„	„	„	Namching
18.	„	„	„	Sakchi
19.	„	„	„	Seyochung
20.	„	„	„	Phisami
21.	„	„	„	Bumei
22.	„	„	„	Pungro
23.	„	„	„	Sitimi
24.	„	„	„	Kisetong
25.	„	„	„	Longmatra
26.	„	„	„	Kiusam
27.	„	„	„	Longya
28.	„	„	„	Chomi
29.	„	„	„	Anatonger
30.	„	„	„	Sutokur
31.	„	„	„	Sangshem
32.	„	„	„	Kongsang
33.	„	„	„	Yongpang
34.	„	„	„	Yongya
35.	„	„	„	Chare

(b) Private Middle Schools (Recognised)

1. Private Middle School, Mangko
2. „ „ „ Yungyu
3. „ „ „ Satokur
4. „ „ „ Yukumsang
5. Changthangyan Mission School
6. K. Akum Imlong School, Tuensang
7. Private Middle School, Pongo
8. „ „ „ Phom Lampong
9. „ „ „ 3rd N. A. P. Tuensang
10. „ „ „ Sangkur
11. „ „ „ Moatong (Yangphong)
12. „ „ „ Yotan
13. „ „ „ Armed Forces, Tuensang
14. „ „ „ Mopong Mission
15. Private U. P. School, Chingnalen.

Total Middle Schools : $35 + 15 = 50$.

III. List of High Schools**(a) Government High Schools.**

1. Govt. High School, Tuensang
2. „ „ „ Kiphire
3. „ „ „ Noklak
4. „ „ „ Longleng
5. „ „ „ Longkhim
6. Govt. Pro. High School, Shikhu (Noksen)
7. „ „ „ „ Shamator
8. „ „ „ „ Chare.

(b) Private High Schools (Recognised)

1. Private High School, Tobu
2. St. John's School, Tuensang.
3. Private Junior High School, Tamlu.

Total High Schools : $8 + 3 = 11$

CHAPTER XVI

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

The Background

This district came under administration only towards the middle of 20th Century. So it goes without saying that the people did not come under modern civilisation till they came under administration. Therefore the people did not come under the influence of modern allopathy or homœopathy or even Ayurvedic or Unani medicine. It does not mean that they did not have any kind of medicine or medical treatment, because they had their indigenous way of treatment.

Nagaland as a whole, except its lower hills on the fringes of Assam, has salubrious climate. This district lies in the heart of the hills. And so its climate is health giving. The people in their daily life do have good exercise as a result of outdoor works, and have plenty of rest, and they take unadulterated wholesome food, and cook by boiling only without spices. They live sparsely and have pure air. All these things contribute towards better health, as we find among other hill people. So the people are healthy in comparison to the people of the plains of Assam.

In spite of their apparent good health they do suffer from various diseases as the plains people do, but only less in number and intensity. The reason of their being apparently healthy and at the same time being prone to be attacked by diseases is probably lack of proper sanitary condition. Also the common people's food does not contain all the necessary food-values and as such it is poor as a food. Anyway, since the people suffer from sickness and diseases, they do have their indigenous way of cure. As in all the primitive tribes as well as early civilised people, the people of this district do have a number of plants and herbs which have not yet been tested by modern medical science, but it does have

a good effect on the patient. It is natural because the medicines have been used as a result of age old experience and not as an experiment.

Not only plants, herbs and different parts of animals are used to treat the patient but often magic is applied to cure him. In almost every village a person, male or female, is found who can perform this magical cure of the disease. He cures a person of his disease by taking out some stuff such as a mass of hair, juice, chewed-leaves, bones, pebbles etc apparently from the body of the person without leaving any mark where it came from. This kind of magical cure is practised throughout Nagaland as among the Semas¹.

Further, the tribal belief is this that the diseases and any wound etc are caused by the evil spirit, and so in some cases of sickness the malevolent spirit is propitiated by offering him chicken, pork, rice, rice-beer etc. This is done by the priest or some other person who knows how to do it.

These are the old practices and still found in the villages. As a result of introduction of Christianity many of the superstitions have weakened and some have disappeared, but since traditions die hard still many of them are lingering. Formerly, there was belief in the evil spirit of the jungle but as a result of introduction of Christianity, Satan has occupied the place of the evil spirit of the jungle and many of the untoward things are attributed to the working of the Satan. Also in some cases the belief in evil spirit continues side by side with the Satan. Thus Satan and malevolent spirit are held responsible for some sickness, diseases and accidents.

Vital Statistics

Vital statistics in respects of birth and death rate are not available for this district. However, it appears that neither death-rate nor birth-rate is high. As early as 1905-06, B. C. Allen in his Gazetteer for Naga Hills has written, "In the absence of all

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p-213, published by Oxford University Press London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co Ltd. London, in 1921

statistics it is difficult to say whether the death-rate is high or not. The Nagas do not increase rapidly in number, but this may be possible due to more to a low birth-rate than to a high mortality". Prof. J. H. Hutton has stated that the occupants of a Naga house "seldom exceed five in number. A man and his wife with perhaps two or three children, perhaps an aged and widowed parent, perhaps a younger brother still unmarried—such is the usual family. Children are not numerous, and owing perhaps to a high death-rate among infants it is the exception to see more than three children to a family". So it appears that there may be high infant mortality but death-rate of grown up people is not high. As a result of these things that is, semi-parity between the number of grown up children and the death-rate of grown up people, the population has not increased so much in the past. But now as a result of low infant mortality, due to modern maternity and medical facilities, the population is growing rapidly¹. Nowadays almost in every family five or more children are found.

Causes of Death

No statistics are available as to the cause of death, but it appears that except infant mortality, untimely death is not much. However, the main causes of untimely death are diseases and accidents. Of the diseases ultimately causing death mention may be made of pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery etc common diseases. And of the accidents the most common is falling from tree. It occurs while slashing the trees during jhum operation. Drowning in river also occurs occasionally.

Longevity

Statistics regarding longevity or the number of people living in different age-groups are not available. But it is seen from the day-to-day life that many old people are still leading an active life and going to field very regulary. Many of them are in the age group of 71-80. So it may be safely concluded that the average longevity of grown up people is 70 years. At the same time the longevity of the women is perhaps a few years more than the average.

1. Population of Nagaland according to 1961 census was 369,200 and according to 1971 census was 516,440. It gives a decennial percentage variation of plus 39.88.

Diseases Common in the District

Though as a result of salubrious climate and plain living conditions there should not have been many diseases among the people of this district, in fact the picture is otherwise, that is, the people get all sorts of diseases as the plains people get. The reason is perhaps mainly due to contamination and unhygienic condition of living. Diseases like small pox, cholera, dysentery, malaria etc were endemic in the plains of Assam and these hill people when visiting those places, used to get it and spread it in the hills. Otherwise those diseases are not very common in this district. It has to be noted that the district being a cold place, incidence of cholera is less. Small pox has already been controlled and malaria though controlled, appears occasionally. But the more common diseases of the this district are pneumonia, influenza, brochitis, asthma, dysentery, worms, measles, mumps, goitre, tuberculosis, (mainly of lungs), typhoid, skin diseases, diarrhoea, eye and dental diseases etc. Of all these things, stomach trouble of various kinds is more common and it appears mainly during March-April when the pre-monsoon rains wash the excreta of cows and pigs, and carries it to the water sources and the people drink it. Another cause of stomach trouble is eating too much chilli. They also suffer from worms, often tape-worm. It is probably because they often take insufficiently cooked, often burnt, beef and pork.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

The district came under administration only in 1948 and therefore there was no hospital prior to that. Though there was no hospital there, the people could take the advantage of the hospital at Mokokchung which was then a Sub-Divisional headquarter. It has to be mentioned here that some seven Sangtam villages of the present Tuensang district were adjacent to Mokokchung Sub-Division and they were under Mokokchung Sub-Division before the rest of the district came under administration. So the people of those seven villages were definitely taking help of the hospital at Mokokchung.

A dispensary was opened in Tuensang in 1948 along with opening up of the administrative headquarter there. Quickly it was

turned into a 12 bedes hospital. Now (Aug. '78) it has grown into a big and beautiful hospital of 85 beds and is proposed to have 100 beds.

Gradually dispensaries were opened in different places and when time came it was converted into hospitals. In this process there have been created, till now (Aug. '78), some seven Civil Hospitals and two Primary Health Centres, all having 12 beds each except Tuensang Civil Hospital which has got 85 beds and is proposed to have 100.

The hospitals are at the following places.

- 1) Tuensang
- 2) Kiphire
- 3) Chare
- 4) Longkhim
- 5) Thonoknyu
- 6) Noksen
- 7) Longleng

The two Primary Health Centres of this district are controlled and supervised by the Civil Surgeon of this district.

Details of hospitals and Primary Health Centres and its staffing pattern are given in Appendix.

OTHER HEALTH SERVICES

All round development of the State and so also of this district started after formation of NHTA in 1957. Since then there has been good attention towards medical facilities for the people. Accordingly programme for eradication of small pox and work for National Malaria Eradication Programme were taken up with due enthusiasm and earnestness. Along with these works, the campaign for BGG vaccination against possible attack of Tuberculosis was also taken up. Further, there is a medical unit to fight against leprosy. All these works are guided by the Directorate of Medical and Health Services of the State.

There are one Leprosy Colony, one Leprosy Unit and one Malaria Unit in this district. Their details are given in Appendix.

Standard Of Sanitation

The villagers being mostly poor and uneducated, the sanitary conditions of the villages are not satisfactory. Traditional Naga villages are congested and so also the villages of this district. The houses are close to each other and there is no provision of latrine in the village—people go out of the village for motion. This is good in absence of sanitary latrine. But the houses do not have sufficient ventilation and the domestic animals, particularly the pigs, make the compound very nasty. This is not hygienic. Moreover, in many villages there is no proper arrangement of drinking water and so the people use the water of water-holes lying in the outskirts of the village. It is normally good, but during rainy season or to be precise at the onset of first rain in March-April, the water often becomes polluted. Though there is a system of making a drain round the water-hole to prevent rain water entering into it, it does not always work fool-proof. Moreover, uncared washing of clothes may also pollute it.

The people are also in the habit of spitting inside the house unknowingly that this is against sanitation.

However, the people living in the administrative outposts or towns have got better sanitary standard, and they suffer less from diseases than the poor villagers.

Maintenance of Public Health

There is a department of Public Health Engineering in the State. It gets its work in this district done through an Executive Engineer. The department looks into water supply, sanitation etc works.

Other parts of public health such as vaccination against small pox, inoculation against cholera (if it at all breaks out, because these two are rare) are done by regular medical teams under the control of the Civil Surgeon.

For prevention of malaria, the Unit of Malaria Eradication Programme is going from house to house once in a year to spray DDT to prevent the spread of mosquito.

APPENDIX

Details of Hospitals and Primary Health Centres and Sub-Centres etc in Tuensang District as in 1978.

(a) HOSPITALS	Staffing pattern
1. Tuensang Town 85 beded (proposed to be 100 beded)	(1) Medical Superintendent 1
	(2) Surgical Specialist 1
	(3) ENT Specialist 1
	(4) Gynaecologist 1
	(5) T. B. Specialist 1
	(6) Paediatrics 1
	(7) Eye Specialist 1
	(8) Anaesthetist 1
	(9) Pathologist 1
	(10) Medicine Specialist 1
	(11) Dental Surgeon 1
	(12) Assistant Surgeon 7
	(13) District Malaria Officer 1
	(14) Zonal Leprosy Officer 1
	(15) Pharmacist 2
	(16) X-Ray Technician 1
	(17) Laboratory Technician 2
	(18) Nurse 29
	(19) Matron (under proposal) 1
	(20) Asstt Matron 1
	(21) Nursing Sister 2
2. Khiphire-12 beded proposed for 25 beds	(Same for all 12 beded hospitals)
3. Chare	(1) Medical Officer 1
4. Longkhim	(2) Staff Nurse 2
5. Thonoknyu	(3) Auxillary Nurse-cum- Midwife 1
6. Noksen	(4) LDA-Cum-Storekeeper 1
7. Longleng	(5) Pharmacist 1
	(6) Sweeper 2
	(7) Laboratory attendant 1

1. There Must be some Dressers, Cooks, Chowkidars, Medical Attendants etc. which Probably outof mistake have been omitted.

Staffing pattern

(8)	Dresser	1
(9)	Cook	2
(10)	Chowkidar	1
(11)	Medical attendant	3

Staffing Pattern

(b) PRIMARY HEALTH CENTRES Same for both

1.	Noklak-12 beded	(1)	Doctor	1
2.	Shamatore. 12 beded	(2)	Nurse	3
		(3)	Pharmacist	1

(c) SUB-CENTRE OF THE PRIMARY

HEALTH CENTRE

Same for all

Under Noklak.

1.	Chingmai	(1)	Pharmacist	1
2.	Pangsha	(2)	Auxillary Nurse-Cum	
3.	Changlangsher		Midwife	1
4.	Bara Namsang			

5. Mapong

Under Shamatore

1.	Sangpur			
2.	Panso			
3.	Tsorongto (Anadongra)			
4.	Shamkhunit			
5.	Mimi			

Same as above for all

(d) LEPROSY COLONY
AT LONGLEN.

(1)	Leprosy Medical Officer	1
(2)	Staff Nurse	2
(3)	Physiotherapist	1
(4)	Laboratory Technician	1
(5)	Non Medical Supervisor	1
(6)	Para Medical Worker	6

(e) ZONAL LEPROSY UNIT
AT TUENSANG

(1)	Zonal Leprosy Officer	1
(2)	Non Medical Supervisor	1
(3)	Para Medical Worker	1

(f) DISTRICT MALARIA
UNIT AT TUENSANG

(1)	Asstt Medical Officer	1
(2)	Malaria Inspector	2
(3)	Surveillance Inspector	6

CHAPTER XVII

OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES

The district is populated by only 1,08,863 people and they have come under the modern administrative system in the middle of this century. And they have come under the main stream of modern civilisation from 1960s. Naturally for these two reasons, small population and late influence of civilisation, the people have not yet grown various types of voluntary social organisation as found in other parts of the country. Another factor for not growing voluntary social organisations is the benevolent activities of the Government for every sphere of life. Whatever the people need is provided by the Government before any vocal demand is made. All pervading Government activity has practically eliminated the scope and initiative for any voluntary organisation except religious.

Before introduction of Christianity the people did not have any social service organisation except the ones which are required to maintain the village administration. After the introduction of Christianity, since any new religion is omre zealous in its activities, the people have gathered round the Christian Churches and the organisations connected with the religion.

The Christians constitute about 67% of the total population of the State, but there are more Christians in other six districts proportionately than in this. Therefore the percentage of Christians in this district may be arbitrarily accepted as around 60 and many of them are connected with various Christian organisations. The young people of both the sexes are very enthusiastic about their religion and organisations connected with it, whlie the grown-ups and olds are of practical nature. Below are discussed the Christian organisations.

Christian Organisations

Villages are often divided into two—Old and New. The old village is the orginal home of the villagers and has got mixed population—both non-Christian and Christian, whereas the new vijlage is

invariably populated by Christians. Of course there is no bar for a non-Christian to settle in a Christian village, but it happens that those who have got ability to build a new and better house are generally Christians. It is so because they got education early and are better placed in life. However, since there are Christians in all the villages, there is church in each village. Such church is managed by the Church Council. This Council appoints a pastor who conducts the services and prayers. In each service, particularly on Sunday Service, money is collected as Tithes and Offerings and it goes toward the church fund and is used for the betterment of the church activities. The pastor is a paid servant and a part of his payment is made up from this collection. The Council also sometimes help the needy people for prosecuting Bible study or general study. It may also help victims of natural calamity or accidents. Apart from its benevolent activity the Church-Council is also the guardian of morality and social order of the village. In case of pregnancy before marriage, in case of Christians only, the couple are excommunicated from the church. This way or by confession or otherwise, the Church exerts a great influence on the society. Anyway, in a village the Christian church is a very important and powerful organisation.

In other districts, particularly in Mokokchung and Kohima, there are several denominations of Christianity and naturally their allied organisations. But in this district there is no other denomination than Baptist Mission. This Mission has also its allied organisations such as Christian Youth Endeavour, Sunday School Unions, different tribal Baptist Associations, Women Christian Associations etc. All these organisations try to improve the religious activities of the people as well as help its spread. All these organisations are charitable in character. One thing may be mentioned here that though there is no other denomination in this district now (Aug '78), there are two Roman Catholic Schools, one in Tuensang and the other in Tobu.

Students' Unions

Besides the Christian organisations, there are students organisations. Since the day of creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957 there has been a great awakening among the people for

education. The first group of educated people wanted to get their next group educated and in turn they also wanted to see their brethren educated, and so on. The educated people are a special entity in this district and have got a special responsibility towards the society and so, as soon as their number justified they formed students' unions wherever they could. The students, school-going or college-going, have got a tremendous weight on the society and therefore they formed Unions to give expression to their views as a whole and to get due weight for it. Thus grew up many students Unions.

At present almost every village has got a Village Students' Union. This Unions pass opinions about their respective village in matters concerning the village and it is duly respected, or rather it may be said that it is more than duly respected because educated persons are very few and they are held in high esteem by the villagers.

Then come Range Unions. From every range several students are found studying in colleges or even some in universities. When they come home during holidays, mainly winter vacation from mid-December to mid March, they gather at least once to deliberate upon the problems of their Range and they take resolutions on it. Their resolutions are paid due attention by the political leaders of the range as well as by the Government Officials.

Then there is the Students' Union for each tribe such as Chang Students' Union, Sangtam Students' Union and so on. Most of the College or University students of Nagaland read in Shillong or in Nagaland colleges. Both the places being old there is winter vacation for about three months from mid-December to mid-March. During this vacation all the students come home and at least once they gather to hold a conference of their Union. That is, the respective tribal Students' Union. They pass resolutions on important issues concerning the welfare of the tribe as a whole and that is paid due attention by the Government and the political leaders.

It has to be mentioned here that there is a Naga Students' Union comprising all the students of Nagaland and sometimes some students of this district become its office bearers.

The tribal Students' Union or for that the students union of any particular range holds cultural or variety show during their conference. This is much enjoyed by the people.

All these students' unions are voluntary organisations, and it, has got a tribalistic force in the sense that there is no other students organisation in this area and all are members of the same horizontal students' union. Probably the time has not yet come for any 'ism' or any separate vertical organisation. All these unions are political in character.

CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC LIFE

AND

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

Introduction

What is now Tuensang district, together with Mon district was known as Tuensang Frontier Division. It was then a part of North East Frontier Division or NEFA in short. It came under administration in January 1948 and remained as such till 1st December 1957. From 1st December 1957 Tuensang Frontier Division was separated from NEFA and joined with Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA in short. Prior to Indian Independence the Agency, that is NEFA, was an Excluded area and was a Centrally Administrated Area. Though it was a Centrally Administered Area, it was tagged with Assam Province whose Governor had a special responsibility for this Area. So this Area did not have any Assembly or did not have any representation to the Assam Assembly.

Though it formed a part of NHTA in 1957, a part of the de-facto State of Nagaland in 1961 and a part of de-jure state of Nagaland in 1963, its prior position of the spirit of "Excluded" area continued and so the people of this district (Tuensang and Mon together) did not have any voting right. It was done so, because the people were illiterate and were not politically conscious and so it was necessary to save them from political exploitation or at least from the humdrum of politics.

The State of Nagaland was created by an Act of the Indian Parliament (Act No.73 of 1962)¹. Section II of this Act provided that Tuensang shall remain a special charge of the Governor of Nagaland for period of ten years² from the date of creation of

1. Report on the First General Election of Nagaland 1963, p-3.

2. Ibid, p-3.

the State and during this period this district shall not directly participate in any election.

The State of Nagaland was created, and inaugurated by the President Dr Radhakrishnan on 1st December 1963. So from that date onward for a period of ten years, this district did not directly take part in any election. But however it was decided that this district (present Tuensang and Mon) would send six representatives to the State Assembly and they will be selected, not elected, by the Regional Council of the district from among its members by consensus.

FIRST GENERAL ELECTION, 1964

The First General Election of Nagaland Assembly took place in January 1964. But as stated above this district did not take part in it but sent six representatives to the Assembly of 46 members (40 from Kohima and Mokokchung and 6 from Tuensang) and they were selected by the Regional Council, a district organisation, from among themselves by consensus. It may be noted that the Chairman of the Regional Council was the Deputy Commissioner of the district.

These representatives had no political colour during selection but could support or join any political party later. Since they were selected from among the members of Regional Council, they had no Constituency whatsoever.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION, 1969

During second general election, 1969 to the Nagaland State Assembly, the same procedure continued in this district with the only difference that the number of representatives was raised from six to twelve¹. Thus in the State Assembly which was formed after the Second General Election, 1969, held in February 1969, the then Tuensang district sent twelve representatives in a house of 52, from among the members of the Regional Council, selected by consensus. However they did not have any Constituency whatsoever.

1. The strength of the Assembly was raised from 46 to 52 keeping the share of Kohima and Mokokchung as 19 and 21 respectively.

ever, since they were not elected on the basis of Constituency but simply selected from among the members of a selected Council. Neither they had any political colour.

THIRD GENERAL ELECTION, 1974

In the Nagaland Act (Act No 73 of 1962) it was provided that Tuensang district shall remain a special responsibility of the Governor of Nagaland for a period of ten year from the date of inauguration of the State. The State of Nagaland was inaugurated on the 1st of December 1963. So the ten-year period was over by 1st December 1973. Therefore any election taking place on or after that date, that is 1st December 1973, could be directly participated into by the people of this district. And since the Third General Election took place in February 1974, the people could take part in it directly.

In the meantime, in December 1973, the districts of Nagaland were reorganised and the then Tuensang districts was bifurcated and Mon was created out of it. It may be noted that till December 1973, there were three districts in Nagaland—Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. But after reorganisation, Kohima was divided into two, such as Kohima and Phek; Mokokchung was divided into three, such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto; and Tuensang was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon. Thus came up seven districts where there were only three.

Another development took place this time. It was decided that the number of representatives from the undivided Tuensang districts be 20 (twenty) instead of former 12. Thus the share of MLAs from the undivided Tuensang was 20. But on the basis of Constituency the share of the present Tuensang district came to be 13 and that of present Mon was 7.

Out of the total 60 seats of the State, only 2 were uncontested, and they were Akuluto in Zunheboto district and Tobu in Tuensang district. Thus out of the 13 seats of this district one was uncontested

Party And Symbols

Although this district did not participate in the first general election 1964, there was no recognised political party in the State,

and so only free symbols were issued. In the second General Election, 1969, the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation, ie, NNO, was the only recognised State party and it was issued the symbol Mithun. In the meantime the United Front of Nagaland changed its name to United Democratic Front (UDF) and contested the election under that name. Thus in the third General Election 1974, there were two State level political parties such as Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO, and United Democratic Front or UDF. The NNO was issued its symbol Mithun and the UDF was issued Cock. Apart from this, some five free symbols were issued. They were the following.

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1) Horn-bill | 4) Log-drum |
| 2) Tiger | 5) Elephant |
| 3) Mug | |

But in view of the fact that the number of contesting candidates seeking free symbols would be more than five, the Election Commission issued three more free symbols such as,

- 1) Flaming Torch
- 2) Bow and Arrow
- 3) A Pair of Pigeon.

Thus the total of free symbols came to be eight.

Candidates

The total number of nomination filed for all the 60 Assembly seats was 234. There was no woman candidate this time unlike the second General Election where there were two in the whole State. Nomination papers of 3 candidates were rejected on scrutiny. 11 candidates withdrew their candidature¹. Thus it left 219 candidates in the field. Of this, two were uncontested and so 217 remained to contest 58 seats. Of this, NNO set up 57 candidates, UDF set up 52, and 108 were Independents².

1. Report on the third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1974, p-14.

2. Report on the third General Election of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974, p-14.

Electorate

“The population of Nagaland according to 1971 census is 5,16,449. The total electorate of the entire State for third General Election, 1974, stood at 4,06,374. Thus the number of voters worked out at 78.69 percent of the total population. The total electorate during first General Election 1964, was 1,24,231 and during second General Election 1969, was 1,76,931 which were exclusive of the electorates in the Tuensang District which did not take part directly in the 1st and 2nd General Elections under the provisions of clause (a) of Sub-Clause II of the Nagaland Act 1962”¹

Election Programme and Voting

The last date of submission of nomination papers was 16th January 1974, and the date of scrutiny was the next day. Last date of withdrawal of candidature was 19th January and the dates of poll were 12th, 14th and 16th February 1974. The results of all the elections were declared between 19th and 20th February 1974.

All the constituencies were single seated.

In the first and second General Elections, 1964 and 1969 respectively, the voting was by balloting system. But in the third General Election 1974, marking system of voting was introduced in Nagaland, to bring it at par with rest of the country and it was more or less a success.

Position in the District

Out of the total of 60 Assembly seats of the State, Tuensang district was allotted 13 (thirteen) seats. Of this 13, one seat, the seat of Tobu, was uncontested. Therefore the remaining 12 seats were contested and the total contestants for this 12 seats were 46. Details are given below.²

1. TOBU constituency was uncontested in favour of one UDF candidate. Total electorate was 6343 but no voting took place as it was uncontested.

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1. Report on the third General Election of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1974, p-14 (Electorate is 78.69% of the total population. It seems unrealistic. Probably there was great liberality on the part of the enumerators in accepting the age).
 2. Sources : Report on the third General Election to Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1974, p-40-42.

2. MOKA constituency was contested by 3 persons—one each from UDF and NNO and one Independent. Total voters were 5852 of which 3845 voted, making the polling percentage as 65.70. Some 188 votes were rejected. The seat was won by NNO candidate getting 1840 votes which counts for 50.31 percentage of valid votes.

3. TAMLU constituency was contested by six persons, one each from UDF and NNO and four Independents. Total electorate was 5865 of which 5324 voted. It gives a polling percentage of 90.70. The seat was won by UDF candidate by getting 1687 which counts for 32.35 percentage of the votes polled. 109 votes were rejected.

4. LONGLENG constituency was contested by five candidates, one each from UDF and NNO and three Independents. The total electorate was 7728 of which 6413 voters exercised their franchise. It gives voting percentage as 82.98. The seat was won by one Independent by getting 1618 votes (26.21 percent). 240 votes were rejected.

5. NOKSEN constituency was contested by only three candidates,—one UDF, one NNO and one Independent. Total voters were 4371, and 4024 persons voted (93.34). The seat was won by NNO candidate by getting 2416 votes which count for 60.81 percentage. Some 51 votes were cancelled.

6. LONGKHIM-CHARE constituency was contested by three persons,—one UDF, one NNO and one Independent. Total voters were 7972 of which 6916 voted (86.75%). The Independent candidate won it by securing 2663 votes (39.40%). Some 157 votes were cancelled.

7. TUENSANG SADAR-I constituency was contested by four candidates, one UDF, one NNO and two Independents. Total electorate was 8233 of which 3829 voted (46.51%). The seat was won by an Independent securing 1229 votes (32.95%). Some 99 votes were rejected.

8. TUENSANG SADAR-II constituency was contested by three persons—one UDF, one NNO and one Independent. The electorate was 6313 of which 4941 persons exercised their franchise making the percentage of poll as 80.43. The seat was won by NNO candidate by securing 2177 votes (46.16%). Some 225 votes were rejected.

9. NOKLAK constituency was contested by four persons, one UDF, one NNO and two Independents. Total votes were 7393 of which 4587 voters voted making the percentage of poll as 62.04. The seat was won by NNO candidate who secured 1692 votes which count for 38.18 percentage. 192 votes were rejected.

10. THONOKNYU constituency was contested by five candidates, one UDF, one NNO and three Independents. Total electorate was 6239 of which 4813 voted (82.37%). The seat was won by UDF candidate who secured 1664 votes (35.76). Some 160 votes were rejected.

11. SHAMATORE-CHESSORE constituency was contested by three candidates—one UDF, one NNO and one Independent. Total voters were 7420 of which 5086 voted (68.54%). The seat was won by NNO candidate who secured 2473 votes (51.23%). Some 259 votes were rejected.

12. SEYCHUNG-SITIMI constituency was contested by four candidates—one UDF, one NNO and two Independents. Total voters were 6934 of which 5711 voted (82.36%). The seat was won by one Independent candidate who got 1854 votes (33.41%). Votes rejected were 162.

13. PUNGRO-KIPHIRE constituency was contested by three candidates—one UDF, one NNO and one Independent. There were in all 6040 voters of which 4956 voted making the percentage of poll as 82.05. The seat was won by UDF candidate by getting 1744 votes which count for 31.11 percent of the total poll. In all 195 votes were rejected.

The Deputy Commissioner, Tuensang was the electoral Registration Officer as well as the Returning Officer and the results were declared between 19th and 20th February 1974.

FORMATION OF MINISTRY AND THEREAFTER

After the third general election many of the Independent candidates joined the UDF party and thus it got a slender majority and formed the Ministry. This Ministry lasted for only one year and was voted out in March 1975, and an NNO Ministry

was installed. But it ruled only for ten days after which President's Rule was imposed. The President's Rule continued for thirtytwo months and again election took place in November 1977.

FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION, 1977

The previous Assembly was dissolved in March '75 and President's Rule was imposed. The President's Rule continued for thirtytwo months and the fourth general election took place in November 1977. Report of this election from the Chief Electoral Officer, Nagaland, is not yet (Aug'78) out, so the details, as much as possible, have been collected from other sources and from the personal knowledge of the Editor himself.

Party and Symbols

Formerly there was one State party called Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO. In 1976 this party merged into Indian National Congress and so became Nagaland Pradesh Congress or simply Congress. Formerly as NNO this party was using Mithun as their election symbol, but after becoming Congress they were allotted the Calf and Cow symbol. So they fought the Fourth General Election with the reserved symbol Calf and Cow. The other State party, United Democratic Front, also had a reserved symbol and it was Cock.

Apart from these two reserved symbols, some six free symbols, were issued. They are :

1. Hornbill
2. Tiger
3. Mug
4. Logdrum
5. Elephant
6. Naga

It may be noted that another party came into being before the election and it was National Convention of Nagaland or NCN. This party was not given any reserved symbol by Election Com-

mission because it did not fulfil the criterion for getting a reserved symbol. But however among themselves they made it practically a reserved symbol since this party, National Convention of Nagaland or NCN, fought the election with the symbol Naga and others did not use it.

However apart from the above six free symbols three more free symbols were issued in view of the fact that the contestants may be more than six in some constituencies. These three free symbols are:

- 1) Flaming Torch
- 2) Bow and Arrow
- 3) A Pair of Pigeon.

An analysis of the election symbols show that the total number of reserved symbols is same both in third and fourth general elections, but only Mithun was replaced by Calf and Cow. The total number of free symbols of course were increased by one over the third general election when it was eight only. And the new symbol was a Naga which, though free, was used by the new party, NCN, that is, National Convention of Nagaland.

CONSTITUENCIES AND CANDIDATES

Like the third general election, in the fourth general election also the number of seats allotted to Tuensang district was thirteen. There was no unopposed candidate neither there was any woman candidate. There were altogether 48 candidates in the field to contest this thirteen seats. The details of candidates and polling etc are given below.¹

1. MOKA constituency was contested by three candidates— one UDF, one NCN and one Independent. The seat was won by the Independent candidate who got 2304 votes. Total electorate was 5571.

1. Source : Ura Mail (dated 26th November, 1977) a Weekly magazine of Nagaland, published from Dimapur. The Official report on the fourth general election not being out yet (Aug.'78) we have used the materials from Ura Mail.

2. TAMLU constituency was contested by three candidates—one UDF, and two Independents. Total voters were 7142. The seat was won by one Independent candidate by securing 3441 votes.
3. LONGLENG constituency was contested by five candidates, one each from UDF, Congress and NCN and two Independents. Total voters were 9493. The seat was captured by UDF candidate who got 2213 votes.
4. NOKSEN constituency was contested by four candidates such as one each from UDF and Congress and two Independents. There were 4540 voters. The seat has been bagged by the Congress candidate who got 1218 votes.
5. LONGKHIM-CHARE constituency was contested by three candidates such as one UDF and two Independents. Total voters were 7966. The seat was captured by one Independent candidate who got 2843 votes.
6. TUENSANG SADAR-I constituency was fought by three candidates, such as one UDF, one Congress and one Independent. Total voters were 5740. The seat was bagged by the Congress candidate by securing 1913 votes.
7. TUENSANG SADAR-II constituency was contested by three persons. They were one UDF, one Congress and one Independent. There were altogether 3584 voters. The seat was won by the Congress candidate who polled 1773 votes.
8. TOBU constituency was contested by three candidates—one each from UDF, Congress and NCN. There were total 6795 voters. The seat was captured by UDF candidate by polling 2947 votes.
9. NOKLAK constituency was contested by five candidates such as one each from UDF, Congress and NCN and two Independents. Total voters were 6289. The seat was bagged by the UDF candidate who polled 1652 votes.
10. THONOKNYU constituency was fought by five candidates—one each from UDF, Congress and NCN and two Independents. Total electorate was 7067. The seat was secured by the Congress candidate who polled 1983 votes.

11. SHAMATOR-CHESSORE constituency was fought by four candidates—one each from UDF and Congress and two Independents. Total voters were 7472. The seat was captured by the UDF candidate who got 2863 votes.

12. SEYOCHUNG-SITIMI was contested by three candidates and they were one each from UDF and Congress, and one Independent. Total votes were 7780. The seat was bagged by the UDF candidate who polled 3336 votes.

13. PUNGRO-KIPHIRE constituency was contested by four candidates. They were one each from UDF and Congress, and two Independents. There were altogether 7293 voters. The seat was captured by one Independent candidate whose polling figure is not published in the paper from where these details are taken.

Formation of Ministry

In the fourth general election held in November 1977, the UDF came out as the majority party. Some Independents also joined it. In November itself the Ministry was formed. In this Ministry there were eight Cabinet Ministers, including the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister, and there were four Ministers of State. Unlike previous Ministries, there was no Deputy Ministers till September. This is the first time also that Nagaland had a Deputy Chief Minister. In April '78 one Cabinet Minister and two Ministers of State were included into the Ministry and again in September '78 one more Minister of State and one Deputy Minister have been inducted and so at present (September '78) the strength of Ministry is seventeen in a house of sixty. And then of course one Speaker and one Deputy Speaker are also there.

In this Ministry there are two Ministers from Tuensang district—one is Cabinet Minister and the other is a State Minister.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

Since Tuensang was a special responsibility of the Governor and because of that there could not be any election in this district prior to December 1973 when the ten year term of the special responsibility was over, this district did not take part in

parliamentary Election before 1977 which was the first Lok Sabha election after the ten-year term of the district was over in December 1973.

The fourth Lok Sabha election from Nagaland was held in March 1977, that is, after six years of the previous election as the life of the last Lok Sabha was extended to six years. This time two candidates, one from Congress¹ and another from UDF contested the seat and UDF won it. Details of the polling are not yet available.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

No newspaper or periodical except some occasional religious bulletins, is published from this district. The people are not yet so much educated as to produce a local paper. However, some newspapers and periodicals published from outside the district and outside the State find their way to this district. The notable local ones are : Ura Mail, an English Weekly published from Dimapur ; Nagaland Times an English Weekly, also published from Dimapur; and Platform an English weekly published from Kohima. Among the English dailies coming from outside the State, mention may be made of the Assam Tribune from Gauhati, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Hindustan Standard and the Statesman from Calcutta. A few Bengali Dailies such as Ananda Bazar Patrika and Jugantar from Calcutta also come to this district. Also English Weeklies such as Illustrated Weekly of India and Filmfare, both from Bombay, are also fairly widely read by the educated people of the district. A few Bengali weeklies such as Desh and Amrita, both from Calcutta, are also read by some of the Bengalee residents of this district; some Assamese magazines such as Assam Bani, Assam Pratinidhi etc also find their way to this district for Assamese readers. But most of the readers of any language are concentrated in the district headquarter, that is Tuensang town.

1. The Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO) has merged into the Indian National Congress in 1976 and is now designated as Nagaland Pradesh Congress.

CHAPTER XIX

PLACES OF INTEREST

Tuensang district is the home of many tribes, as many as ten tribal languages; they are Chang, Kheimongan, Konyak, Phom, Sangtam, Tikhir, Yimchunger Mokware, Chirr and than there are some Semas and of course there are Aos. Tribals are generally colourful in dress and Nagas are more so. And since there are so many tribes in this district it is a riot of colours in Tuensang town where people of all the tribes are found.

The district borders Saramati range on the east. It is the loftiest mountain in this region and its peak is 3837 metre above sea level. In winter the top of the mountain remains covered by snow and it looks beautiful.

The district practises mainly jhum from of cultivation though terrace has also been started. In jhum, the slashed trees and braches are set to fire in March-April. That time the entire district, as far as the eye can see, looks like many fire works in the evening. After a few weeks paddy plants sprout in those fields and it looks like a green carpet. In August-September the paddy ripens and the fields look golden. The same scenery of green paddy plants and golden crop is also seen in respect of terrace cultivation, in July-August and October-November respectively.

During the agricultural operation the people of entire village, men and women, young and old, go to the field in a single file carrying their agricultural implements and babies. The women carry the babies on the back hung within a chadar. The men go with a Khang¹ on the back and a spear or a gun in hand. Often people are found going to field with guns. This is more a form of prestige than necessity.

1. Khang is basket made of bamboo strips.

In the interior villages still the women, young or old, beautiful brunette or unkempt girls below puberty go with bare bosom. The unsophisticated beauty of the uncovered breasts of the village damsels is rather enchanting.

While coming back from the fields in the afternoon, in the twilight of setting sun, the same scene can be seen again.

The things mentioned above are the things of interest, other wise there is practically no place of particular interest. However each Administrative centre is more or less a place of interest.

Tuensang Town started growing from 1948 when the first administrative headquarter was set up there in a few huts. Gradually it has grown into a beautiful town and there are now many beautiful buildings one of which is the newly constructed office complex. The building of High school is also good. The hospital building at Tuensang is a very nice one.

Kiphire in the south of this district is a Sub - Divisional Town beaming with new buildings and fine roads.

Pangsa, a village in the east, near the Burma border, is a place of historical importance because it has been responsible for many head-huntings in the days of non-administration, as well as it has been the scene of operation for that demeanour.

Chilise in Thonoknyu area is another village of importance from the historical point of view because it has been the scene of latest headhunting uptill now (August 1978): in 1962 some thirty heads of this village were hunted away by others out of suspicion that three of their heads had been hunted by this village. The suspicion might be true also though it could not be proved.

Incidents of past head-hunting are strewn all over the district and no village can say that it has not lost or taken a head in the last fifty years. From that point of view any village is important.

Each village is situated on the top of a hill or at least in a well defended position. Not only that, but also every village has got several gates to enter into it. It was impossible in the olden time, and still it is very difficult, to enter a village through any way other than the gates. The roads through the gates are narrow and flanked by stone walls on both the sides. It is such that a few persons standing at the gate can resist a few hundreds of enemy. It is like a miniature fort. So the gateway to a village and the village itself are places of interest.

NOTE ON POPULATION

After the book has gone to press, the Provisional Population Totals of 1981 census has come in, and therefore some salient features of the population of Tuensang District, as per 1981 census, are given below.

1. Total population	152,276
2. Male	80,734
3. Female	71,542
4. Sex ratio (female per 1000 male)	886
5. Density of population per sq kilometre	36
6. Decennial growth rate (1971-81) (In 1971, Tuensang included the present Mon district also—it has been bifurcated in 1973)	39.88
7. Overall literacy, in percentage	30.52
8. Male literacy in percentage	36.41
9. Female literacy in percentage	23.88

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